2014-05-01

Central and Secondary Struggles in Social Interventions: The Impact of Group Relations Learning on Real Life Practices

Ole-Kristian Setnes PhD
University of San Diego

Follow this and additional works at: https://digital.sandiego.edu/dissertations

Part of the Leadership Studies Commons

CENTRAL AND SECONDARY STRUGGLES IN SOCIAL INTERVENTIONS:
THE IMPACT OF GROUP RELATIONS LEARNING ON REAL LIFE PRACTICES

by

Ole-Kristian Setnes

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 2014

Dissertation Committee
Steven A. Gelb, Ph.D.   ·
Cheryl Getz, Ed.D.
Lea Hubbard, Ph.D.

University of San Diego

ABSTRACT

Recently, there has been considerable research focusing on outcomes of Group

Relations conferences as a unique form of adult experiential learning. Most of the focus

has been on participants' learning during and immediately after conferences with less

attention paid to applications of learning outside conferences in participants' professional

and/or personal lives. The San Diego group relations/ case-in-point model is integrated

into the University of San Diego's graduate leadership studies program. Participants in

this study included 10 individuals who had participated in this model's experiential

learning as teaching assistants.

The methodology that was implemented, *Relational Qualitative Research*,

synthesizes elements from several qualitative research sources. The design treated each

participant as a case, but also allowed participants (functioning as co-researchers) and the

researcher to jointly interpret data through a relational process.

Three dimensions were used in the final analysis. First, Lacan's theory of four

discourses was used to identify tacit knowledge in participants' mode of communication.

Second, socio-structural concept of *central and secondary struggles* was used to discuss

the influence of the class dimension, and third, distinction between therapy and analysis

was used to look at whether interventions were therapeutic (i.e., adjusting to

circumstances) or analytic (i.e., looking at social structure).

The participants reported that the group relations learning was transformational

and led to more effective social interaction in their personal and professional lives.

Participants expressed psychoanalytic concepts through ordinary language so that people

unfamiliar with psychoanalysis could understand their meaning. The participants used

tacit knowledge to activate appropriate modes of communication dependent upon context, but could not externalize this by turning the tacit and applied knowledge into explicit and conscious knowledge. To do so would require the use of theory that is likely unknown to them.

The findings show how the central antagonism is surfaced or displaced in language and thereby suggest ways learning can be redirected to address social structure. This would require an analytic stance to replace the therapeutic one that this study showed is currently predominant in this model of experiential learning.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my appreciation to the members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Steven Gelb, Chair, Dr. Cheryl Getz, and Dr. Lea Hubbard. They have supported me throughout the entire process of writing the dissertation. Steve has inspired me through many different conversations from the start of my doctoral study at the University of San Diego, as my advisor towards the completion of my dissertation work, and as my committee chair. Being an independent thinker, Steve allowed me to think critically and consider controversial theories in my work while providing constructive feedback. Likewise, his unique personality, patience and his trust in me has made this hard work attainable.

I genuinely thank Cheryl and Lea for their guidance. I appreciate Cheryl's productive feedback on the group relations and case-in-point theories and Lea's input on research methodology and her comments as a sociologist. I believe each committee member distinctly contributed to the dissertation process. Their comments and questions were constructive and helpful, which made this work more fruitful.

I am sincerely grateful to the 10 former teacher assistants that participated in this study, and in particular, those five teachers and educators who completed the lengthy research process during the data collection phase, making the more advanced part of the research design and data collection possible. They contributed a significant amount of voluntary work to help make this study achievable, and I appreciate their efforts and time.

My thanks go to Dr. Teresa Monroe for her assistance during the data collection process. The dialogues with her helped me to reflect on my facilitation of the research group meetings and data collection process. Her feedback concerning the coding and

group facilitations were particularly useful. Our discussions also influenced the directions the study took. I am grateful for her contributions.

I sincerely appreciate my dear partner Leila Aftahi for reviewing many sections of the text and helping me with discussing different topics. Most importantly, she led me to consider a new theory, which I might have missed otherwise. I thank my friend and fellow student at the time, Pressley Rankin, who introduced me to Consensual Qualitative Research, which was one of the initial ideas that inspired the new research methodology. I thank my sister Agnes Setnes for her ability to connect, through our discussions, my work to real life and contemporary events. I deeply appreciate my mother for all the support she provided during the study. I thank my family, colleagues, and friends for their understanding. I thank Roy Ringdal and Janine Strand for assisting me with practical favors while I was traveling between San Diego and Oslo during the study years.

I am grateful to Holger Tørisen, my former boss and employer in Oslo, who made my study in the U.S. possible. I also thank his successor, Bente Jansen, who has been supportive throughout this process. I will also extend my appreciation to the Leadership Studies faculty, administrators, and staff at the University of San Diego. Finally yet importantly, I will thank my editors Juline Busuioc for editing part of my work and Sally Ades for her exceptional diligence and collaboration in editing my work from the beginning to the end.

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

This is a study of the application of learning about leadership that results over time from the experiential methodology called group relations. It focuses on how this learning is transferred into participants' professional and personal lives, analyzes the extent to which the learning is implicit and explicit, and how the learning is adapted in real life contexts. The group relations teaching methodology has a relatively long history. It was initiated in the 1950s when the Tavistock Institute of London began holding annual group relations conferences in collaboration with the University of Leicester. These conferences facilitated experiential learning about authority, role, and leadership in the here-and-now by establishing temporary organizations to study group-as-a-whole phenomena. The here-and-now approach focuses participants' attention on what is happening in the present moment, and it encourages the development of hypotheses to explain the dynamics that emerge during the conference. This model stands in stark contrast to learning through a conventional lecture format. In the past decade, the Tavistock group relations methodology has been used in experiential teaching and learning at a number of universities in the United States, including New York University, Northwestern University, Columbia University, and the University of San Diego.

The Tavistock model was built on two intellectual traditions: the psychoanalytic tradition (Le Bon, 1896; McDougall, 1920; Freud, 1921 Klein, 1946) and the tradition of

open-systems theory (Miller & Rice, 1967). During the nineteen forties and early fifties, Bion (1961), often known as the father of group relations and a founding member of the Tavistock Institute, integrated Le Bon's and McDougall's group dynamic theory, Klein's theory of object relations and his own extensive experience with psychotherapeutic and military groups. Additional theoretical and methodical developments were made in the late fifties and early sixties, when Rice, Miller, and others at the Tavistock Institute integrated the open-system theory with Bion's earlier work on group relations (Fraher, 2004). The open-systems theory describes organizations as open systems characterized by entropy, subsystem interdependence, boundary and task management (Rice, 1965; Miller & Rice, 1967). In 1963 Margaret Rioch brought the Tavistock group relations to the U.S. and founded the A. K. Rice Institute, which has since arranged annual Tavistock-inspired "national" as well as other group relations conferences in the U.S. (Fraher, 2004).

<div align="center">Case-In-Point Teaching Methodology</div>

A few decades later, in the 1990s, Heifetz and his colleagues at Harvard University developed, from multiple influences, a teaching methodology called the *case-in-point* methodology for leadership development (Heifetz, 1994). The methodology draws on well-established learning traditions, including the use of seminars, lectures, readings, films, discussion and dialogue, clinical-therapeutic practice, coaching, writing as a form of disciplined reflection, and the case study method (Parks, 2005). Heifetz, like Piaget, was inspired by the concept of adaptation from his background in evolutionary biology and also influenced by his medical school experience, which was anchored in experiential learning through an apprenticeship model and clinical work. Heifetz was

also influenced by the group relations work of the A. K. Rice Institute and their

Tavistock–inspired workshops. Another source of influence was Heifetz's experiences

with arranging music seminars over many years (Parks, 2005). Case-in-point teaching

seeks to connect with a student's own experience. A class using case-in-point pedagogy

has a clear and challenging purpose: to develop understanding and experience in the

practice of leadership. It is viewed as a social system that is inevitably made up of

multiple, differing factions. Events that unfold within the social group in the classroom

are used as occasions for learning about and practicing leadership. Accordingly, the

teacher waits for a case to emerge in the system dynamics of the class itself. With case-

in-point teaching, everything that happens in the classroom laboratory is open to scrutiny,

including the actions, inconsistencies, and blind spots of the teacher. In case-in-point, as

in group relations, the here-and-now experience is used for the purpose of the learning.

Students are advised to "be on the dance floor" (that is, in the action) and to occasionally

"get in the balcony" in order to see if they can identify the larger patterns of what is going

on, and then see if they can come up with an intervention strategy to bring the group

forward (Heifetz, 1994). At the same time, students are presented with concepts and

frameworks that help them in interpreting what they are learning to see and do. Parks

(2005) explained the teacher's challenge:

> The challenge is to make use of both the explicit underlying issues that surface in
> the group by connecting those issues to the course content. The teacher, therefore,
> must reflect on what is happening in the class *as it is happening*, asking, "Is there
> any way I can use what is happening right here and now to illustrate the content I
> want the class to learn today?" (p. 7)

The teacher should allow for enough confusion, frustration, and conflict to help the group surface unexamined assumptions about the practice of leadership. The teacher must also pay attention to the various factions among the students in the classroom and the perspectives that each faction represents, and then look for opportunities to recruit, honor, and sustain the attention of each of these factions. The teacher takes up her or his authority in the classroom by providing an orientation, for example, by making students aware of the subtle distinctions of unfolding group events. Novice students are often unaware of subtle and fine-drawn ongoing group processes since it requires a trained eye to see them and to articulate concepts describing them. Furthermore, the teacher must also pay attention to and regulate her or his own experience, and use it in the service of learning. The case-in-point pedagogy also includes a part where the instructor helps the students to relate their learning back to what is going on in the larger social and political context. This is called parallel process. This part of the training helps the student to see how a smaller subsystem can be influenced by a larger system and the other way around.

The Group Relations Approach at the University of San Diego

The San Diego group relations model, developed by Theresa Monroe (2004) and colleagues, builds upon the Tavistock-inspired work in combination with Heifetz's (1994) adaptive leadership theory and case-in-point teaching methodology. Heifetz developed his model at Harvard University where he collaborated for several years with Monroe. The San Diego group relations approach is integrated into the University of San Diego's (USD) leadership program, which includes semester long courses and twice yearly intensive three-day conferences that teach students about authority, role, and leadership using an experiential learning format. These courses include the cross-listed

experiential learning class, *LEAD 550 Leadership Theory and Practice/ LEAD 600 Leadership Theory and Practice*, which covers the basics, and *LEAD 580 Consulting to Groups*, an advanced course in which students with more experience take up a teaching assistant role. There are also three-day (graduate and undergraduate) conferences that can be taken by the students for credit twice a year (e.g., *LEAD 585 Leadership for Change; LEAD 357 Leadership and the Practice of Presence*). The group relations courses and conferences implemented at University of San Diego are sometimes referred to as the "San Diego Approach."

Presumably, students who have been in the role of teaching assistants have reached a deeper understanding of the concepts that undergird case-in-point pedagogy, practiced at the University of San Diego, than have novices (i.e., students who have only attended LEAD 550/600 or LEAD 585). They are also more likely to have applied the learning in their lives. Thus, it is likely that intense personal experiences and explicit concepts learned through the experiential courses, from the first course until the present, have been converted into refined action-based skills, developed over time through application by an iterative try-and-error process at the participant's workplace or private life. Over time, these action-based skills may become automatic, implicit, and taken for granted, to the extent that participants lose awareness of the skills they have developed over time. This is a well-known psychological process in which applied skills become tacit and automatic over time (Polanyi, 1966), where skills fully integrate into functioning, and then become less accessible to consciousness. It is common that people with complex skills are unable to explain how they do something. Implicit unconscious rules and patterns govern the tacit and automatic skillset developed over time, but if

asked, individuals may have difficulty explaining the rules and patterns that tacitly

govern the applied knowledge. Polanyi (1966) developed a theory to describe this

process, claiming that over time explicit skills become tacit. Nonaka and Takeuchi

(1995) developed a theory of knowledge conversion, which builds on Polanyi's theory on

tacit knowledge. It includes the processes of explicit-to-tacit knowledge conversion, and

tacit-to-explicit knowledge conversion, which again have similarities with Vygotsky's

(1986) automatization and de-automatization. The work of Polyani (1966) and Nonaka

& Takeuchi (1995) describe how tacit knowledge operates automatically and

unconsciously behind the scenes, and how implicit knowledge can be externalized.

Group Relations practices are about internalized tacit knowledge which enables one to act

and respond to group processes in an automatic manner as well as develop explicit

knowledge in order to analyze group processes.

Comparing the San Diego Model with Traditional Tavistock Conferences

The courses and conferences at the University of San Diego make use of the

concepts from traditional Tavistock group relations conferences derived from the

psychoanalytic group theory of Bion (1961), as well as the integrated open-systems

theory component, added later by A. K. Rice and colleagues (Rice, 1965). However,

there are differences between the San Diego model and the Tavistock method. For

example, students who attend USD experiential learning courses will complete

substantial readings that comprise theoretical concepts that are related to authority, role,

and leadership, while Tavistock conferences do not include such extensive theoretical

readings, even though lectures are included in the Tavistock conference design (Rice,

1965). Another difference is that the students attending the EDLD 580 Consulting to

Groups class will assume the staff role as teaching assistants, while participants attending

Tavistock and case-in-point inspired classes do not have this opportunity. This is an

important difference because student-staff members are given the opportunity to view the

student-member role from another perspective. Another difference is that students may

attend multiple conferences in addition to the aforementioned courses, and the learning

may be deepened with increasingly complex experiential learning opportunities. For

some students this may occur over a period of several years. Finally, the San Diego

model has explicitly integrated spirituality as a theoretical foundation, conference theme,

and experiential modality. In contrast, spirituality is not generally an explicitly named

element in Tavistock or other Group Relations conferences. Particularly significant are

the differences in the repetitive and long-term aspects with various courses over several

semesters, the variations of roles (e.g., role as regular member, role as observant, role as

consultant), and the extensive theoretical readings; therefore, the USD Approach is

arguably more integrated into an academic environment than traditional Tavistock

inspired conferences. The repetitive iteration moving between group relations

experiential situations and regular study situations like extensive readings, lead over time

to a stronger internalization of the knowledge.

The "oscillation" between learning in the here-and-now in the classroom

laboratory settings and the academic readings in the there-and-then is an important

feature that distinguishes the San Diego model. The readings help students to connect

theoretical concepts to their own experiences. Case-in-point is a method in which the

students are presented with articulations offered by the instructors and staff to name what

is going on while events evolve in the classroom. These articulations are short phrases

like "the hidden issue" and "giving the work back to the group." The students learn to

match the chains of words, or *signifying chains* (Lacan, 2007), articulated by instructors

and more capable peers, with the ongoing experiences. This helps them to develop their

own *signifieds* (Lacan, 2007), which are conceptual ideas of the experiences, and that

attach themselves to the signifiers (word-names) articulated by the instructors. This is

significant because the participants are given a language to grasp complex and seemingly

chaotic aspects of unconscious group processes that mainstream language is unable to

express and conceptualize. The Theory of Signification provides a useful description of

how language, through its signifying system, provides us with a 'naming system' that

helps us produce ideas and concepts from our experiences. Using language as a tool, the

articulation by instructors, more capable peers, in addition to readings, provides the

students with a learning environment arguably similar to Vygotsky's (1978) well known

zone of proximal development. As students develop these concepts and continue to use

them, the application of their new skills becomes tacit. This potentially makes the

student better able to internalize the learning by pushing the signifiers into the

unconscious at a later stage. From a Lacanian perspective, internalized knowledge

consists of repressed signifiers in the unconscious. This corresponds to Vygotsky's

process of automatization. This circular movement of making the learning implicit and

explicit may lead to more profound learning over time. In order for the learning to

become practical and applied, it must become tacit and automatic; the best way to do this

is to iterate between the explicit and tacit use of the learning. For example, a piano

player must sometimes study in detail how the fingers move in order to find the best way

to move the fingers, but when the pianist is playing he or she must not focus or think

consciously on the finger movements directly but on the overall melody of the music because the fingers must be governed unconsciously or tacitly.

Statement of the Problem

Historically, the Leicester conference's experiential learning was designed for a practical end. The conference organizers assumed that participants, therapists, consultants, and industrial leaders would return to their workplaces and apply what they learned in the conference (Rice, 1965). They were learning about group, organizational and social dynamics, and the authority and power inherent in these systems. However, we know little about how students (participants) apply in their lives the learning that occurs in the San Diego model or in other Tavistock-inspired courses. Because the USD classroom is a "laboratory" and not a real work context, it is likely that the interventions, the types of articulations (phrases and expressions), that students later use in their private and/or professional lives are in many ways different from those articulations and communication modes carried out in the classroom "laboratory." Little systematic follow-up research, however, has been done to investigate this topic, and moreover the long-term practices that develop from this unique experiential pedagogy are difficult to capture using traditional research tools. Therefore, a special research methodology, *Relation Qualitative Research*, which is tailored to capture tacit knowledge, is used in this study. This method came out of this research process and was developed by the researcher. This qualitative research method gives the participants in the study the possibility to externalize their own tacit knowledge in a collaborative process. Lacan's theory of signification provides a way of understanding how people, through speech, tacitly and unconsciously can produce chains of signifiers (a chain of word-names) as a

response to an event. The automatic response is a certain automatic articulation governed by tacit and unconscious knowledge, which is constituted by repressed signifiers. The automatic response is similar to tacit knowledge described by Polanyi (1966). Lacan's theory of signification, particularly the part that discusses repression of signifiers, helps us to understand the structuring mechanism behind tacit knowledge. Lacan's (2007) theory of the four discourses, discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, provides an understanding of what type of knowledge is generated depending on the role different psychic elements take up when we engage in a certain discourse, for example, a conventional lecture format discourse or case-in-point learning. Lacan's discourse theory is useful in order to develop an understanding of why, for example, a group member takes up a certain role, or is given the role by the other group members. Lacan's theories form a platform from which one can understand participants' application of learning about leadership from group relations conferences and case-in-point teaching. Leadership and language are tightly connected; a person exercises leadership, more often than not, through language, or some other symbolic system, using key signifiers, or master signifiers (Lacan, 2007), which will be discussed in Chapter 2. This has an impact on how leadership is exercised. Lacan's theory creates links between leadership, group relations, and society, and thereby forms a framework to understand participants' application of learning about leadership. This lens will be used to analyze the experiences of the participants. As already pointed out, there is little known about how the students/participants in the long run apply the group relations learning in their real lives. This research on real life practice (outside classroom learning) is important because knowledge learned about this topic can help,

support, and guide future participants to prepare an efficient transition from the classroom training to real life application.

<div align="center">Purpose of the Study/Research Questions</div>

The purpose of the study is to investigate how students have applied experiential learning group relations/case-in-point classes and conferences in their professional and personal lives. An additional purpose was to investigate the potential of *Relational Qualitative Research*, the methodology employed in the study, as a model to investigate applications of group relations learning beyond classroom and conference experiences. The following research questions have guided the study:

1.) How has participation in group relations/case-in-point courses and conferences influenced the participants?

2.) How, if at all, have the participants adapted insights and techniques from the courses and conferences and used them in real life contexts?

3.) How does the Relational Qualitative Research methodology affect participants' understanding of their application of the experiential learning outside the classroom?

The first two research questions relate to how the participants apply their experiential learning in their lives. The last research question relates to how the research methodology captures the applied knowledge and how the method influences the participants.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature review substantiates this study. Following the *Introduction*, the review consists of five parts that conclude with a *Summary*. The first part, *Theoretical Background of Group Relations*, is comprised of central elements that underpin the Tavistock-inspired group relations theory, predominantly those based on the theories of Melanie Klein and Wilfred Bion.

Part two of the literature review, *Research on Tavistock-Inspired Group Relations* examines the current research on the impact of Tavistock-inspired conferences on members' experiences and practices. The section includes studies from both the inside and outside perspective of group relations conferences and classroom settings. The longitudinal effects of experiential learning on conference members are investigated, providing insight on how experiential learning impacts students' real life practices over time.

The third and fourth parts, *Lacan's Theory of Signification*, and *Lacan's Theory of the Four Discourses* (Lacan, 2006, 2007), consist of selected elements from Lacan's theory that will be used throughout the study. The Theory of Signification expresses how language constitutes the Subject providing a useful description of how language, through its signifying system, provides us with a 'naming system' that uses us to produce ideas and concepts from our experiences. This helps us to understand the learning process of the internalization and externalization of concepts and knowledge that previously were un-symbolized and un-signified. This theory offers concepts to understand the process of

tacit and explicit knowledge and will constitute a part of the research methodology described in Chapter 3, and will be used as a tool for analyzing this study's research data in Chapter 4. The elements described in the Theory of Signification are also the elements that constitute the four discourses seen in part four.

The fourth part, Lacan's Theory of the Four Discourses, conceptualizes different types of mode of communication that the researcher/interviewer can direct towards the participant/interviewee during the interview and the data collection process. The four discourses conceptualize how the mode of communication, directed towards the participant, determines the type of role the participant is given during the interview. The participant's given role will then decide the participant's mode of processing thoughts, and consequently the type of knowledge he or she produces during the interview. The application of discourses in the data collection process will be described in Chapter 3. The four discourses will also be used to analyze participants' mode of communicating in their real life interventions. The Theory of Four Discourses, which is built on psychoanalysis, helps us to analyze and understand group relations' learning and unconscious processes during real life interventions. This will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The fifth part of this literature review, *Culturalization of Politics*, discusses the work of three contemporary sociologists and critical theorists: Brown's (2008) research on tolerance and multiculturalism, Conley's (2010) research on wealth and race, and Žižek's (2000a) reflections on social antagonism. These three analyses provide a background to understand of general contemporary discourse, and describe the trends in neoliberal society's dominant view of identity, and how this view, is inscribed into the socio-normative symbolic field, and its dominant ways of structuring language. These

analyses provide an understanding of the contemporary symbolic field shaped by its current dominant phrases and words used in the Western discourse. The participants' applied practices do not operate in a harmonious society that functions like a neutral container-background. In order to understand better the quality of the participants' interventions, one must understand the dominant socio-normative trends of language within the society in which they operate. I will therefore link Brown's notion of tolerant multiculturalism to Heifetz's assertion that contemporaneous leadership theories claimed to be value neutral, to show that it is important to understand the implicit structure of the dominant discourses in society. There might be hidden issues (e.g., leadership is implicit presented as value neutral), and this must be related to the participants' real life application. Brown and Heifetz provide us with a helpful understanding of the Western symbolic field created by language, which impacts how identities and roles are taken up in society by following the dominant social norms. Throughout this work, I will look at how language elements linked together in the symbolic field impact role giving and role taking in groups, and how they impact group relations experiential learning. I will examine these language elements from the perspective of Žižek's (2000a) thesis on central antagonism and secondary antagonisms, concepts built on Hegel's notion of *concrete universality,* in order to understand the relationship between central antagonism, inequality, and secondary antagonisms, like identity conflicts. Issues regarding the 'outdated' problematic of class struggle and postmodernism's view on the new world of multiple identities will be debated. Žižek's thinking inform me as to how group relations learning impacts participants' applied practices with regard to class and economic struggle (e.g., wealth accumulation in family units) on one side and identity struggles

(e.g., gender and race) on the other side. I argue that this type of background theory is necessary when it comes to understanding how group relations' learning is applied in real society because society is not like a neutral background container; in fact, society contains conflicts and antagonisms that are surfaced or displaced, and these antagonisms are implicitly structuring the language itself. Brown, Žižek, and Heifetz approach this topic from different vantage points.

At the end of this chapter, the central antagonism and the secondary antagonisms will be linked to the two branches of the Tavistock Institute that were developed after the Rice-Trist split in 1962. There was the Tavistock group relations branch, focusing on role, task, and boundary management, influenced by Rice; the other branch was the Tavistock socio-technical school, focusing on labor-management relations, and the democratization and humanization of the industry, which is very much influenced by Trist, Emery, and Thorsrud (Fraher, 2004). Links will be made that show the relationship between these theoretical areas of the Group Relations School and Socio-Technical School at the Tavistock Institute. By linking the collected research data on the participants' applied practices from this study to dominant and relevant social trends and norms in society, I will develop an understanding of how adaptive leadership, group relations, and case-in-point impact the experiential learning applied practices in a total social context.

In the *Summary*, I will synthesize the elements discussed in parts one through five. The conceptualization does not attempt to develop a theoretical framework but rather develop relevant conceptual links among the theoretical elements presented in this review, and this study's research questions. In addition, the signifiers identified in this

study's data will be linked to this historical context of Tavistock group relations. I will identify key signifiers that are present in the current research literature on group relations, which will be reviewed in the next section, and compare those with the key signifiers of two different directions within the Tavistock group relations tradition. This comparison will be used as background material when, in Chapter 4, I look at the key signifiers that will be revealed in the data collected from the participants in this study. I will now look at the theoretical background of group relations.

<div align="center">Theoretical Background of Group Relations</div>

The concept of the *group-as-a-whole* has become a key element in group relations theory. It can be traced back to the French sociologist Le Bon and his classic book *The Crowd (1896)*. Le Bon (1896) provided important observations about group behavior by studying the group within the social context and the individual's relatedness to that system. Le Bon developed a theory about large unorganized groups, where being a part of the group required a person to sacrifice a part of his individuality. The shift from focusing on an individual to an examination of the group as a holistic entity was an important development in the understanding of group dynamics. Later, McDougall (1920) expanded upon Le Bon's theory by making a distinction between groups that were organized and task-oriented, and groups that were impulsive and unorganized. This distinction was to become a major influence on future work in group relations.

In 1961, Bion, a British psychoanalyst, published a collection of essays which he wrote during the 40s and 50s called *Experiences in Group* that were to become seminal for the field of group relations. Bion built on the earlier work of the group theoreticians Le Bon and McDougall but was also influenced by psychoanalytical theory, particularly

the work of Melanie Klein (1946). These influences were brought to bear on his

experiences as a British army psychiatrist leading groups of disturbed soldiers during

World War II.

In *Experiences in Groups,* Bion (1961) provides a descriptive analysis of what he

had observed, including comprehensive explanations of why groups tend to frequently

behave in an irrational and psychotic fashion. Bion still needed to understand how to

connect theoretical elements of psychoanalysis to irrational group behavior. He found an

explanatory lens in Klein's creative contributions to *object relations theory.* Klein's

theoretical elements became the conceptual bridge Bion needed to link his observations

about irrational group behavior to a theory about group dynamics. In the paranoid-

schizoid position, according to Klein, the infant's ego overcomes unbearable anxiety by

projective identification, which involves disowning its own negative and destructive

emotions like sadism and hatred towards the mother by projecting the destructive part of

self onto, at the time, the frustrating mother. When projective identification plays out,

unlike simple projection, the infant's ego does not fully deny the projected parts of self,

which are the destructive feelings towards the mother, but sees them as "fair" because the

infant in this moment feels that the mother is bad. The infant feels its own hatred and

sadism is coming from the mother. The second part of the process is that the infant

pressures the mother to introject the destructive feelings. The infant cannot say how he

or she feels; instead, it makes the mother experience the same feeling through massive

pressure, and this reinforces the child and the mother's deep connection with each other.

Klein, who also worked as a therapist with adult patients, believed that as children grow

older and later become adults, they will never overcome the paranoid-schizoid position fully, and that the paranoid-schizoid mechanism is always present in our adult lives.

Klein (1946) hypothesized that the infant had feelings, caused by the paranoid-schizoid position, towards the mother. A few years later Bion (1961) expanded Klein's thinking into the area of group dynamics by hypothesizing that an adult individual has these destructive feelings based on anxiety, caused by the paranoid-schizoid position towards the group. Bion suggested that a group can activate the same feelings in a group member as the mother activates in the infant. These activated feelings involve struggles with fusion/joining, the experience of both nurturance and frustration, and of love and hate.

Bion linked Klein's (1946) elaboration of the paranoid-schizoid position and the interpersonal dynamics of projective identification to the *basic assumption* group mode of operation for groups with adult members. Bion's theoretical propositions add insight into how groups act the way they do, but also how individuals inside groups are influenced by the group. Bion used this new theory to explain how groups behave as a whole. Bion hypothesized that the group has two modes of operations; he called one mode *work group* or *sophisticated group,* which focuses intently on the group's task and maintains close contact with reality. Bion called the other mode *basic assumption group,* or irrational group mode. This type of group always behaves in some sort of collective psychotic fashion in the sense that the group does not relate to external reality nor does it have a focus on the group's task. Bion argued that basic assumption groups have an underlying will that is unconscious for the group members, and the group members are therefore unaware of what is happening. The basic assumption group mode of operation

is one in which all members in the group share a basic unconscious assumption about the group. Such groups are driven by unconscious processes and do not relate to external reality and thus act as a closed system.

Bion identified three types of basic assumption group modes: *basic assumption of dependence, basic assumption of pairing,* and *basic assumption of fight-flight.* Groups with basic assumption of dependence are seeking an omnipotent leader that will solve all the problems and relieve group members of all anxiety. In this case, the group members identify with the leader and project extraordinary qualities onto the leader, who introjects and gets "filled up" with the projected material. When the "magical" leader fails, the group will attack the leader and a new leader will be sought.

Groups with basic assumption of pairing are frozen, in the sense that the development of the group is hampered by a hope that the group will be rescued by two members who will pair off and create an unborn omnipotent leader that will solve all problems. In this case, the group projects onto a pair that is supposed to create an unborn leader. Finally, groups with basic assumption of fight/flight will behave as if the group's main task is to fight or flee from an enemy that may be within or outside the group. In this case, the group projects its negative material onto the enemy either inside or outside the group. Bion's descriptions of the different types of basic assumption modes help us to understand irrational group behavior.

In group-therapeutic sessions, Bion could see how group members attempted to project attitudes onto him during the therapeutic group sessions (Bion, 1955, 1961). Bion theorized how "projective identification" plays out in basic assumption groups where projective identifications might occur among the team members and how this process

impacts the group in a way that creates a group that is uncontrollable and neurotic. It becomes a place where group members are unaware of what is going on and unconscious that the group seems to have a will of its own.

An important feature of projective identification (Klein, 1946) is that, unlike simple projection, projective identification affects not only the projector, but also the introjector. Projective identification sheds light on the interpersonal and the social process. If, for example, the projector exercises heavy and implicit influence on the introjector to accept the projection, and the projector inhabits the introjector with his or her attitudes, the person projecting the disowned parts ends up powerfully controlling the receiver from within. If the receiver does resist and counter-identifies with the projected material, there will be no introjections and consequently no projective identification will take place.

Bion saw that the concept of projection was immensely useful in order to comprehend group dynamics and basic assumption groups. Bion's and Klein's work have had a tremendous influence on group relations theory.

Research on Tavistock-Inspired Group Relations

Research Inside the Class-Settings

In order to study how conference members or students in their applied practice in real life settings use experiential learning, it is important to distinguish between research inside and outside conference settings. Research inside the conference settings, or immediately after the conference termination, can only gather data about immediate attitudes about the teaching methodology and the learning, however, not about the impact on participants' practices in real life. Research about participants' practices in real life

settings outside the conference and class settings must collect data from participants at some point after the learning has taken place, and research questions need to focus on what participants do in their real life. The literature review will first look at research inside and immediately after conferences, and then look at research that has been collected outside and after the conference and class teaching in order to help us understand the impact of group relations experiential learning on participants' real life application of the learning.

Quantitative research on gender and authority. One meta study that illustrates and investigates authority and gender dynamics in groups is the research conducted by Cytrynbaum and Belkin (2004) who reviewed over a quarter of a century of research on authority and gender in both large and small groups in Tavistock-inspired Group Relations conferences. Most of their studies were carried out at group relations conferences arranged at Northwestern University, in Evanston, Illinois, near Chicago. The findings from these studies were derived from several sources of data, including questionnaires, interviews, video, and audiotapes. Cytrynbaum and Belkin reported few consistent findings because gender and authority dynamics appear to be influenced by a number of complex structural, cultural, and social parameters and methodological issues. The review concluded that gender differences related to authority do make a difference when one looks at each specific situation; however, the group dynamics are too complex to be expressed in general findings. Gender dynamics appear to be highly dependent on context. This confirms the earlier review on the same topic by Cytrynbaum and Hallberg (1993). At the end of this chapter, I will summarize how the literature review, including the review of this study, will help me to reflect upon my research questions. This

particular study did not collect data on how participants apply the learning in real life but about their subjective impression about their own learning. In my view, this increases the importance of my own research questions, which look at group relations application outside the classroom.

Qualitative research using a developmental approach. Silver (2001) used Kegan's (1982, 1994) subject-object developmental interview-based measure, the Subject-Object Interview (SOI), to measure order of consciousness and to associate it with a Tavistock-inspired conference experience. Data was obtained by qualitative interviews. Silver focused on a short-term (three-day) psychoanalytically framed Tavistock conference. Silver developed a set of self-other learning processes based on social constructionism (Gergen, 1994). The study showed a relationship between a participant's order of consciousness and conference experience and learning. What the members learned during the conference varied according to their current order of consciousness.

Martynowych's (2006) study also used the SOI (Kegan, 1982, 1994), but unlike Silver's study, this study's context was not a Tavistock-inspired conference, but self-analytic (SA) groups that were facilitated in a leadership course held at the University of San Diego over a period of two months. Like Silver's study, this study showed a relationship between participant's order of consciousness and conference experience and learning. Kegan describes the third order consciousness, for example, as an individual who is shaped by loyalty to social expectations and local social norms, and therefore has difficulty shifting between multiple roles (Kegan, 1994). In the fourth order of consciousness, the individual is able to step back from the surrounding context, and

eventually generate an internal set of judgments and make choices about external experiences, and can therefore manage to shift between different context-specific roles (Kegan, 1994). Martynowych (2006) found that for the third-order knowers, the challenges in the SA group were the authority vacuum, the intimacy challenge, and internal conflict, and for the fourth-order knowers, the challenges in the SA group were utilizing a systems framework and exercising leadership. All this illustrates that the measured maturity of the members influence their conceptual experience and understanding of the conference, but there is a gap between the participants' narrative experience of the conference and real life application of the learning. A study like this does not inform us about the concrete real life application of the learning.

McCallum (2008) used another measure of development, the SCTi (Cook-Greuter, 2003). The SCTi measures the level of ego development and builds upon the Washington University Sentence Completion Test (WUSCT) (Loevinger & Wessler, 1970; Loevinger, 1976). McCallum found associations between ego developmental level and conference experience, and his findings confirm the studies of Silver and Martynowych in that these three studies strongly suggest that members' conference experiences are dependent on their adult developmental maturity, expressed by order of consciousness (Kegan, 1982, 1994) or ego developmental stage (Loevinger, 1976). Yet there is a weakness in the research approach used by Silver (2001), Martynowych (2006), and McCallum (2008), in that the researchers knew their participants' developmental level prior to analyzing their interview data. This might have biased the researchers' interpretations of participants' accounts of the conference learning. Nevertheless, despite this weakness, these studies still give a strong indication that the developmental maturity

of members influences their learning experience during their participation at the

Tavistock-inspired group relations conferences.

Research with Q-methodology. Lipgar, Bair, and Fitchtner (2004) reviewed

studies that used Q methodology (Brown, 1980) to investigate experiential learning

outcomes in group relations conferences. The researchers made use of a set of Q

statements that represents attitudes, preferences, and opinions about leadership and

authority. Conference members ranked these statements before and after the conference.

The results showed that conference members shifted preferences towards a facilitator role

during the conference. Lipgar et al. (2004) argued that this demonstrated that the Q

methodology was able to capture the impact of experiential learning on the conference

participants.

Getz and Gelb (2007), who studied members at a group relations conference at

University of San Diego by using Q-methodology, obtained a similar result. Using the

Q-methodology, they tested the influence of experiential learning during the conference

before and just after the conference. The result revealed a shift in preferences from a

charismatic leadership style (e.g., inspire and motivate, exude self-confidence, and

demonstrate assertiveness) towards a facilitator-oriented and egalitarian style of

leadership (e.g., ability to tolerate ambiguity, understand how people feel in groups, and

recognize emotional issues affecting the group's work). Q methodology has

demonstrated very promising results for studying how members' leadership style

preferences are influenced by the experiential learning taking place at group relations

conferences. The studies of Getz and Gelb (2007) and Lipgar, Bair, and Fitchtner (2004)

looked at learning that takes place during the conference, while the studies of Silver

(2001), Martynowych (2006), and McCallum (2008) looked at the participants' maturity as a condition for what participants most likely will learn. Cytrynbaum and Belkin (2004) studied the group dynamics that happen inside of the conference itself.

Research Outside the Class-Settings on Real Life Practices

The research most relevant for this study investigates workplace applications of the experiential learning and longitudinal research outside the classroom settings. I will in the subsequent sections review research that looks at members' experiences outside the conference settings and long-term application of the learning in their real lives. This can help to frame my research, which is precisely about investigating the impact of group relations experiential learning on real life practices.

Research at the workplace. Menninger (1975) investigated the organizational impact of 60 employees who participated in the Tavistock-Washington School of psychiatry group relations conferences, one or more times. The purpose of the Menninger study was to describe the impact of Tavistock conferences on the organization's staff, on the groups the staff were working in, and on the administrative structure. The organization studied was the Menninger Foundation, a psychiatric institution and the sample of 60 employees included psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, activity therapists, nurses, aides, teachers and childcare workers. After participation in the conference, several employees in leadership positions challenged their work groups, resulting in positive and exciting changes within those groups, according to participants. A second observation was an increased awareness among employees of a powerful tendency of members of work groups to use individuals both inside and outside the group as targets or depositories for unacceptable feelings and attitudes. A third

observation was that significant personal learning accompanying the conference experience. The fourth and final major observation was that new perceptions and attitudes about authority among the participants were created. For example, participants reported that lower levels of managers tended to scapegoat authority figures to justify failure and to complain about their helplessness.

This study was important because it is one of the few conducted on conference participants' ability to apply conference experiences to real life situations. However, a limitation of the study is the author's failure to thoroughly explain the research method. The paper was based on written summaries of conference attendees supplemented with selected interviews. The author does not explain how many summaries were collected, how many employees were interviewed, and who interviewed them. Unfortunately, the author provides only a few excerpts and quotes from the interviews, and the reader is left with the author's overall interpretation grounded in a data collection design that is not well articulated or explained. Another methodological flaw was that the author was the current director of the Menninger Foundation; this represented a problematic power issue between the researcher and the participants that might have distorted the data and which he failed to address.

Studies on the longitudinal effects of conferences. Some studies have indicated that participants' experiences after the conference might be quite complicated. Errichetti (1992) carried out a qualitative study by using open-ended questions in interviews that prompted narratives of 14 conference participants' experiences shortly after the conference and then three months later. Errichetti found that most members felt it had been a worthwhile learning experience and believed they had gained new ways of

managing groups, including being more assertive and working more independently.

Errichetti also found that some conference members had unpleasant experiences like

inner turmoil, frustration with staff, and anger after the conference, and that these

negative feelings persisted for months after the event. Errichetti suggested that some

participants remained "frozen" in the emotions emerging out of the experiential learning.

Errichetti suggested that the participants needed some reflection time and opportunity for

discussion after the conference event. He suggested it is necessary to help participants

process the experiential learning so that they may get out of the emotional experience and

move toward abstract thinking in order to get more objectivity and to find words to

enable them to describe what they have experienced and learned.

Meisel (1980) reported somewhat similar results. Meisel used open-ended

questions to elicit data about members' conference experience. One group of participants

had attended the conference one year earlier, another group two years earlier and a third

group three years earlier. Altogether, 34 participants were included in the study. The

participants reported that they had learned things such as a better understanding of

authority issues, how to be more assertive, and developed an increased sense of authority.

Interestingly, about half of the participants reported increased learning even years after

the conference experience. Even though a majority of the members had experienced

learning during the conference, negative outcomes were also reported, including

worsening of negative feelings or decreased functionality of behavior, which they

attributed to the conference experience. Meisel's findings support Errichetti's (1992)

contention that deeper processing of emotions and thoughts is necessary for some

participants.

Another problem with this study, as Meisel identified in the data, was that some individuals when reporting on outcomes failed to differentiate between the social structural context of the conference and the social structural context of their own work settings. According to Meisel, these individuals expected the work settings to adhere (to be similar) to the conference structure. They expected that people would respond in similar ways at their own workplace as people did in the conference settings, but social structure and authority relations are different, and therefore they must adapt the learning to the context. Therefore, Meisel recommended that further study should be done on how participants function in the work settings after they return from the conference. Longitudinal studies are necessary in order to understand how the learnings from a group relations conference are applied. This is an interesting research result for my study that will enable me to investigate the learning's impact on its application in real life.

Dierolf (2009) conducted such a longitudinal study with nine K-8 principals who had previously participated in a Group Relations Conference at University of San Diego. She gathered data through individual interviews and analyzed them using a grounded theory approach. She asked participants to describe their learning outcomes, how they applied the learning in their profession lives, and to talk about their perceptions of their learning from the conference experience. Dierolf found that participants' openness affected their ability to apply the learning after the conference. There was highest degree of post conference learning for those who held positive predispositions towards group relations conferences, had read assigned material before entering the conference, and reported being an active participant and highly engaged during the conference.

Summary of Research on Group Relations

Qualitative interviews with open ended questions are able to capture short term and long term experiences and applied techniques. Qualitative methods can collect data on long-term learning applications, but few studies have actually done this. Most qualitative studies have been carried out in the conference settings, investigating participants' attitude and personal opinions towards the learning; however, long-term studies that investigate how participants' apply the learning in real life by interviewing them after a period of time has elapsed after the conferences have not been carried out. In fact, most qualitative studies have been done without any investigation into participants' ability and/or motivation to apply the learning from a conference to their work setting.

Developmental measures (Loevinger, 1976; Kegan, 1982, 1994) are presumable suited to capture how members will tolerate systemic and social complexity and uncertainty (e.g., understand the system and shift between multiple roles), and therefore also the group relations experiential learning. The research in this area tends to confirm that it is effective to use developmental measures that tap into participants' adult ego developmental stage (Loevinger, 1976) and order of consciousness (Kegan, 1982, 1994), and that there is a relation between these measures and the members' experience at the conferences. These measures seem to tap into the individual's degree of complexity of perspective and ability to hold the here-and-now experience with its anxieties, and this seems to be relevant to conference experience. The studies that make use of developmental measures have only looked at attitudes towards the experiential learning and not how conference learning is applied in life practices. The conclusion is that

developmental measures will not give us the narrative descriptions of the concrete

interventions that the participants are actually employing when they apply the learning in

real life. Developmental measures like ego development (WUSCT) and Subject-Object

Interview (SOI) capture students' developmental level (e.g., conformist stage, self-aware

stage, etc.). Developmental level impacts group relations experience and application, but

these measures, in themselves, cannot capture the detailed descriptions of participants'

applied techniques in real life practices. Therefore, these studies do not provide

information about what the participants are doing in their real life application of the

learning since they compare participants' narratives with Kegan and Loevinger's

narrative-definitions of what characterizes each developmental level, and these studies

have a matching process of interview-data and stage-descriptions. These measures must

be combined with qualitative interviews in order to capture the detailed descriptions of

the real life applied techniques, and these techniques must be analyzed analytically based

on analytic theory. Loevinger's developmental theory builds on neo-Freudian

psychology, specifically Erik Erikson and Harry Sullivan, and Kegan's developmental

theories build on Loevinger's, in addition to ego psychology (e.g., Anna Freud and

Margaret Mahler). Neo-Freudian psychology and ego psychology are in many ways

contradictory to Freud's own views because these traditions focus on the individual's

adjustment to society instead of analyzing the ego's conflict with drives (Jacoby, 1997;

Wallerstein 2002). I argue therefore that these theories have less focus on unconscious

processes like displacement and are therefore not optimal to understand unconscious

group processes. This will be discussed in Chapter 5. It is also important to distinguish

between developmental level and tacit knowledge. For example, a person with

substantial tacit knowledge could hypothetically apply the learning in a more skillful way than a person with a higher order of consciousness but with less tacit knowledge. However, there is no research that can confirm this assertion.

Q-methodology can be used to identify the specific changes in members' preferences regarding what constitutes important leadership characteristics, but the method will not capture how conference participants apply their learning in real life. The Q methodology studies reported by Lipgar et al. (2004) show changes in members' understanding of leadership. It cannot be said with certainty whether the members have learned to apply the new knowledge or whether their new preferences or attitudes toward leadership are just explicit knowledge rather than embodied action-based skills, and applied techniques utilized in real life practices. Thus, current research does not indicate with much certainty whether conference participants have learned to apply the knowledge or not, and if it is applied in their lives, how it is applied.

Using gender as a predictive factor for performance output inside the conference settings is not promising. Group behaviors are too complex to be captured by gender differences since too many individual and contextual variables affect learning (Cytrynbaum & Belkin, 2004).

The research by Errichetti (1992) and Meisel (1980) indicates that Tavistock conferences may not only have a short-term emotional effect on the conference member, but also a long-term effect as well. Errichetti and Meisel elicited attitudes about self-learning in their studies. These long-term emotional impacts on conference participants suggest that participants need time to digest, assimilate, and internalize the learning. However, the extent to which participants are able to translate the experiential learning

into action-based skills at their workplace is still unclear. An emotional impact will not necessarily translate to improvement at work. Dierolf's study (2009), which is the most similar study to this work, investigated participants' applied practices several years after the completion of conference experiential learning. Her study partially confirmed Errichetti and Meisel finding that the learning has a long term effect on participants, and it confirmed the idea that students need time to digest the material and learning.

In summary, most studies focus on conference experience during or just after the conference, and these studies focus on the short-term impact and on members' preferences and attitudes towards their own learning. There is little research on the long-term application of skills the conference members might have developed after and outside the conference as a result of the experiential learning. The type of skills would typically be to observe or intervene in group processes, to notice one's own role in groups, to help a person find his or her role and authority in the group and so on. The studies reviewed are important but also limited, because they focus on short-term learning of expressed knowledge and not long-term learning of applied knowledge. The studies include participants' attitudes towards their own learning (e.g., "after the experience learning I feel I can take up my own authority"). How participation in group relations courses influenced the participants' applied and tacit knowledge is less known. An unanswered question is whether participants have adapted insights and techniques from the courses when they apply these in real life contexts – this is the question of this study.

I will now review Lacan's Theory of Signification (2007), which will be used throughout the study. Lacan's theory will be used in three areas. First, it will be used to understand how to elicit different types of knowledge when interviewing participants

(e.g., to ask open-ended questions versus more specific and detailed questions). Second, it will used to conceptualize tacit and explicit learning processes. Thirdly, it will be used to analyze this study's research data. Lacan's theory will later be linked back to this review on current research on group relations. Lacan's theory is helpful to answer my research questions because it will help me to categorize and analyze the various modes of communication the participants are using in the different real life interventions. Group relations learning is a method that uses speech as a tool, and where the discourse type (of the speech) determines how the individuals and groups react to the participants' speech interventions.

Lacan's Theory of Signification

The Saussurian Sign

Throughout his career, Lacan attributed tremendous emphasis to the role of language in psychoanalysis. Structuralist, anthropological, and linguistic traditions influenced Lacan. He was especially inspired by the linguists Ferdinand Saussure and Roman Jakobson, the anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, and the metapsychology of Sigmund Freud. Lacan drew especially upon the semiotic theory developed by Saussure. The field of semiotics is closely related to linguistics, and it is a study of sign processes, signification, metaphor, analogy, and communication using signs and symbols. The central building block of this theory is the *Sign*, which is also the basic unit of language. Lacan drew upon Jakobson's theory on the function of metonymy and metaphor in speech (Bailly, 2009). Based on these influences, Lacan developed the "conception of the Subject as constituted in and through language" (Homer, 2004, p. 34). Throughout Lacan's work, there is a close connection between linguistics and psychoanalysis. That

these two fields are closely related is no surprise when considering that the psychoanalytic therapist uses speech as the only therapeutic tool. Similarly the group relations teaching methodology uses speech in the here-and-now as its most important tool to teach students about unconscious group processes.

According to Saussure, each Sign connects a phonic sound, or more precisely the sound image, which he called the *signifier*, with a concept, which he called the *signified*. Saussure's Sign operates as a bi-directional link between the sound image, which is the "psychological imprint" of the sound (signifier or word-name) and the concept (the meaning). For example, it is not only the phonetic sound of the uttered signifier "teacup" that elicit the sound image, the psychological imprint, but also when someone reads the word "teacup" the same sound image will be evoked. Essential for this idea is that a Sign does not link a name and an object, but a sound image and a concept (idea of the thing). Following the same example, the signified, the concept, is not the 'teacup' in front of you, but the generalized idea of the object. When people are talking about objects, they are not talking about the objects themselves; they are talking about the general conceptions they have about the objects (Bailly, 2009). The Sign is not therefore something that acts as a substitute for the object. It is the conception that is symbolized, and not the object itself (Bailly, 2009). The Sign is therefore a tool to help us symbolize and understand a generalized conception of an object. Saussure's definitions of signifiers and signifieds are analogous with expressions used by Freud in his writings. Freud's *vorstellung* means "ideas of things," which nicely corresponds to Saussure's *signifieds*, and Freud's *vorstellungreprasentanzen*, meaning "representations of the ideas of things," which corresponds to *signifiers* (Bailly, 2009, p.44). John Locke (1854), in his essay, *On*

Human Understanding, first developed the idea that a word signifies a concept and not an object; Saussure builds his work on this idea. Saussure asserted that the signification process was developed by combining the signifier and signified in a mutual relationship in order to produce the linguistic *Sign.* In the Saussurian diagram, there are the two elements, *signifier* and *signified*, that constitute the linguistic Sign. The Sign is represented in Figure 1.

$$\text{Sign} \; = \; \frac{\text{signified}}{\text{signifier}}$$

Figure 1. The Saussurian Sign.

The signified and the signifier are separated by a horizontal line, which is referred to as the *bar*. Above the horizontal line is the concept of an idea, the signified, and below the line an imprint of the *sound image*, the signifier. Saussure's opinion was that the influence between signifier and signified was mutual, like two sides of a coin (Homer, 2004). A Sign is constituted by a dual relationship between that which is signified and that which signifies it, the signifier. The vertical arrows in the diagram indicate the process of signification.

Lacan Rewrites the Saussurian Sign

Lacan was highly influenced by Saussure, building upon his work. Lacan rewrote Saussure's aforementioned diagram of the Sign because he wanted to highlight the supremacy of the signifier in the psyche, which was contrary to Saussure who argued that the relationship between the signifier and signified was governed by a stable and fixed mutuality. In order to illustrate this radical view, the supremacy of the signifier over the signified, Lacan reversed the Saussurian diagram. He turned the diagram upside down to

emphasize that the signifier preceded the signified and that the signified was elusive and below the bar. By doing this, Lacan became distinctly different from most others in the field of semiotics and structuralisms. Lacan expressed the revised Saussurian diagram by using algebraic symbols, where a capital 'S' represented the signifier, and the signifier was placed over a lower case 's' that represented the signified. Lacan utilized symbolic representations to express his conceptualizations. Lacan called such formulas *matheme* (from the Greek). The matheme of Lacan's revision of the Saussurian diagram is shown below:

$$\frac{S}{s} = \frac{signifier}{signified}$$

Figure 2. Lacan's revision of the Saussurian Sign.

In Lacan's matheme the horizontal *bar* separates signifier and signified. Lacan's matheme expresses the idea that meaning is produced when the signifier (S) crosses the bar and attaches itself to the signified(s). This is the act when meaning is produced. The bar in Lacan's formula also expresses the idea that there is a resistance to meaning inherent in language. Because the signifier will never capture the whole meaning, there will always be something that is missing, something that slips away from the demarcation of the signified.

Likewise, in group relations work, the articulations by instructors, meant to describe the here-and-now experiences of the participants of a conference, will never capture the whole meaning. There will always be a part that is not captured by the articulations; there is something missing in the articulations that cannot be symbolized or imagined. Throughout this study, I will discuss the far-reaching leadership implications

of the signifier's supremacy and it will be elaborated especially in the section *The Master*

Signifiers (S₁), later in this Chapter, where the link between Lacan's Theory of

Signification and leadership will be developed further.

The Divided Subject ($)

Freud asserted that the reasoning faculty of mind was the ego, and that the ego

mediates between the unconscious passions and external reality. During his lifetime,

Lacan returned to Freud, to interpret and reform Freud's work. In the 1930s Lacan was

influenced by a work of Jean Paul Sartre entitled *Transcendence of the Ego* (1937), in

which Sartre distinguishes between self-consciousness and the ego. "Sartre's distinction

between subject and the ego paved the way for Lacan's own formulation of the

relationship between Subject and ego" (Homer, 2004, p. 20). Lacan was also inspired by

Hegelian dialectics, which reasoned that conflicting entities form self-consciousness

(Bailly, 2009). Because of this influence, early in his career Lacan endeavored to

"distinguish the ego from the Subject and to elaborate a conception of subjectivity as

divided or 'alienated'" (Homer, 2004, p. 19). In addition to this, Lacan postulated that

the Subject itself was divided: "the idea here originates from Freud's concept of *Spaltung*,

as set forth in his 1938 paper *Die ichspaltung im Abwehrvorgang*, translated into the

Standard Edition as *Splitting of the Ego in the Process of Defense*, but better rendered as

'Splitting of the I'" (Fink, 1997, p. 45). Lacan built on this and hypothesized that the

Subject is constituted in language, and it is language that divides the Subject. The

Lacanian Subject is both separated from the ego and divided between two types of

speeches—the speech of the ego, and the speech of the unconscious.

Lacan developed the concept he named the 'big Other' (i.e., '*l'Autre*' or '*le grand autre*'). In English literature this Lacanian term is referred to as either 'big other' or 'Other' with a capitalized letter. In my research, I will use 'Other' to designate this concept, and the word 'other' will be used in its usual meaning. The Other indicates a radical otherness that comes from language with its entire set of hypotheses and rules, and which is shaped within the Subject. There are almost an endless set of hypotheses and rules that come with the language that humans are forced to introject, and because this has such an impact on the unconscious, Lacan often said: "the unconscious is the discourse of the Other" (Lacan, 2006, p. 16). It follows the lexicon, rules, and grammar of language that are handed down to us over generations. The Other, therefore, has tremendous power, and people are usually not aware of this. Lacan gave the divided Subject the symbol '$' where the 'S' stands for the Subject, and the vertical line through the S stands for the division of the Subject. "The subject is nothing but this very split. Lacan's variously termed "split subject,' 'divided subject,' or 'barred subject'—all written with the same symbol, $—consists entirely in the fact that a speaking being's two 'parts' or avatars share no common ground" (Fink 1997, p. 45).

Group relations and case-in-point's teaching formats focus on the unfolding experiences in the here-and-now, which leads students to get in touch with the division in the Subject. The there-and-then focus in the traditional lecture format classes elicits the "ego–talk." Lecture format teaching addresses and activates the ego of the student, while group relations and case-in-point teaching addresses and activates the Subject of the student. Lacan's separation of the Subject from the ego is therefore highly relevant in the understanding of group relations work. As a result of coming in touch with the here-and-

now, students might realize the tremendous impact that language has on them – the unfamiliarity with their own voice, and how they are alienated in regard to the educational institution and to themselves. This is why it is helpful to link Lacan's psychoanalytic theory to group relations. Students' fear of speaking in group relations settings might be the unconscious fear of letting the divided Subject ($) be exposed with all its inconsistencies, bizarreness and irrationalities. The bizarreness comes from the fact that when the affect is detached from the original signifier, it becomes displaced in classroom settings. This will be discussed further in the subsequent sections.

The Signifying Chain (S₂)

According to Lacan, who is building on Saussure, the speech-act itself, links the Signs together in an unfolding chain, as shown in Figure 3, and this signifying chain forms a larger conceptual meaning

$$\frac{\text{Signifier}}{\text{signified}} \rightarrow \frac{\text{Signifier}}{\text{signified}} \rightarrow \frac{\text{Signifier}}{\text{signified}} \rightarrow \frac{\text{Signifier}}{\text{signified}}$$

Figure 3. The signifying chain (S_2).

The Signs in the signifying chain gain their full meaning through their position in the signifying chain relative to the other Signs. "It is important here to note that meaning is given by *the association of signifiers in a signifying chain*. The simple association of signifier with signified is far less important" (Bailly, 2009, p. 46). Lacan emphasized the associative relationship among the signifiers as more essential to therapy than the relationship between signifier and their signified for each individual Sign. This is especially important in the analytic session, where the analyst particularly pays attention

to the total system of signifiers in the chain and the role particular Signs play in speech in relationship to other Signs. Lacan asserted that it is only the signifier that can be repressed, and that the signified cannot be repressed. "For Lacan, there are no signifieds in the unconscious, only signifiers" (Bailly, 2009, p. 48). Lacan concluded also that when signifiers are repressed, the affect detaches from the signifier and usually reattaches to another "convenient" signifier or signifiers that are not repressed and can serve as an "acceptable" stand in for the repressed signifier. The affects are displaced from their original source to a conscious "stand in" or "cover up" signifier or particular signifying chain, representing someone or something else more acceptable than the original signifier. A person exposed to a traumatic event, which creates an unbearable affect, might repress the combination of signifiers (sound images), related to the traumatic event into the unconscious. The affect, the anxiety, detached from its original signifiers, freely floating around in the conscious psyche, then re-attaches itself to other signifiers. A signifying chain shaped by the unconscious governs the reattachment of repressed signifiers. This is the logics behind one of Lacan most important postulation: "the unconscious is structured like a language" (Lacan, 1999, p. 48).Once the signifying chain has been identified and brought into consciousness, for example by the work in therapy sessions, the re-attachment of the affect and its original signified meaning can be traced back to the original signifiers.

For example, in the group relations context, a participant talks about how important compassion is in her life, but her voice, in fact, may be coming from a place of anger. The affect has been disconnected from its original source, and reconnected to something more appropriate and supported by cultural norms. In group relations, the

student might attach and displace the affect to some other "stand in" signifier that is available. The new conscious and more bearable signifying chain in conscious makes up a narrative that functions as a "cover story" for the original traumatic event. This is how displacement was defined by Lacan (2006) building on Freud's analysis of displacement in *Interpretation of Dreams* (1913).

Let us now look at how Lacan's Theory of Signification can be applied to the unfolding group processes in the here-and-now. In group relations settings, *the* object is not something physical and permanent, like a teacup in our previous example, but a temporary unfolding group-dynamic event, which unfolds regardless of whether the conference members have a label or a concept associated with it or not. The signifier or a signifying chain (a combination of signifiers, a term or a phrase) can symbolize a group relations event. The signified is the idea or concept of the event. A student who is not given any appropriate signifier or signifying chain to label the group dynamic event, will most likely not be able to develop a signified, a concept, for it. The event would most likely not be symbolized, and it would therefore not emerge in the student's conscious, and the student would not have any awareness or understanding of what was going on in the group. There are three elements in the signification process: (1) the signifier, the symbolic label, (2) the signified, the imaginary concept of the experience, and (3) the object, the unfolding group event, which includes both the external group relations event, and the internal emotional experience to the participant. In group relations and case-in-point teaching methodologies, the students are receiving the aforementioned elements (1) the signifiers and (3) the object, simultaneously. More precisely, the students receive the instructors' and other students' articulations, the signifiers, and the unfolding group

dynamic event, the object. The essential pedagogical point of the group relations and case-in-point teaching methodology is to provide these two elements simultaneously to the students, the signifiers with a here-and-now focus together with the group dynamic event. This makes it possible for the students to develop (3) signifieds, the concept of the here-and-now experience. As a conclusion, and in accordance with Lacan, the signifier precedes the signified in group relations learning. For example, novice students usually need time to develop the signifieds, which correspond to the signifier "here-and-now," which is a rather difficult signifier to grasp for students. The students can memorize the signifier "here-and-now" but there will not be any meaningful signifieds, connected to it. When "the I" refers to "the me," "the I" automatically refers to the past (e.g., I grew up in California, I am a teacher). This is the standard way of speaking of one's self, but when a person speaks in the "here-and-now," the "I" must refer to what the "I" is saying right in the moment as it speaks, so who is then speaking? It is the unconscious that drives the speech; in group relations it is known as speaking in the "here-and-now." There is no good description of this in mainstream language; therefore, there exists no signified for it in mainstream language. In group relations classroom situations, over time, the students are able to develop signifieds that can be linked to the signifiers by simultaneously associating the observed unfolding group event This is only possible when the instructor and more experienced peers, from time-to-time, point out, which articulations by students have a here-and-now focus, and which articulations do not. This helps the student to develop a conceptual understanding, the signified, and to connect it to the signifier "here-and-now." It would be nearby impossible to teach this in lecture format classes because the participants cannot receive the optimal conceptual explanation of "here-and-now"

through readings or lectures. The participants need to experience this in conference

situations. For example, when a conference participant unconsciously takes the role of

speaking on behalf of the group, somebody with more experience might point this out by

using the short phrase (chain of signifiers), "speaking on behalf of the group," which has

a conceptual meaning (signifieds) of the complex unfolding event. When someone

names the unfolding event, the participants get a unique opportunity to understand the

meaning (signifieds) of the short phrase, "speaking on behalf of the group."

Object Cause of Desire (a)

One of Lacan's greatest contributions to psychoanalytic theory is the concept of

the *Object cause of desire (a)*. It is also sometimes called the *unattainable object of*

desire, *Object small-a*, or just *Object a*. The algebraic sign "a" defines it. The Object

cause of desire is not what humans' desire, nor what people are looking for, but it is a

"lack" of something, which activates our desire. It sets our desire in motion (Žižek,

1989). Freud and Lacan introduced the concepts of need, demand, and desire to the field

of psychoanalysis and they are often confused. Need is a simple concept to explain. It is

a realistic request that can be fulfilled by the one who receives the request. Needs are

typically physiological demands that may be temporarily satisfied, such as hunger, cold,

and shelter (Hill, 1999). In contrast to need, and according to Lacan, demand is

something that cannot be fulfilled by another. When the person who made the demand

realizes that the other person will not fulfill the demand, the realization will give rise to a

desire that is independent from the demand. Desire appears in the gap, which is the

object cause of desire (a), where the demand is separated from the regular need. Desire is

caused by impossible demands, and leads individuals to discover their own desire, which

helps them to find out what they want to pursue in life. For example, when an undergraduate student realizes after many attempts that the group relations instructor, as an authority figure, does not give the answers and confirmations she wants, the student will, at some point, give up trying to search for answers and affirmation from the teacher. Instead of being what the teacher wants, the student can now search for her own answers and develop her own genuine interests and desires that are independent from what the student earlier thought the teacher wanted from her.

I will now look at the concept of master signifier, and its function to compensate for the lack-of-wholeness caused by unfulfilled desires. Master signifiers give the appearance of having wholeness of meaning, but it is a failed attempt, and this has consequences for leadership theories.

Master Signifier (S_1)

The master signifiers (S_1) form the basic structure of the human Subject. Lacan emphasized that master signifiers anchor our signification from the imaginary realm, and he called master signifiers our "button ties," which uphold, and fixate meaning. The master signifier (S_2) is linked to a signifying chain (S_2). The same master signifier can be associated with competing signifying chains (S_2) held by different people. Master signifiers function as identity bearers that uphold and protect our familial, racial, sexual, ethnic, or national identity (e.g., "white," "gay," "Latino"). An example of someone rejecting or misrecognizing an identity-bearing master signifier could be calling a man a woman, or mistakenly referring to an Asian person as being white; this creates distrust and aversion since one's identity has not been respected. Lacan says that the master signifier is very important for the self-identity of the Subject. It is important for the

Subject to express an identity that the Subject itself can recognize, and that can be

recognized by others (Lacan, 2006). "Master signifiers arise from the urge to master

myself by being myself to myself, to have an identity in which I can recognize myself

and be encountered and recognized by others" (Bracher, 1993, p. 24). The result of this

yearning for an identity is several master signifiers that form the fundamental structure of

our Ego Ideal (Bracher, 1993; Sharpe & Boucher, 2010). In various contexts, the Subject

usually repeats its central master signifiers continuously; it appears that the Subject

repeats these words as a form of self-expression. For example, in group relations

settings, a black man might speak on behalf of other black men, referring to the identity

bearing master signifiers (S_1) "black" and "man," while doing this, he is mastering

himself, and he is mastering his own identity. For example, a black man making social

references to black music or black political leaders strengthens his own black identity.

Identity is a reflexive process; it must be reflected back from the other in order to put into

force its identity bearing meaning (Bailly, 2009). In the group relations classroom, if the

others do not acknowledge and reflect his identity bearing master signifiers (S_1), tension

in the group might arise. The master signifier refers to itself as itself (e.g., boys are

boys). When the master signifier (S_1) is reflected into itself, a gap occurs, a "lack" that is

effectuated by the master signifier's self-reflection. For example, when one really wants

to point out the particularity that is almost impossible to explain, one simply says, "You

know Joe, he is who he is, Joe is Joe." This self-reflexivity produces the master

signifier's identity bearing meaning, which Lacan also called the object cause of desire

(a). It is the unidentifiable and unobtainable object cause of desire (a) that makes the

master signifiers identity shaping, unifying, arousing desire, and at the same time

misleading for the Subject and for the group. People need master signifiers (S_1) (e.g., 'our nation,' 'freedom') to unify people with opposing values. The master signifier makes us become aware of the lack that makes us search for something more, the good-yet-to-come. The master signifier tends to develop a lack in those who identify with it, and it promises to fulfill the lack and give us a sense of completeness by communicating the good-yet-to-come. If some people already have a lack, the master signifier will remind them about the lack and maintain or increase it; however, if they do not have a lack in the first place the master signifier might convince them that they have such a lack. The possibility of this is an illusion because the master signifier will at best fill our psychological lack only partially and temporarily. Possibly, the master signifier contains disavowal in different forms because it can have an underside of its opposite (Bailly, 2009, p. 61). For example, leaders of an organization may frequently say that their organization nurtures a culture of diversity and inclusion. The leaders may frequently use terms like "culture of inclusion," "inclusive people," and "inclusiveness as organizational value." However, the frequently mentioned master signifier "inclusion" might also contain the underside of the opposite, competition, envy, and exclusion.

Laclau asserted that the master signifier has been deprived or "emptied" of any particular and unique meaning, but links particular meanings and non-congruent particular elements together to appropriately define concepts according to the context (1996, p. 40). Lacan said that master signifiers have no signified—no specific conceptual meaning. The master signifier "no longer signifies a particular phenomenon but can articulate different elements, to which it stands in relations and becomes the privileged

nodal point that bonds these particular points into a discursive formation" (Gunder &
Hillier, 2009, p. 3).

The master signifier has implications for leadership. Heifetz points out how
contemporaneous leadership theories claim to be value neutral, but in fact contain
"hidden values" (1994, p. 16). The hypothesis is that endeavoring to express "value
neutrality," academics tend to believe that their work appears more objective and
scientific if neutral values are expressed. Heifetz finds this to be problematic and even
discusses whether abandoning the term "leadership" altogether would be beneficial. He
is concerned that value implications in leadership theories today are unaddressed:

> The problem emerges when we communicate and model these descriptions as
> 'leadership' because 'leadership' in many cultures is a normative idea—it
> represents a set of orienting values, as do words like 'hero' and 'champion.' If we
> leave the value implications of our teaching and practice unaddressed, we
> encourage people, perhaps unwittingly, to aspire to great influence or high office,
> regardless of what they do there. We would be on safer ground were we to
> discard the loaded term leadership altogether and simply describe the dynamics of
> prominence, power, influence, and historical causation. (Heifetz, 1994, p. 18-9)

Heifetz asserts that "leadership" is a loaded term, and his assessment of leadership
theories is in line with the notion of the Lacanian master signifier's (S_1) characteristics.
The very term "leadership" is a master signifier because its signified cannot be pinned
down. The master signifier, "leadership," does not refer to any specific and particular
concept and its own name "leadership" alludes to something promising and good yet-to-
come. When leadership theories take on the appearance of being value-free and good for
all, leadership takes on the unifying and promising features of a master signifier. Rather
than having a conceptual stand-alone meaning, the term "leadership," becomes a nodal
point that interlinks to a range of different and opposing meanings. For example, in the

Contingency Theories of Leadership the master signifier "leadership" is associated with

knowledge ordinary signifiers (S_2), such as "there is no best way," "adapt to

environmental circumstances," and "style of leadership depends on context," just to

mention a few chains or phrases used in that theory. Comparing these with the sets of

chains linked to *Servant Leadership*, such as "good stewards," "community builders,"

"servant as leader," "developing your colleagues," and "changing the pyramid," this

shows there are meaning differences and value differences. This illustrates how

divergent sets of systemic knowledge chains (S_2) can be associated with the same master

signifier (S_1) "leadership." Leadership must be defined with accuracy in order for us to

understand what leadership means, but if it were defined in detail, only one specific

version of leadership would be given, excluding, all other leadership theories.

Nevertheless, leadership can't be explained fully by such leadership properties of

ordinary signifiers (S_2), because regardless of leadership theory, "we need great

leadership," it exists as a mythical property independent of its regular features defined by

knowledge ordinary signifiers (S_2). It is in a self-reflexive manner referring to itself as

itself to produce the lack, the identity-shaping notion that makes it a master signifier.

Let us look at an example relevant to leadership. Consider the master signifier

termed "sustainability." The historical source of the term "sustainability" is that it was

coined by the Brundtland Commission, formally known as World Commission on

Environment and Development (WCED). The commission advocated concurrent pursuit

of economic growth, environmental quality, and social equity, widely known as the triple

bottom line. This triple bottom line offered the seductive possibility of having economic

growth and environmental protection at the same time (Jordan, 2008). For one group of

people, the master signifier "sustainability" refers to economic sustainability, attributing the highest priority to economic growth, while for another group of people, it refers to sustainable ecology, attributing the highest priority to ecology. The inherent conflict is obvious since constant economic growth and protection of the ecology can arguably not co-exist. The master signifier "sustainability" covers up the inherent contradiction. There is a link from the master signifier "sustainability" to the signifying chain "sustainable development is based on economic growth." Consequently, the term "sustainability" can be used to advocate increased consumption and expansion of free markets, with the result being that environmental destruction increases faster than before. Therefore, in order for the master signifier to effectuate its power, a certain attitude of "non-knowledge" by its recipients is required (Žižek, 1989, p. 21). For example, "I don't want to know the whole story – make it simple." Only by embracing certain non-knowledge can the master signifiers be fully endorsed.

The concept of master signifiers is relevant to leadership theories because it is important for anyone who intends to exercise leadership to see behind the possible master signifiers that are used in leadership discourse today (e.g., "leadership," "sustainability"). In the next section, I will go through Lacan's Theory of the Four Discourses in order to show that the best way to uncover master signifiers in "leadership-talk" is to engage in the Analytic discourse, which uncovers the hidden master signifiers (S_1), and in the Hysteric discourse, which reveals the signifying chains (S_2), the ordinary knowledge signifiers that are attached to the master signifier (S_1).

Lacan's Four Discourses

Lacan used the word 'discourse' to emphasize the inter-subjective nature of language. In human interaction, Lacan noticed that the formation of the underpinning structures of a discourse depends on how the dominant agency in the particular discourse uses its capacity to shape the inter-personal communication. In group relations conferences, it is often observed that without the group being consciously aware of it, some member takes up a dominant agency, and someone is given a certain role because some member in the group has addressed other members in a certain way. What type of discourse emerges depends on what psychic elements are active in the members. These discourses might be identified by utilizing Lacan's discourse theory to provide a better understanding of group relations processes. Lacan's discourses are expressed through a matheme, as shown in Figure 4.

$$\uparrow \frac{\text{the agent}}{\text{truth}} \overset{\text{speaker}}{\longrightarrow} \overset{\text{receiver}}{\frac{\text{the other/work}}{\text{production/loss}}} \downarrow$$
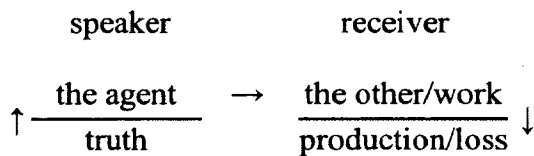
Figure 4. The matheme four discourses with four fixed positions.

The matheme illustrates how the dominant act of speaking is directed from the speaking 'agent' towards the receiver, the 'other.' The speech act creates an effect in the 'other' that leads the other to do some largely unconscious mental work-process, which leads to a production of something. The type of discourse that develops is dependent on which psychic element (i.e., S_1, S_2, \$, a, see these elements described below) is located in the dominant position of the 'agent.' What is produced is dependent on what is induced in

the receiver when the articulation from the agent is received. The production is hidden

(beneath) from the other and from the idea that there is an underlying truth of the

individual's unconscious that drives the agent to speak. The vertical arrow from the

other, pointing downwards to production, illustrates that the element in the other position

is doing work that results in the production in the lower right position. The vertical arrow

pointing upwards from the truth towards the agent illustrates the underlying drive that

makes the agent address the other. The agent has little or no awareness of this underlying

'truth,' the drive that influences her or him to speak and to address the other. The

dynamic described here will also develop in group relations conferences. Who will take

up the agency of the group, what are the hidden master signifiers that lead the "agent" to

speak, who are the "other" that will be addressed that will carry out the "work" on behalf

of the group, and what will the work "produce"? The discourse theory is relevant for

group relations because it is able to describe how different types of speech (mode of

communication or discourse) from one individual (the agent) can impact the other

members(s) of the group (receivers) and how there will be different mental unconscious

outcomes in the other members(s), depending on the mode of communication that was

used.

Lacan's discourse theory is built upon the idea that interpersonal speech acts

constitute four recurrent structural elements. In each discourse an element takes the role

of the dominant agent that speaks, and this element forms a relationship with the three

other elements. These elements have been described earlier in this chapter. The four

elements are:

S_1 – the master signifier

S_2 – the signifying chain – systemic knowledge

$ – the divided subject

a – the object cause of desire

These elements are: the identity-shaping master signifier (S_1) that gives us

stability in our conceptual symbolic world; the signifying chain (S_2), a set of explanatory

narratives and systemic knowledge that confirm our taken-for-granted master signifiers;

the split Subject ($) that is divided by language; and the unattainable object cause of

desire (a) that sets our desires in motion. Each discourse is the outcome of rotating these

elements a quarter turn, while the 'agent' is the dominant element that determines and

activates the discourse.

Discourse of the Master   Discourse of the University

$$\frac{S_1}{\$} \rightarrow \frac{S_2}{a} \qquad\qquad \frac{S_2}{S_1} \rightarrow \frac{a}{\$}$$

Discourse of the Analyst   Discourse of the Hysteric

$$\frac{a}{S_2} \rightarrow \frac{\$}{S_1} \qquad\qquad \frac{\$}{a} \rightarrow \frac{S_1}{S_2}$$

Figure 5. The four discourses.

When people interact as speakers, they interchangeably deploy all of these four

discourses in our interactions; thus, they are "slipping from one discourse to another as

the four structural elements slip into four different relationships with each other, though

with particular discourse formations tending to dominate in specific roles" (Gunder &

Hillier, 2010, p. 121). This goes on all the time in group relations learning and students

learn to interpret it as it unfolds in the here-and-now. The group relations and case-in-

point teaching methodologies discussed in this study have a discourse mode that corresponds to Lacan's discourse of the Analytic, while the standard traditional lecture format teaching method corresponds to the discourse of the University. I will now go through the four discourses one by one.

Master Discourse

Lacan's first and most basic discourse is the discourse of the Master in which the master signifier (S_1) addresses and gives order to the signifying chain of knowledge (S_2). The split Subject ($) lies hidden beneath the master.

The Master Discourse

$$\uparrow \ \frac{S_1}{\$} \ \rightarrow \ \frac{S_2}{a} \ \downarrow$$

Figure 6. Master Discourse.

The master signifier (S_1), in the commanding position of the agent, addresses the slave, represented by practical knowledge (S_2) in the position of the other, the worker. It is essential to notice that "the Master is addressing the other not as a Subject but in his/her functional role because of his/her ability or knowledge (as a servant, soldier, artisan, etc.)" (Bailly, 2009, p. 157). The master is commanding the slave to work and the slave is slaving away for the master. The master needs the slave because the slave has the know-how (S_2) to carry out the work. The slave does learn something in the process of carrying out the work, and the type of knowledge the slave comes to embody is knowledge as know-how, as expertise, or as practical or tacit knowledge, represented here by S_2. The master does not really take an interest in the knowledge the slave possesses, but rather in the result of the slave's work, the production. What the master is

concerned about is that everything works and that he or she remains in power (Fink,

1997). The masters see themselves as indisputable authorities and do not feel that it is

necessary to seek any justification for being the master. The master simply knows,

without grounds or reasons. The master is concerned with certainty; knowledge in itself

is less important.

Borrowing from Marxist economics, Lacan, in the Master discourse, associated

the slave's production with the surplus value. The surplus value is what the slave is able

to produce and Lacan equated the surplus value with the unattainable object cause of

desire (a), which is something that is persistently pursued, while in actuality it could

never be obtained. The masters are unaware of their own divided Subject ($) and are

unconscious of their own desires and the actual reasons for asserting their master

signifiers (Gunner & Hillier, 2009). To make this work "the other has to sustain the

master in his illusion that he is the one with the knowledge . . . the pupils or residents,

citizens, etc., make the master" (Verhaeghe, 2001, p. 27). For example, in group

relations, the group members might unconsciously allow one member to take up the

master role so they all can have the illusion that this member will give them clear answers

and solve all problems, even though this member has little interest in knowledge. This

situation is quite similar to Bion's basic assumption of dependence for a group, where the

group recruits a member to become the leader that will solve all problems, for the group.

The group members voluntarily submit themselves to this leader and becoming slaves of

the leader, while the leader continues to stay in the illusion of being omnipotent.

University Discourse

The University discourse is created by a quarter turn counterclockwise of the

discourse of the master, where the "systematic knowledge" (S_2) replaces the master

signifier (S_1) in the commanding position:

The University Discourse

$$\uparrow \; \frac{S_2}{S_1} \; \xrightarrow{} \; \frac{a}{\$} \; \downarrow$$

Figure 7. University Discourse.

The University discourse as a communication system is typical to any institution,

such as corporations, professions, and governmental organizations where systemic

knowledge (S_2), with the hidden master signifiers (S_1) beneath, addresses and persuades

the other's desire (a). The University discourse attempts to produce apparently "neutral"

type of knowledge and to address it to the other, but there are concealed acts of

domination of the other to whom this type of knowledge is transferred. It is important to

note that the University discourse does not necessarily refer to the discourse in academia.

University discourse, in general, illustrates the performance of institutions and of the

individuals who embody their institutions. Nevertheless, there might be some academic

departments that promote the University discourse. Academic departments which

develop this type of discourse communicate their so-called scientific knowledge (S_2)

without being aware of the hidden master signifiers (S_1) beneath it. It is not the academic

knowledge (S_2), but the institutions' master signifiers (S_1) that drive the desires of the

student (Bailly, 2009). Beneath the embodiment of knowledge, is the hidden truth, the

master signifiers (S_1) of the institution, which may be 'honored,' 'reputable,' 'glorious,' or

'famed.' A professor who employs a University discourse does not claim that the established scientific knowledge (S_2) is his/her own, but speaks on behalf of the body of scientific knowledge, addresses not the Subject of the student but the "lack" or the object cause of desire (a) of the student. The student believes that by receiving highly valuable knowledge (S_2) that this will fill the "lack" and make him or her feel complete, but this knowledge system (S_2) just increases the lack and produces more division ($) in the student and makes the student more alienated. This underlines the importance of distinguishing between knowledge and truth; these two elements occupy different locations in the matheme.

The traditional lecture format teaching methodology utilized at most universities in the Western world today corresponds to the University discourse. Students attending class will be passive receivers of systemic knowledge (S_2) that comprises a body of academic and expert knowledge for the discipline. By receiving the knowledge, the students are eventually transformed into experts (S_2) in the field they are studying. "Yet, as students gradually acquire the identifications of professional practitioners they become alienated [$] from their own original desires [a] and beliefs and are eventually obligated to reproduce and reinforce and apply their received knowledge [S_2] and practices on the public" (Gunder & Hiller, 2009, p. 105).

To integrate group relations and case-in-point teaching methodologies in school is then an alternative to break this routine of indoctrination of systemic knowledge. However, group relations students might resist this because they expect the teachers shall fill their "lack" (a) with systemic knowledge (S_2), having the hope that they do not have to do the work themselves. The work the student might want to avoid is the work of

producing one's own master signifiers (S₁), by letting one's divided Subject ($) do the

work, and by taking the position of the 'other' in the Analytic discourse. The student

might also want to avoid addressing the other's master signifiers by taking the 'agent'

position in the Hysteric discourse, which will be described in next section. Both the

Analytic and the Hysteric discourses are activated in group relations and case-in-point

teaching methodologies.

Hysteric Discourse

People can engage in the discourse of the hysteric without being ill in a clinical

sense. Lacan emphasized that the Hysteric discourse in non-hysterical people is precisely

the discourse that leads to true learning.

The Hysteric Discourse

$$\uparrow \frac{\$}{a} \rightarrow \frac{S_1}{S_2} \downarrow$$

Figure 8. Hysteric Discourse.

The divided Subject of the hysteric ($) is in the dominant position and targets the

master signifier (S₁) by his or her questions. It requires the master (S₁) to demonstrate

and substantiate his or her master signifiers (S₁) by providing important systematic

knowledge (S₂) (Fink, 1997). The master signifier (S₁) is forced to respond to the

Subject's ($) dissatisfaction. The hysteric gets satisfaction by knowledge (S₂) produced

by the master (S₁). This satisfying enjoyment is largely unconscious for the hysteric:

driven by the enjoyment of dissatisfaction of which the hysteric is unaware since the

object cause of desire (a) is hidden beneath in the position of truth for the speaking agent.

This discourse is one of disapproval, complaint, and resistance, and is by its nature a

discourse of objection (Fink, 1997). "Moreover, this is also the discourse of the questioning academic, student, spatial planner, or resident seeking the production and assurance of new knowledge (S_2). It corresponds to the question always arising from students in class: 'But what about ...?'" (Gunder & Hillier, 2009, p. 124). This never-ending questioning is important for development and progress in society, "Historically speaking, hysterics have been a true motor force behind the medical, psychiatric, and psychoanalytic elaboration of theories concerning hysteria" (Fink, 1997, p. 134). The hysteric's attitude has been important to developing knowledge and science in academia. Interestingly, the hysteric's intense challenging of master signifiers (S_1) leads to knowledge (S_2), and it is not the desire for knowledge (S_2) that leads to knowledge (S_2). The Hysteric discourse is therefore essential when it comes to knowledge production:

> We suggest that the Hysteric's discourse is to be taken seriously. It is the discourse from which ethical enquiry, challenge for change, and the potential for creativity may arise. It is a discourse that should be actively encouraged, for it is necessary to develop the passionate, reflective, adaptable, creative and ethical. (Gunder & Hillier, 2009, p. 125)

This is also why the Hysteric discourse is important for leadership, because more often than not, a person that exercises leadership needs to challenge the master signifiers (S_1), which are taken for granted, and produce knowledge (S_2) about the master signifiers (S_1). Unfortunately, leaders might think they look weak or insecure if they were to take the hysteric role and therefore, may avoid excessive inquiry and instead try to cover up with concealed master signifiers (S_1) or with systemic expert knowledge (S_2). For

example, when the researcher in this study activates the discourse of the Hysteric, and

addresses the master signifiers (S_1) of the participants, the participants produce the

signifying chains (S_2), the systemic expert knowledge. This technique is used in the data

collection phase of this study and will be further explained in Chapter 3.

Analytic Discourse

The Analytic discourse is formed by a quarter turn clockwise of the Hysteric

discourse. This turn, as the inverse of the Master discourse highlights the fact that for

Lacan psychoanalysis fundamentally undermines the dominance of the Master discourse

(Evans, 2003, p. 45).

The Analytic Discourse

$$\uparrow \ \frac{a}{S_2} \ \rightarrow \ \frac{\$}{S_1} \ \downarrow$$

Figure 9. Analytic Discourse.

The analyst directs attention to the master signifiers (S_1) that are produced in the

course of analysis and helps to connect them with the knowledge (S_2) (Fink, 1997). The

analyst continuously interrogates the Subject about its contradictory split ($\$$) between

conscious and unconscious; for instance, addressing the Subject's slip of the tongue, the

analyst signals repressed unconscious master signifiers. The analyst's task is to disclose

the 'truth' (S_2) about the Subject's dividedness, in order to bring those master signifiers

(S_1) into relation with conscious signifiers and in this way neutralize the master signifiers

(Fink, 1997). The knowledge (S_2) about the analysand's unconscious (S_1) is concealed

under the analyst, and although the analyst is the 'subject who is supposed to know' it is

up to the analysand to discover the knowledge of its own desire through its master

signifier (S_1). Lacan suggested that faculty can 'produce' hysteric students by letting them into the Analytic discourse: "This [Hysteric] discourse is that which points the way towards knowledge" (Evans, 2003, p. 46). Because, it is the Hysteric discourse intense questioning of the master signifier (S_1) that produces the knowledge chain (S_2), and it is not the University discourse (traditional lecture format) that produces systemic knowledge (S_2), as many might believe. The University discourse produces alienation in the students ($\$$), and this is why students often disidentify with technical lectures. For example, I argue, standardized testing at schools, which is a pure University discourse, will create alienated students. This is why the Analytic discourse, like group relations, is so important in educational institutions. Educational institutions that take on the Analytic discourse as a teaching methodology, can 'hystericize' students in order to question the master signifiers (S_1) of established knowledge (S_2) and by this, become true seekers of knowledge (S_2) and not only of status-oriented master signifiers (S_1). Otherwise the students would behave like passive recipients of knowledge (S_2), as they would in the traditional lecture teaching format classes. The reason is that teachers that teach pure University discourse and claim they are just representatives of neutral scientific knowledge (S_2), which is often not true, in fact, conceal the master signifiers (S_1) that are hidden beneath the scientific neutral knowledge (S_2), and these hidden master signifiers feed into students' unconscious. The students believe that they want knowledge (S_2), but this is often not true; what they want is the hidden master signifiers (e.g., Columbia, Harvard, PhD, professor), but what they get is alienation to their own self ($\$$).

The group relations and case-in-point teaching methodologies have a discourse mode that corresponds to Lacan's discourse of the Analytic. The conference instructor,

the agent, takes the role as the object cause of desire (a), addressing the divided Subject

($) of the conference members. The members or students are directed to speak in the

here-and-now (vs. there-and-then) which leads them to reveal the division ($) in

themselves and in others caused by language. The articulation in the here-and-now by

the group relations instructors and more experienced members activates the production of

the master signifiers (S_1) of the members or the group. From the perspective of Bionian

(1961) theory, producing and surfacing the group's shared and unconscious master

signifiers (S_1) in the Analytic discourse would be to move the group from basic

assumption mode to work group mode, disclosing the shared and unconscious basic

assumption of the group, the master signifier (S_1). Similarly, reading Heifetz through

Lacan, the purpose of adaptive work would be to surface the master signifiers (S_1), by

orchestrating conflict and finding the deep-rooted master signifiers (S_1), with their

associated signifying chains (S_2). Bion's basic assumption group, or work avoidance,

occurs when a search for these hidden master signifiers (S_1) and their corresponding

chains (S_2), are ignored and remain unconscious for the group.

The Analytic and Hysteric discourses are highly relevant when conducting

research interviews or facilitating research groups. For example, when the researcher

activates the discourse of the Analytic and addresses the interviewee's divided Subject

($), the interviewee potentially produces his or her unconscious master signifiers (S_1)

which reveal the interviewee's deeper experiences, identity issues, and potentially taken

for granted values. During the data collection phase of this study, the researcher

sometimes took the role as Analyst (i.e., asking open-ended questions, taking time to

pause) and other times, as the Hysteric (i.e., more intense inquiry, 'endless series of

questions'). Both the Analytic and Hysteric discourses were used in this research in order to collect data, seen in Chapter 3. I have now described the four discourses that help to explain the four fundamental, different ways of social communication, and I will now move to contemporary political theory, sociology, and critical theory in order to provide a contextual understanding, and to describe the dominant trends in today's contemporary postmodern view of identity and its dominant socio-normative discourses. The reason this is important is that in order to understand how group relations leadership learning impacts participants' application in real life, we need to understand the larger social background and mainstream use of language in society, in which the participants operate. To understand better the quality if the participants' interventions, we must also understand the dominant socio-normative trends of language within which the society operates.

The Culturalization of Politics

Wendy Brown (2008) has critiqued the liberal notion of multicultural tolerance, where the main virtue is to tolerate people, customs, and cultures that are different from one's own, and where the concept of tolerance is used as a political argument to make the society better and more humane. She discussed the distinctive character of the discourse of tolerance in contemporaneous civic and pedagogical culture. Brown discussed reasons why so many of today's problems are framed as problems of intolerance as opposed to problems of exploitation, injustice, or inequality. According to Brown, since the mid-1980s, she has seen an increase in tolerance talk instead of political struggle, and increasingly, problems are perceived as caused by intolerance. People would not have categorized these problems as problems of intolerance 30 or 40 years ago. In the late

twentieth century, there was a shift in public discourse, and it is worth inquiring into its causes. Brown argued that the discourse of tolerance has emerged because multiculturalism has become exceptionally important for a liberal democratic citizenship. Brown called this shift in public discourse 'the culturalization of politics' and defined it as a discourse in which political problems are stripped of content including socio-economic issues, which are reframed into cultural problems, that cultural problems are amenable to solution through tolerance. In other words, this shift neutralizes politics and retains cultural problems as the remnant. This is what Samuel Huntington (1996) articulated through his famous book "Clash of Civilizations," written after the end of the cold war era. He said that political and economic conflicts were now reduced to cultural conflict. The fall of the iron curtain had proven that the market economy was the best economic system; all that remained to be solved were cultural conflicts.

Brown defined political problems as problems related to economy, colonialism, capital, exploitation, caste or class stratification, states, history, and international and transnational relations. Brown asserted that typical political problems that require political analysis and solutions are problems as such as inequality, subordination, marginalization, workers' rights, and social conflict. For example, tolerance is customarily used to reframe a political problem of inequality or social injury into a problem of prejudice. In Brown's view, tolerance discourse simplifies and transfers complex political debates into conflicts between identities, and presents inborn ethnic, religious, and cultural beliefs, and differences between groups as the deep-rooted source of conflict. Brown observes that identity politics follow a standard and implicit rule, one in which no one can criticize the functioning of the capitalist system. Brown is asking

the question, whether there is something inherent in the liberal discourse that prevents us from dealing with the economic system and class issues that underpins the totality of society:

> To what extent do identity politics require a standard internal to existing society against which to pitch their claims, a standard that not only preserves capitalism from critique, but sustains the invisibility and inarticulateness of class—not incidentally, but endemically? Could we have stumbled upon one reason why class is invariably named but rarely theorized or developed in the multiculturalist mantra, race, class, gender, sexuality? (Brown, 1995, p. 61)

Alain Badiou (2001) has observed the same phenomenon in Europe as Brown in the U.S. He argues that there is a general tendency in which the public discourse the term "class" is rarely used alone unless it is part of a series of other identities. Badiou noticed that the word "worker" has vanished from the vocabulary and been replaced by the word 'immigrant,' and these immigrant workers are Algerians in France, Turks in Germany, and Mexicans in the USA. In this case, according to Žižek, "the class problematic of workers' exploitation is transformed into the multiculturalist problematic of racism, intolerance, etc. - and the multiculturalist liberals' excessive investment in protecting immigrants' ethnic, etc., rights clearly derives its energy from the 'repressed' class dimension" (2000a, p. 130). Brown (1995) has pointed out that she frequently hears postmodern discourse refer to class-identity, along with a series of other types of identities like in the triad class—gender—race—sexuality. Brown argues that one rarely anymore hear the term 'class' named unless it is a being part of a series of other identities and rarely is class analyzed in detail.

Brown (2008) is referring to the public discourse in society where SES, or class, can be discussed in depth as a single topic. Brown claimed that tolerance no longer

emanates only from state and church, but secular civic groups, various educational institutions and programs also promulgate it, and actors communicate it across the political spectrum. It is communicated in the U. S. as well as in Europe, and in international affairs it is routinely communicated by liberal democratic states as an element of international human rights doctrine. Tolerance is now also figured as something to which people around the globe are entitled, irrespective of the regime under which they live.

Socioeconomic status (SES), which is a type of marker for class, is more commonly employed in social science research than class. However, I will argue that the name of socioeconomic status, consisting of the three signifiers "social," "economic," and "status," skews the meaning from a concept of economic wealth difference towards a concept of social status position (e.g., life styles), and shift attention away from the antagonism between lower and upper classes. In social science research, SES focuses on a compound of income, education, and occupation and not on wealth as a single factor. This will be further discussed in the next section.

Wealth versus Race

Dalton Conley (2010) has provided quantitative research and an important perspective on race and accumulated wealth. Conley's research is essential and unique because his data analysis includes a family's accumulated wealth when Socio-Economic Status (SES) was measured in data analysis. The primary measure of Conley's research is on accumulated wealth as opposed to the more commonly, used SES measures such as income, education, and job position, which were supplementary and secondary measures. Conley's calculated the parent's wealth and traced their children's wealth, when they had

reached adulthood. Conley determined parents' accumulated wealth by adding assets, like stocks, bonds, savings accounts, and home equity. Conley detected the impact of parents' wealth on their children's educational performance, along with other characteristics of their child. The most important finding of Conley's research is that a parent's wealth or net worth is the single best predictor of their children's educational performance and their other characteristics. Conley's research showed that differences in high school and college graduation rates are not the effects of race, but the effects of parents' wealth differences. That is, the parent's wealth rather than racial issues determines educational success.

Other studies on socioeconomic status (SES) show an interaction between class and race. However, Conley argues that his study is unique compared with other SES studies because he uses parents' accumulated wealth as the primary marker of SES, instead of the commonly used markers of income and education. Conley follows wealth accumulation on nuclear family units through generations since 1968, and he demonstrates that if one controls for accumulated wealth, instead, the typical SES variables like income and education level, most of the race-class interaction disappears. In some cases, the interaction is completely eliminated or reversed. The reason for this is that wealth differences are multiple times higher than income differences between white and black family units. Conley is one of the first researchers doing this type of sophisticated statistical study, and he argues that this result has shed new light on race-class dynamics, and that class is the dominant factor. Thomas Shapiro (2004) is another researcher and sociologist looking at the overall picture of wealth dynamics in the U.S., sharing Conley's conclusion.

Why is it essential to consider a family's accumulated wealth as well as family income? The answer lies in recognizing that the typical income of an average white household is 1.5 times greater than that of a black household. This significant difference is completely overshadowed by the accumulated wealth gap, or net worth, between white and black family households. Conley contrasted the wealth of white and black families' and showed that white families have monumental dominance in available wealth. In 2007, on average, the assets that a white family owned were over fifteen times that of a black family (p. 1). There are significant racial gaps in terms of health-care, employment, and education. However, as detrimental as these disparities may be, the gaps are minimal in comparison to the wealth gap. In fact, if only one statistic captured the legacy of racial inequality, the legacy of slavery, it would be net worth or accumulated wealth.

In 1990, black Americans possessed 1.0% of the total wealth and constituted 13.5% of the American population (p. 25). Based on his findings, Conley argued that the core problem to black-white inequality in the United States is not race itself, but the racial inequalities in income and wealth levels that are crucial. Conley admitted that while race matters, it has a strong overlap with class inequality, and this is what ultimately affects many other outcomes such as health and education. Conley's research shows that when wealth is taken into account in several of life outcomes, blacks demonstrate significant net advantages over whites, among them are increased high-school graduation rates. For example, his study indicates that if a black parent's wealth matches that of a white parent's, the African-American's offspring are more likely to graduate from high school than their white counterparts are and are even equally likely to obtain a bachelor's degree. As a consequence of Conley's research, for example, in order to help poor black

families, one should primarily focus on their economic situation and secondarily on problems related to racism and other identity issues, which arguably are partial displacements. This will be further discussed in the next section.

Central Struggle and Secondary Struggles

Žižek uses the Hegelian notion of concrete universality to emphasize that the universal is not something that, in its very universal nature, is common to every society. According to Hegel, there is no such thing as a universal and all-encompassing concept. For example, there are no universal political concepts, universal identity concepts, or universal ethical concepts. Žižek argues, "The universal is not the encompassing container of the particular content, the peaceful medium-background of the conflict of particularities" (2006, p. 34). What Žižek means is that there are no pre-existing fundamental universals in the naturalized background of society, with which particular cultures can interact. Universals exist only when one particular culture becomes global, naturalized, and fill the background. It is when a particular political concept fills the empty universal frame that the concrete universal becomes actualized. A concrete example is the neo-liberalistic free market economy, which as a particular economic-political concept, has in our time, filled the universal frame on a global scale. This neo-liberalistic economic-political system is not something natural, but it is naturalized, so for many it might be experienced natural and taken for granted. Žižek's point is that whatever content has taken over the universal frame, the pure, un-manifested central antagonism in society will manifest itself in the actual content and be surfaced either as a central antagonism or displaced onto secondary struggles. Žižek does not exclude secondary struggles as not important; they are still important. Žižek agrees with many

that postmodern achievements after 1968 by liberal movements are significant. For example, recognition of women rights, gay rights, minority rights, and the understanding of cultural differences are all important achievements. Still, Žižek places priority on the central antagonism in society, often displaced as class struggle. To Žižek, the formal principle of central antagonism is a struggle that concerns itself with the common interest of the people. It often manifests as a form of class struggle through labor unions struggle for worker's rights but can also manifest in other forms. For example, in 2006 in Bolivia, farmers, workers, and students united in a common antagonistic struggle against an international corporation's effort to privatize the water. This is an example of how the central antagonism is activated by problems of the commons, such as water, food, energy, economy, resources, and access to education. The common struggles arise in the effort to cover basic needs.

The central struggle reinforces and sometimes obscures secondary struggles like race and gender struggles. Žižek claims that the central antagonism does not by itself determine these secondary struggles but it does have an essential impact on them. Laclau (2000a, 2000b) criticizes Žižek on this issue and a claim that to place priority on class is uncritical use of Marx is reductionist. Žižek (2000b), on the other side, refutes that having a priority to a central antagonism is some sort of Marxist orthodoxy. Laclau advocates for *radical democracy* (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), a theory that suggests that democracy is built on difference and dissent. This perspective looks at a series of struggles, for example, race – class – gender – age, as being a total open contingent multitude of struggles where no struggle is given priority. For example, ethnic struggle, gender struggle, and economic struggle, are all regarded with equivalence. The fluidity

of contingent struggles would eventually lead to democracy. Žižek's (2006) theoretical elaboration along Hegelian dialectics distinguishes two levels of class struggle. The first is class struggle as the formal principle of social antagonism, often surfaced and manifested as the broad central class struggle, and the second is class struggle, now manifested as one of the many secondary struggles, and this narrow secondary class struggle stands now in opposition to the central class struggle. If this is to happen, class struggle is turning against itself. Žižek would place priority on the central class struggle and then also place class as one of the secondary struggles: $class_c$ – $race_s$ – $class_s$ – $gender_s$ – age_s (c=central, s=secondary). Class struggle itself is now found in two positions, the central and the secondary position. When they meet in opposition, the secondary struggle can undermine the central class struggle. An example of this is white workers excluding immigrant workers from their union. In a struggle against a strong oppressive power, secondary struggles must unite in an act of solidarity to overcome their conflicting secondary interest in order to stay united against the oppressive power.

Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) *radical democracy* build on difference and dissent, emphasizing that all voices must be heard, while Žižek (2000a) builds on solidarity with a unity across secondary dissent; that secondary differences must unite in order to mobilize. Giroux (2013), similar to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), advocates radical democracy and supports the concept that the multitudes of struggles are based on difference rather than unity. This might also be a parallel to Heifetz' concept of mobilizing all stakeholders and factions involved in an adaptive process. Heifetz (1994) follows the principle that there are multiple factions, subsystems, multiple voices, within a larger system that needs to be mobilized to meet the adaptive challenge. In this process

emerges an understanding of what these adaptive challenges are for each particular

faction. Brown (2008) and Conley (2010) prioritize class in the multitude of struggles.

At first glance, having a priority on class seems at first sight not to make much

difference. However, class struggle is dependent on the unity amongst opposing identity

groups (e.g., men must unite with women, whites must unite with blacks) and focusing on

identity struggles would arguably separate people and eventually undermine and displace

the central antagonism in society.

I can exemplify Žižek's point of view by looking at labor-management history in

the U.S. Du Bois (1935) argues in his writing that the cost of racism and whiteness for

the white worker has been immense throughout the U.S. labor history. The problem

identified by Du Bois is that the white working class was manipulated to think of itself as

representing the interests of whites. The feeling of racism, the feeling of white

superiority, the benefits based on white privilege, made white workers forget their

common interests with poor black workers and accept their own oppressed class

situation. Du Bois argued that white supremacy undermined not just working class

solidarity but the vision of many white workers (Roediger, 2007). Du Bois could

understand why the white workers choose to define themselves by their whiteness in

terms of short-term advantages such as status and privileges conferred by race. They

could shape white worker identity, not through themselves but through differences from

blacks. Whites could tell themselves that even though life was hard at least they were not

slaves or blacks. Du Bois argues that racism was the cause that capitalism in its form

could be approved by white labor and that this undermined democratic development. Du

Bois claimed that if it had not been for the heritage of slavery and racism, white workers

would not have accepted their oppressed position and the U. S. would have been a more

class-conscious nation (Roediger, 2007).

According Du Bois, the corporate elite were able to keep the white worker and the

black worker separated by promoting racism among the white workers in an oppressed

position but still superior to the black worker. Because of this manipulation by the

corporate elite, the white worker would direct their antagonism not towards the

exploitative system but towards another secondary group, the poor black workers

(Roediger, 2007). A concrete example of this was the packinghouse union struggles of

1919 where the working class was deeply split by race (Browder, 1930). In this case, the

central antagonism emerged as a secondary class struggle where one faction of the union

turns against another. In principle, the white workers are turning their class antagonism

against the unity of the class and undermine their own struggle. Contrary examples exist

where the corporate elite was not able to break the workers unity. For example, during a

coal miner strike in 1920 in West Virginia, the United Mine Workers were able to stay

united even though the coal company hired immigrants from Yugoslavia, immigrants

from Italy, and black miners from the South, in attempt to instigate racism among the

white workers in order to break up the union. In this case, the secondary race and

immigrant identity groups were able to stay united and to link their secondary struggles to

one single united struggle in order to contain and surface the true antagonism in the

community (Roediger, 2007). The central antagonism manifested as a central class

struggle and was directed towards the oppressor, the coal company. Žižek asserts that if

the community attempts to solve the general social antagonism in society through

secondary struggles, the social antagonism will stay in a repressed mode:

The Universal names the site of a Problem-Deadlock, of a burning Question, and the Particulars are the attempted but failed Answers to this Problem. Say, the concept of State names a certain problem: how to contain the class antagonism of a society? All particular forms of State are so many (failed) attempts to propose a solution for this problem. (Žižek, 2006, p, 35)

These two aforementioned examples of labor union struggles give two different answers to what Žižek calls the burning question: how is antagonism contained in society? The first example (the packinghouse union) repress the central antagonism and displacing it through racism, and the latter example (the coal miner union strike) surfaces the antagonism as a central class struggle through unity across the conflicting ethnic and racial identity groups. In the latter case, the union was strong enough to contain the social antagonism; in the former case, it was too weak. This dynamics illustrated by these two examples is extremely important to application of group relations work in the real life, because they illustrate responses to the principle of social antagonism, which often play out in unconscious group processes.

Having said this, pure racism, sexism, etc. still exist. However, according to Žižek (2000a), but not to Laclau & Mouffe (1985), and Laclau (2000a, 2000b), and Giroux (2013), the effect of displaced central antagonism in society must be taken into account before secondary struggles are evaluated. Consider that the "feminist struggle can be articulated into a chain with progressive struggle for emancipation. Or, it can (and certainly does) function as an ideological tool for the upper-middle classes to assert superiority over 'patriarchal and intolerant' lower classes" (Žižek, 2006, p. 361-2). According to Žižek, this exemplifies that the central principle organizes feminist struggle.

Another example is how the typically tolerant multiculturalist upper-middle class would

fight for multicultural tolerance, diversity, inclusion, and women's rights while lower

classes were less likely to take interest in such struggles. The upper-middle class would

more often than not advocate multicultural tolerance and understanding more than the

lower and uneducated classes would. Underlying structural principles that derive from

the central antagonism do not determine, but provide a structured impact on the

expression of different identity group on different class-strata. Overall, structural

principles determine how secondary struggles in different class-strata can potentially

unfold and lead to inconsistency and paradox in the way people view their own struggles.

Depoliticization through Tolerance and Leadership

From different vantage points, Brown and Heifetz touch upon contemporary

problems of depolitications and neutralization of values respectively. The problems tend

to uphold and are covered up by the master signifiers (S_1), as seen, for example, in

tolerance, multiculturalism, diversity, and leadership. The culturalization of politics is a

process that takes problems in need of political solutions and removes their political

content, reframing them into cultural problems that can be solved through tolerance

(Brown, 2008). Parallel to this depoliticization is the contemporary leadership theory

discourse to addresses problems in need of political solutions, removes their political

content and transforms them into technical leadership problems that can be solved using

leadership frameworks for style, traits, behavior, or value neutral and non-political

expert. It seems that contemporary leadership theories with 'hidden' values and the

notion of multicultural tolerance seem to be governed by the same underlying and

organizing principle surrounding the phenomena of value neutrality, expert leadership,

and tolerance, which arguably can lead to depoliticization of political problems.

Although there are some scholars in the field of leadership like James Burns, who were

political scientists, contemporary leadership theories tend to be depoliticized and "value

neutral." The concepts of leadership must take the burden not only for the identity

struggles but also for the additional surplus pressure resulting from the repressed central

antagonism. Likewise, leadership theories today tend to have an intolerant kernel, un-

accepting of politics as an inherent part of leadership. As I read Heifetz, he does not fall

into this category, he politicizes leadership more than many other leadership theorists do.

Heifetz does not use the term "politicization" or "de-politicization," but he uses the term

"value neutrality." I interpret Heifetz's notion of value neutrality as a form of non-

political orientation. Many leadership theorists want to stay out of the dirty waters of

politics. Contrary to this, Heifetz advocates exposing the hidden values and dealing with

the value conflict through an adaptation process. Heifetz (1994) uses the words

"organizations" and "politics" interchangeably, for example, "When we call for

leadership in our organizations and politics" (p. 13). Heifetz refers to various examples

within politics and organizations and does not separate organizational life and political

life. Heifetz can be interpreted to politicize leadership. In Brown's analysis, tolerance

replaces politics while in Heifetz's case, value neutral leadership replaces politics. A

common feature of liberal multiculturalism and leadership theories today is value

'neutrality,' where politics are removed from the discourse and replaced with a cluster of

non-political and seductive master signifiers like, "leadership," "tolerance," "diversity,"

"inclusion," "multiculturalism," "transformational," and "change"...to mention a few.

These are master signifiers that blur specific meanings with the promise of the-good-yet-

to-come that carries an inherent anti-political underside. Some might argue that

multiculturalists talk more about "cultural relativity." This might appear to be a

reasonable argument, but the problem is that one cannot use cultural relativity between

the lower and upper classes of society, because the upper classes are not suffering as

much as the lower classes are. Therefore, class struggle must have priority over cultural

relativity. Some others would criticize the notion of value neutrality, claiming value

neutrality is an imposition of the dominant culture that silences minorities. This is a very

good point, but I argue that class struggle has a higher priority. I will argue that this is an

example of the culturalization of the economy-politics as defined earlier by Brown. The

replacement of "middle upper class" with the signifying chain, "dominant culture," is de-

politicization of the economic power system and a politicization of the cultural tension

between majority and minority cultures. Most multiculturalists would refer "dominant

culture" to "dominant white males," which transforms the dominant culture into gender

(male) and race (white), while the economy and class struggle are removed from the

equation. I believe that many multiculturalists as well as (or including) neoliberals

believe that the neoliberal free-market economic system cannot be changed significantly

and that it is unthinkable and impossible to develop another economic system; therefore,

the only hope is to make changes on the cultural level, like cultural integration and

cultural tolerance for the different other. Hence, multiculturalists seek the answer

somewhere else than in the economy, and they find it in cultural tolerance. The tragic

consequence is that corporations have grasped this as an opportunity to create cover

stories with master signifiers like diversity, multiculturalism, cultural climate, in their

self-promotion to cover up exploitation of workers. For example, I argue that, based on

my observations, typical MBA courses in Europe and the U.S. address cross-cultural

differences, cultural climate, organizational culture, diversity training, and so on. This

sounds good and democratic, but the MBA programs never include courses about labor-

management relations, because this is something that is related to real empowerment of

workers.

Leadership theories have to compensate for the burden of displaced Taylorism

and they do so by following acceptable societal norms: placing extraordinary pressure on

psychological issues, cultural climate, diversity, management models, and so on in

organizational life. Such theories will deploy those expressing to have the "right"

appearance and can fill a lack that they have generated in order to become desirable. In

this way, the theories take attention away from class antagonism:

> We are dealing with an exemplary case of the mechanism of ideological
> displacement when class antagonism is disavowed, when its key structuring role is
> suspended, other markers of social difference may come to bear an inordinate
> weight; indeed, they may bear all the weight of the sufferings produced by
> capitalism in addition to that attributable to the explicitly politicized marking. In
> other words, this displacement accounts for the somewhat 'excessive' way the
> discourse of postmodern identity politics insists on the horrors of sexism, racism,
> and so on - this 'excess' comes from the fact that these other '-isms' have to bear
> the surplus-investment from the class struggle whose extent is not acknowledged.
> (Žižek, 2000a, p. 97)

I argue that the social antagonism manifests itself in the unconscious group

processes in group relations conferences. Group relations can demonstrate solidarity

across diverse identity groups but this can easily be lost when these articulations place an

extra burden on identities, where everybody wants to re-affirm their ethnic identities, and

this learning is essential for students to learn in group relations. Group relations

conferences are excellent arenas to demonstrate this. In the case where all members attending a group relations conference are upper-middle class, class issues may seem irrelevant, but this is not so, because the absence of the class issue will have a deep impact. This follows the Lacanian principle that what is absent will have an impact on the unconscious processes.

The complex dynamics between the central antagonism and the secondary identities often play a role in group relations. Members might compensate by stressing certain secondary struggles as the problem. It plays a part in this study's data and is therefore crucial to include. According to Žižek (2006), it is important to notice that over the last decade, in Europe and the U.S., liberals profess their solidarity with the poor, while they encode a culture war with an opposed class message: more often than not, their fight for multicultural tolerance and women's rights marks the counter-position to the alleged intolerance, fundamentalism, and patriarchal sexism of the 'lower classes'" (p, 361). Žižek is referring to Europe and the U.S, and other Western nations with liberal free-market economies; this period started in the seventies and continued up to present. This displacement follows the formal abstract universal principle of the central antagonism in society, and it may or may not be present in a particular time period. In group relations one should be aware that this phenomenon, organized by this formal principle, can complicate the unconscious group processes at group relations conferences. The example mentioned can be expanded to upper middle-class women who view lower-class Muslim women as being un-liberated and oppressed. Also, lower class heterosexual men are more likely opposed to the gay struggle than upper middle-class heterosexual men. In addition, the cultural and moral wars in today's Western society are a

displacement of class struggle: "Although the 'ruling class' disagrees with the populist

moral agenda, it tolerates their 'moral war' as a means to keep the lower classes in check,

i.e., to enable them to articulate their fury without disturbing their economic interests.

What this means is that culture war is class war in a displaced mode" (p. 360). The

political system must deal with class antagonism; there is no other option. Leadership

must also deal with it. If not, it risks itself becoming an arena for expression and

manifestation of displaced class struggle Based on this theoretical foundation, leadership

learning must also deal with the problem of displaced class struggle, since it is the

fundamental structure of society.

This social antagonism in society, if not accounted for, will have an impact on

group relations processes in form of displacement. It is necessary analyze how these may

potentially have an impact on data in this study. Group relations should ask if the

unconscious group relations processes are impacted by the central social antagonism, for

example, struggle for basic economic income. How might the central social antagonism

affect the multitude of secondary identity struggles in group relations conferences. This

includes issues around identity-formation, diversity, inclusion, multiculturalism,

antiracism, queer studies, post-colonialism, feminism, marginality, and so on. Leadership

studies in academia prefer to focus on difference, individuality, autonomy, performance,

identity politics, and so on. Leadership theoreticians and consultants, speaking from a

place of authority and science, are tempted to cover up the lack felt by young future

leaders, by promoting the aforementioned identity shaping master signifiers (this will be

further elaborated in Chapter 4 and 5). It is of course a problem, particularly if one finds

that leadership studies rarely engage the real working-class culture. For example, the

element of wage bargaining is typically omitted from the course content. The word "worker" is rarely used in leadership and management theories; it has replaced the word "worker" with "human resources" or "human capital" etc. There is an increasing celebration of signifiers aligned with the mainstream neoliberal ideological discourse in the Western world. Therefore, understanding the complex dynamics between class and identities is very important for group relations and case-in-point.

Two Branches within the Tavistock Institute

In 1962, the Tavistock Institute was fragmented into two groups. The division had developed between Trist and Rice, two of the most prominent researchers at the Tavistock Institute. Their conflict was about to what extent the Institute should continue to emphasize that the psychodynamic approach be applied to groups and organizations, and to what extent they should maintain active collaboration with the Tavistock Clinic. Two factions emerged the following year and became two separated departments subsumed under the Tavistock Institute: the Human Resources Centre (HRC) under Trist's leadership and the Centre for Applied Social Research (CASR) under Rice's leadership. Among others, the group led by Trist included F. E. Emery and H. Murray, and the group led by Rice included I. E. P. Menzies and E. J. Miller. In particular, it seems that Emery and Rice had divergent visions for the Tavistock Institute and the two emergent factions leaned towards different types of tasks and managerial preferences. This division seems to have been caused by deeper differences in underlying values:

> Emery offers a new vision for the Institute, defining 'the mutual enrichment of social science and the important practical affairs of man' as its core activity. He further observed that 'the more we become so engaged' with our core activity 'the

clearer it is' that "our primary task is in important ways divergent to that of the
Clinic.' This lofty goal probably seemed a bit too ephemeral and far reaching to
the more pragmatic Rice and his business minded colleagues who saw value in
applied psychodynamic thinking in organizations and continuing their fruitful
relationship with the Tavistock Clinic, ethos upon which the Institute had been
founded. (Fraher, 2004, p. 78)

Thoughts that there might have been deeper differences behind the split seem to

be confirmed by an occurrence with members of the two groups: each member had

chosen which group they wanted to affiliate with and was urged not to cross group

boundaries. For instance, staff members of HRC who were interested in psychodynamic

application could not attend the other group. For such members with diverse and

overlapping interests, choosing sides was a problematic task. "Previous work done at the

Institute has not been so neatly divided. These new divisions made it difficult to cross

intra-organizational boundaries, as distinct silos began to emerge, staff stuck to their own

group" (Fraher, 2004, p. 81). Rice's method, which influenced CASR, linked

psychoanalytic technique and organizational consulting to a business-oriented approach.

His group dominated the annual aforementioned Leicester group relations conference

(i.e., conference for experiential learning with psychoanalytic techniques). Rice's group

included a systems approach that focused on the process, role, boundary management,

and tasks within conference settings. The HRC, Trist's group, placed their main attention

on general social psychology and systems theories. The HRC's work and study areas

included the utilization of human resources, organizational alternatives, conflict

resolution, adaptation to change, and socio-technical systems (Fraher, 2004, p. 77). Trist

and Emery focused on the humanization of industry and on large scale social change

projects that would extend further than the socio-technical organizational context

(Boweg, 1975) and Emery's broad visionary approach for large-scale social change stood especially in contrast to Rice's more practical business approach (Fraher, 2004). The research and consulting work of Emery and Trist frequently dealt with issues like wage bargaining, labor-management relations, and workers' rights. The integration of labor-management relations into Tavistock's socio technical school is best illustrated by the Industrial Democracy project carried out by Trist and Emery in collaboration with Thorsrud from the Norwegian Work Research Institute (Bolweg, 1975; Emery & Thorsrud, 1969, 1976). In this project, elements such as wage bargaining, benefits, and working safety issues played a central role and were aligned with the democratization philosophy of Tavistock's open socio-technical school. In addition, Thorsrud argued the importance of giving the local trade union some control over the new job design (Bolweg, 1975), and Thorsrud & Emery (1964, 1970) advocated that job design can be used as a tool to promote democratization in industry.

The fundamental structure that made this possible constituted a legislative framework, a mechanism where the federation of unions and the federation of employers could negotiate and collaborate annually as the government serves as a neutral third party. The Norwegian government had developed this framework in order to protect workers' rights, including a legal alternative to collective bargaining and social democratic reform ideology with a slow and long-term progression (Bolweg, 1975). The unions in collaboration with the government activated an inter-organizational element to labor-management negotiations. This was incorporated into the state of law and governmental functioning. This provided the opportunity for class antagonism to surface annually and be protected by the law. As a third party, the government's a role of

creating a "holding environment" (cf. Heifetz, 1994) made it possible for the two

opposing federations to keep the two discourses ongoing but in separate meetings at

difference times. Collaboration about productivity was closely linked to the class

struggle manifested in the wage bargaining process, because the workers' productivity

was used as bargain-leverage in the negotiation process. To collaborate under militant

conflict is a skill unions have learned. There was a mental shift between two types of

discourses, a discourse of cooperation about productivity, and a discourse of antagonistic

collective bargaining:

> The unusual wave of strikes in 1974 underlines the antagonistic-militant attitude with regard to economic issues. The Norwegian trade union federation [LO] has been able to combine an integrative-institutional with an antagonistic-militant attitude in its approach to labor-management relations at the national level. This combination of attitudes requires a fairly equal balance of power between the two national federations representing employers and workers respectively. LO's strong relationship with DNA [The Labor Party] is a critical factor in this power balance which facilitates cooperation on issues of an integrative nature (Bolweg, 1975, p. 17)

Despite the periodically antagonistic-militant attitude of the federation of trade

unions, the industrial relations systems among employers, trade unions, and government

are often described as collaborative and integrative, particularly at the central level. It is

certainly important to notice that such integrative-institutional collaboration can be

combined with a highly antagonistic-militant attitude in labor-management relations.

This antagonistic-militant -collaborative discourse variant might be a possible solution to

the democratic problem with neoliberal capitalism, and it could potentially be introduced

to group relations. In Bionian language, this antagonistic-militant-collaborative discourse

is not a fight/flight mode, but a fight-work mode of group operations that, in my opinion, could be added to group relations theory as an alternative discourse mode. An antagonistic-militant-collaborative struggle is used to achieve common goals when non-shared interests are discussed; this can be seen in collective wage bargaining. The integrative-institutional attitude is the approach used in aim to collaborate common goals with shared interests, exemplified by increased productivity. Because of the labor union's power, formal authority within the enterprise is located in two places: within management on one side and workers and unions on the other. These two formal authority poles need to combine collaborative and antagonistic communication modes. Workers can activate Hysteric discourse by addressing the management's master signifiers (S_1) and thereby produce systemic knowledge (S_2). In another situation, the workers can activate the Analytic discourse by addressing the management's inconsistencies and paradoxes, which leads management to produce their concealed master signifiers (S_1). For Lacan, it is only the Analytic discourse that can effectively neutralize the social autocracy (Lacan, 2007). Lacan's discourse of the Analytic corresponds to the constitutional-integrative attitude and the Hysteric corresponds to the militant-antagonistic attitude.

In this case, together with the federation of employers and government as a neutral third-party, the federation of labor unions has developed the 'tradition' of taking a constitutional-integrative attitude (Analytic) when engaged in the federation of employers for discussing productivity, and having a militant-antagonistic attitude (Hysteric) when engaged wage bargaining and discussing safety issues (Bolweg, 1975). Using Lacanian terminology, I call this shifting discourse 'the Analytic-Hysteric discourse.' This stands

in contrast to Rice's model where there is theoretically only one pole of formal authority and power and the group processes and dynamics were the end goal which resulted from the desire for a 'good' process. However, for Trist, Emery and Thorsrud, the desired goal in the workplace was good conditions for workers, democratization, and humanization and the process itself did not take priority over the configuration of the total structure and was seen as a guide to attain the desired results. Through the signifying system, I can see how the HCR directed its focus toward central antagonism (e.g., labor unions, workers right, and collective bargaining). This became particularly clear in Trist and Emery's collaboration with Thorsrud in the Industrial Democracy project. In contrast, the CASR directed its focus on secondary antagonisms (e.g., gender struggle, race struggle) that emerged during the process. Trist's group focused more on the central antagonism while Rice's group indirectly focused on facilitating secondary identity struggles.

Summary

Reading Heifetz work through the lens of Lacanian theory newly strengthens and radicalizes Heifetz's adaptive leadership theory and the theory turns out to be actualized in a new way. The review of Lacanian theory provides additional explanatory power for group relations and case-in-point as teaching methodologies, giving the opportunity to see the participants' group relations application in the light of a different psychoanalytic theory that is based on linguistic theory of signification and language, and this extra explanatory power will be used to evaluate research data in the study. What is especially interesting is the conceptualization of master signifiers (S_1) and signifying chains (S_2)

that are necessary in order to have a full understanding of explicit-tacit and tacit-to-explicit knowledge production.

The reviews of Brown (2008), Conley (2010), and Heifetz (1994), from different vantage points, indicate that Žižek's (2000a) notion of the central antagonism should be taken into consideration by academia today. In the Western democracies primarily, value neutral leadership theories, multicultural tolerance, and the general de-politicization of public space, might impact what will be displaced into group relations applied practices and leadership studies. The danger is that group relations itself can become an arena for class antagonism in a displaced mode, where class antagonism places pressure on secondary struggles. It is possible that a labor-management system engaged in shifting Hysteric-Analytic discourse could generally reduce displacements onto secondary identity struggles in society. It is important to question how students today deal with class conflict.

To some extent, it appears that Bion's followers have misinterpreted his notion of basic assumption (1961) in relation to leadership in a democratic society. The assumed hypothesis is problematic in that it too easily leads to the preconceived notion that resistance (the Hysteric), is a sign of fight or flight basic assumption mode. Therefore, it is essential to distinguish the difference between antagonism and adaptation, and to realize that both "resistance to adaptation" and "adaptation" might both processes to promote, depending on the situation. Bion's theory can too easily be used to disarm any form of protest as projection, disarm the Hysteric discourse (cf. Lacan), or prevent knowledge production (S_2) about the master signifier (S_1). This is of great importance, because leadership theories today often portray resistance as inability to change. It is

necessary to interpret Bion's work group mode in a way that can include some form of the antagonistic discourse, without operating in basic assumption group mode. Combining Bion and Lacan increases the possibilities of having the combination of a Hysteric (antagonistic) work group mode and an Analytic (collaborative) work group mode. In Bionian terminology this is a fight-work group mode of operation for groups, which is a non-psychotic mode where the group as contact with reality. It could have been tested in group relations conferences, can members stay connected to reality and over time be productive even under conflict. This conceptualization gives us more room for workers' collective bargaining, to surface the antagonistic struggle to share net profit (i.e., surplus value), which is usually concealed in leadership theories today. This would give Bion's theory room for keeping the central antagonism as a work group mode, or sophisticated group, as Bion also called it.

After the restructuring of the Tavistock Institute in 1962, Rice's group (the Tavistock's CASR branch) influenced the group relations teaching methodology more than the Trist and Emery group did (the Tavistock's HCR branch). Due to the Rice-Trist split at the Tavistock Institute, one is led to wonder whether Trist and Emery's influence is a missing piece in the USD approach, and likewise, whether Rice's influence might be a missing piece in the socio-technical school and the industrial democracy projects carried out in the 1960s and 70s. Trist and Emery's group focused largely on the central antagonism while Rice's group had a focus towards secondary antagonisms. This can be seen by looking at the typical key signifiers used in the Tavistock HCR branch and the open socio-technical school. The key signifiers that were used were signifiers like *industrial democracy, democratic participation, socialism, equal rights, solidarity,*

productivity, co-determination, wage bargaining, collective bargaining, labor union,

employer union, shop steward, and job design. These key signifiers relate to the central

antagonism, especially the key signifiers, *collective bargaining* and *labor union*, and

solidarity. These key signifiers are important meaning-bearing words in the socio-

technical school and industrial democracy projects. What is notable is that the secondary

identity struggles and psychological issues are absent.

Rice's group, (the CASR-department) includes key signifiers that are associated

with the secondary struggles like *race, gender, sexual orientation,* and other identities,

and processes terms like, *role, authority, boundary, task, context, system,* and *subsystem.*

As a conclusion, the two branches of the Tavistock Institute are using different sets of

key signifiers.

Typical key signifiers that have emerged in this literature review on previous

research on Tavistock-Inspired group relations are key signifiers around *gender* (e.g.,

man, woman) and *race* (e.g., black, white, Latino), and process-oriented signifiers (e.g.,

process, context, authority), and then psychological signifiers (e.g., anxiety, awareness,

consciousness, feeling). General focus is on the process, psychological issues, and

secondary identity struggles. These sets of key signifiers originate from Rice's group,

and to a lesser extent from Trist's group. The review of the literature might also reveal a

trend that indicates a shift in the public discourse over the last 30-40 years that range

from economic issues and workers' rights to psychological, cultural, and identity

struggles, focusing on individual abilities and individual career development taken the

place for collective solidarity. This review poses the question of whether this shift has

taken place but is not extensive enough to be demonstrated as a fact. In this study, I will

compare this background material to the key signifiers in the participants' data in order to see what signifying system they are using. I will also investigate the articulation of terminology around aforementioned categories of key signifiers to reveal how group relations learning impacts participants' applied practices in a total context.

The Significance of this Study (why we need this study)

This study will be a contribution to the field of research methodologies and in secondary complement the literature that specializes in capturing tacit and applied knowledge with a psychoanalytic interpretation of the applied data. The research method used is designed to capture tacit knowledge. The development of the research methodology is relevant to the learning theory and can potentially provide new ideas on how to do research on applied techniques.

This study contains data about applied practices from students who have extensive experience with group relations and case-in-point learning, and application of this learning in real life. My aspiration is that this study will give a better understanding of how the learning is applied in real life. It will exemplify use of the learning and that will be useful for different types of people such as teachers or consultants. The goal of the study is not to guide or advise students on how to apply the group relations experiential learning. I would encourage students to apply the learning on their own way and not follow any particular guideline. However, this study can be used to open up new perspectives for future students and it also brings attention to the necessary learning curve, which should be taken into account before one effectively applies what they've learned in the classroom to real life.

Most importantly, the study is designed to contribute to those aspects of the field that specifically deal with the understanding of how language is used in group relations and when we apply the learning in real life. This work aims to examine how the use of specific words in group relations and leadership discourse. For any educator, leader, or worker, the use and choice of words are important. Lacanian theory is used to link group relations and psychoanalytic theory to leadership and politics.

This study will contribute to the understanding of how language and psychoanalysis can be used to create concepts that help people to defend and maintain democracies. In doing so, we have to look at the unconscious. The research data must be interpreted in a cultural and socio-economic context. It contributes by linking group relations and actualizes it into the area of leadership and politics. The contribution of this study is to bring group relations and leadership closer to the regular man and woman, the regular student and worker, including basic needs as economic needs, by looking at leadership from a workers' and students' perspective. This leads us to problems of the commons and how seemingly opposed groups can unite in acts of solidarity and engage in common struggle. Here, language, the signifying chain, identity, wealth, and social antagonism are explored, and most importantly, how these elements play out in unconscious group processes is revealed. I hope this study can be transferable in the sense that people in somewhat similar contexts and learning backgrounds, might find it informative and useful. I am especially thinking about the regular worker, student, teacher, and religious or secular egalitarian communities engaging in emancipatory struggles.

Heifetz writes of, "leadership with no easy answers," I want to add to this by saying, "leadership has no easy questions," meaning today is more important than ever that we have to ask ourselves whether we are asking the right questions. When we encounter a problem we need to ask ourselves, is this really the problem, or is the problem something else? The shift from "problem solving" to ask better questions is essential today. I hope this study will foster such a shift.

As shown in this review, little research has been carried out to show the impact of group relations experiential learning on students' applied practices in real life, the focus of this study. This study strengthens the links between group relations and leadership. Together with the USD approach and case-in-point teaching methodology, it fills a gap in the literature that links together group relations and leadership. This study links Lacan's theory, group relations theory, and leadership theory. This study will provide a scholarly contribution to both the fields of group relations and leadership theory. Particularly important is this study's examination of how language impacts the group relations process, and the importance of having an adequate theory to explain how the signifying system is used and also misused by the leadership discourse. For example, the concept sustainable leadership is arguably a "misuse of the language" since in most cases it really means sustainable economic growth that leads to increased pollution and exploitation of the environment.

Furthermore, this study adds theoretical connections to the leadership literature, labor-management relations, and egalitarian emancipatory struggle in general. Labor-management relations are often treated from historical or legal perspectives but this focus is absent from the mainstream leadership literature. This study brings the labor-

management dynamics into the unconscious group processes, and it forms a counterpoint to the leadership literature that places authority predominantly in management.

This study's research methodology will add to the literature of qualitative research methodologies since its method is tailored to capture tacit knowledge for therapists, group psychotherapists, and applications of group relations learning. Therapists, counselors, and group relations practitioners, utilize a great deal of tacit knowledge, and there has been little research on how their tacit knowledge play out in the interactions between them and the patients/students. In the field of Knowledge Management there have been studies that make use of structured interviews and group meetings to capture the tacit knowledge of experts working on plants or laboratories where that tacit knowledge resides in a context marked by the use of different types of tools as machinery and equipment. In contrast, this research methodology is tailored to capture tacit knowledge that resides in a context where language is used as a tool. In addition, this research method utilizes a coding framework that brings it closer to "mainstream" academic qualitative research methodologies.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to answer the following three research questions: (1) "How has participation in group relations courses influenced the participants?" (2) "How, if at all, have the participants adapted insights and techniques from the courses when they applied these insights and techniques in real life contexts?" and (3) "How does the Relational Qualitative Research methodology affect participants' understanding of their application of the experiential learning outside the classroom?" This research utilized Relational Qualitative Research methodology, which is a qualitative research design, tailored to capture applied (tacit) knowledge. In this chapter, a detailed description of this method is given.

In order to gather data to answer the research questions, I first interviewed 10 participants individually for approximately 60 minutes each, using an interview guide (see Appendix A). Two days before the interview, I sent two open-ended questions by email to the participants in order to activate the thought process. The two questions were: "What significance has the group relations experience played in your life?" and "Can you describe anything you do in your life that is based upon the group relations learning?" The interview questions were designed to elicit responses that would answer the research questions. In the first part of the interviews, I asked open-ended questions and in the second, I asked more specific and direct questions. (See Appendix A for the interview questions.) In the interviews, the participants talked about how the learning had impacted them and described how they applied group relations experiential learning in their lives.

Later, they participated in analysis and interpretation of data generated both from their own, and other participants' interview transcripts. Participants worked in small groups of two or three participants and me, the researcher. The design allowed participants (functioning as co-researchers within research units – small groups) to work with the researcher and jointly interpret data through a relational process that allowed unexpected topics and structures to emerge along the way. Participants who completed the lengthy research process coded the individual interview transcripts of other members in their small group, as well as their own transcripts. Each small group explored common small group categories across individual transcripts and discussed their shared applied practices. Finally, members met in a large group meeting and discussed common large group categories.

Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) emphasized the importance of redundancy of experiences in order to facilitate externalization of tacit knowledge. Accordingly, participants from similar work contexts were grouped together in order to produce redundant knowledge of applied techniques. Coming from similar work contexts, participants would most likely recognize each other's problems in context and applied techniques in context. This production of redundant knowledge in context facilitates and creates the conditions for externalizing tacit knowledge into explicit concepts.

Sample Selection and Recruitment

The participants selected had participated as Teaching Assistants in the cross-listed experiential learning class, LEAD 550 Leadership Theory and Practice/ LEAD 600 Leadership Theory and Practice. During the time the data collection was carried out, in fall of 2009, the course had been taught for six years and approximately 60 graduate

students had served as teaching assistants. The participants were selected for this research because they ~~Due to~~ have been significantly engaged in group relations work, and they were accustomed to qualitative research activities similar to the group coding process to be used in data analysis. These graduate students were selected to serve as the pool of potential participants who would code and analyze their own and other participants' data generated from the interviews. They had also presumably developed a deeper understanding of the Case-In-Point/Tavistock model, as it was practiced at the University of San Diego than students with less experience. They were also more likely to have applied the group relations/USD approach techniques in their lives. In other words, the opportunity presented for this group to convert the presumably deep personal experiences, theoretical concepts learned through the experiential courses into tacit and automatic, action-based skills in their workplaces and personal lives and to better understand the comments of others about their own applied group relations practices.

Recruitment was initiated when my dissertation supervisor e-mailed a formal invitation to each TA on the list, inviting them to participate in the study. Eighteen people responded with an interest to learn more about the study. The ten who were willing to attempt all qualitative research tasks from start-to-finish (about 20 hours of work) and who confirmed that they had used the learning from USD group relations experiential courses in their real life and on a regular basis, were recruited to the study. There were no further inclusion criteria. The demographics of the selected participants were nine women and one man. Eight participants were Caucasians, one was Asian-American, and one was African-American, with ages ranging from late twenties to late fifties.

Research Design

The study utilized a qualitative research design and cross-case analyses. I

designed this methodology, *Relational Qualitative Research,* as a result of this research.

The methodology synthesizes elements from several sources including Strauss and

Corbin's (1990) *Grounded Theory*, Hill, Thompson, and Willams' (1997) *Consensual*

Qualitative Research, Torbert's (2004) *Action Inquiry,* Polanyi's (1966) *The Tacit*

Dimension, Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995) *Knowledge Conversion Process,* Bion's

(1970) *Container-Contained Model,* Vygotsky's (1978) *Zone of Proximal Development,*

and Lacan's (2007) *Theory of Signification* and *Theory of the Four Discourses.* I have

linked ideas from the aforementioned theories together in order to form the foundation

for a research method that is specialized to capture tacit knowledge with a coding

framework, and conceptualize the externalized knowledge using Lacanian analysis.

Ultimately, researchers can develop theories based on qualitative data derived from

externalized tacit knowledge where redundant knowledge from similar work contexts is

shared through transcripts and dialogues. Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) argued:

> Sharing redundant information promotes the sharing of tacit knowledge, because
> individuals can sense what others are trying to articulate. In this sense,
> redundancy of information speeds up the knowledge-creation process.
> Redundancy is especially important in the concept development stage, when it is
> critical to articulate images rooted in tacit knowledge. At this stage, redundant
> information enables individuals to invade each other's functional boundaries and
> offer advice or provide new information from different perspectives. In short,
> redundancy of information brings about "learning by intrusion" into each
> individual's sphere of perception. (p. 81)

The most important principle concerning the externalization process, according to

Nonaka and Takeuchi, is the importance of redundancy in order to facilitate

externalization of tacit knowledge through social dialogues. This research method gives the participants the opportunity to externalize their tacit knowledge in this fashion together with people from similar contexts.

The Relational Qualitative Research methodology follows the coding procedure of the Consensual Qualitative Research of Hill, Thompson and Williams (1997), where a team of researchers conducted the coding process in a stepwise fashion from individual transcript domain analysis to common small group category analysis. This coding procedure developed by Hill et al. is combined with an initial domain list adapted from the Paradigm Model by Strauss and Corbin (1990). This gave initial guidance to participants on how to categorize transcript data. The coding has two purposes: to help the participant externalize tacit knowledge and to help the researcher develop theory. I have made the assumption that the participants' coding which includes analyzing one's own transcript and the transcripts of others, reinforces the externalization process.

This study's methodology differs from that of Consensual Qualitative Research in the sense that coders are not external, but internal participants. This is essential because tacit knowledge resides within participants, not the external researcher(s). Relational Qualitative Research methodology resembles Action Inquiry (Torbert, 2004) in that participants engage in interactive inquiry with data-driven collaborative analysis, instead of a more traditional approach, where the researcher does the analysis. However, Relational Qualitative Research methodology differs from Action Research in that the unit of analysis is both tacit and explicit knowledge, and that it does not investigate the actions in order to solve problems like action research, but it investigates how participants apply the knowledge, what the underlying problem definition is, and the

socio-normative symbolic fields that operate within it. It is also important to note that the concepts investigated by Relational Qualitative Research are tacit and therefore require externalization before conceptualization.

This method differs from *participant observer* in the sense that the researcher is not involved in observing the participants in their natural environment (e.g., in their local community or tribe) for an extended time period, as for example would an ethnographic researcher or social anthropologist conducting fieldwork. Instead, this method invites the participants to do research on themselves in order to symbolize and signify their applied techniques by using coding work and dialogues in group meetings outside their natural environment.

Nonaka and Takeuchi's method of externalizing tacit knowledge through dialogues in social processes has become an integral part of Knowledge Management. This method is different from typical Knowledge Management methods because this method engages the participant in the work of coding the transcripts of other group members, while Knowledge Management research (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995) does not include such a process. Another difference is that Knowledge Management focuses for the most part on skills, such as operating machinery, equipments, physical tools, steering equipment, and muscular acts, individually or in teams. This knowledge is based on what Lacan called the Imaginary register, building tacit knowledge on imaginary perceptions through sensory apparatus. This type of tacit knowledge is easily observable. When an artisan carries out his skilled work, it looks easy, but only because tacit knowledge operates behind the scenes. Tacit knowledge based on complex muscular acts using complex tools can be observed in handcraft work and artistry. For a carpenter, using

hammer and nails is an example of this. However, even though we can observe the work, it is very difficult to describe the tacitly learned techniques the carpenter is using.

This research method, Relational Qualitative Research, focuses on what Lacan called the Symbolic register where the tacit knowledge that operates behind the scenes is using language as a tool. It is important to note that even though the Symbolic speech can be observed by listening to sounds, this the explicit knowledge of speech does carry with it an underlying structure that is not directly explicit and therefore is a is still not conceptualized and conscious, and thus not fully observable. Likewise, we can observe a person speaking English, but we don't conceptually understand how the sentences are grammatically constructed before we study the English grammar rules. Polanyi did not distinguish between automated muscular acts stored in muscle memory, based on sensory impressions (Imaginary), and language-based, Symbolic tacit and unconscious knowledge used by the speaker. Polanyi referred interchangeably to both types regardless of whether the knowledge was stored as memory as automated muscular acts or stored as automated language-responses, which according to Lacan, are stored in unconscious language structures or unconscious structuring signifying chains.

Data Collection

Data collection in this study included several steps: conducting individual qualitative interviews with the participants, forming the participants into small research groups, training them to code transcripts using an initial domain list, carrying out individual domain analysis, and developing common small and large group categories of the shared group relations application. In subsequent sections, I describe details of these data collection steps.

Individual Interviews

Two open-ended questions were sent by email to participants a few days before the interview, with the intention to stimulate thought production before the interviews without leading the participants in a particular direction. The two questions asked were: "What significance has the group relations experience played in your life?" and "Can you describe anything you do in your life that is based upon the group relations learning?" This approach differs from the standard Consensual Qualitative Research procedure (Hill et al., 1997) which encourages the participant to read the whole interview guide before the interview takes place. I did not want to lead the participants in any direction before the interview took place.

The interviews were carried out over a two-month period, from early August to late September 2009. Before the interview started, the participant signed a pledge of confidentiality and a research-participant informed consent form (see Appendix B). I interviewed each of the 10 participants individually for approximately 60 minutes with use of an interview guide (see Appendix A). The focus of the interview was to capture if and how participants apply group relations experiential learning in their real life. The interview guide provided some structure and direction to ensure that important topics were covered while permitting some degree of flexibility for the interviewer to pursue unanticipated issues that arose during the interview and this made the interview feel more like conversation. Questions in the first part of the interview were short and open-ended. I waited, using silence rather than asking additional questions, to encourage the participants to articulate unexpressed experiences. This mode of addressing an interviewee most likely activated Lacan's Analytic discourse (2007) and set the

interviewee to do the work of producing their master signifiers. Master signifiers are identity bearing words that sustain the person's ego structure (see descriptions of this topic in Chapter 2). In the second half of the one-hour interview, I initiated a more direct inquiry, this time asking for concrete examples while using a series of specific questions that focused on the applied intervention techniques in-context, thinking and emotions, conditions, context, and consequences. This activated a discourse mode that Lacan called the Hysteric discourse, where I specifically inquire about participants' applied techniques in order to get a rich description about the way they applied the knowledge.

After the interviews, a paid transcriber signed a pledge of confidentiality (see Appendix C) and transcribed the interviews. I made sure that the interview-audio files were correctly transcribed by the transcriber and sent the individual transcript to each participant. The participants then marked any text they would like to keep private from the other group members, and the researcher would then delete these sections from the transcript. Table 1 summarizes the steps described so far.

Table 1

Individual Interviews

Individual Interviews
1. I sent two open-ended questions via email to participants.
2. I carried out a 60-minute interview individually with each participant.
3. Transcribing the interviews.

Formation of Small Groups

Of the 10 initial participants, four did not continue with the research process after the initial interview; their interview transcript data, however, was still included in the analysis. Data from the individual interviews provided information about each participant's professional context. Based on this information, the remaining participants who worked in similar work contexts were placed together in a small group. Two groups were formed for this aspect of the research process. They included a group of teachers and an organizational work group. The first group, group A, the teachers group, consisted of three teachers of leadership courses for undergraduate students who use concepts from group relations and case-in-point learning in their profession. The second, group B, the administrative group, consisted of two educational administrators who use group relations learning in the organizations where they are employed. One of these administrators worked as an executive for a smaller educational institution, and the other had recently moved into a research assistant position at a university and was a former vice principal of a high school. In addition to these two groups, I formed a research consulting dyad together with a participant that had used the group relations learning in her organizational consulting practice. She had a busy schedule and could not participate in the group meetings. Therefore, two individual interviews were held with her to compensate for her inability to participate in the small and large group meetings. The importance of the consulting group with one participant and the researcher was that this provided a contrast between the application of group relations learning from an internal position in the organization versus the application of learning from an external consulting position. This was important because consultants are probably more sensitive to how

much they can expose when they apply the group relations learning because they have less authority than participants who are internal employees of the organization. However, in the final analysis write-up, I focus on the data from the educational administrators group and teachers group in order to limit the scope of this study. Since participants in these two groups completed all meetings, the distinction between the external and internal positions as related to their organization did not become a central topic of this research.

The purpose of forming the two groups was to produce redundant (overlapping) knowledge of applied techniques used in similar work-contexts. In this way, participants would most likely recognize each other's problems-in-context and applied-techniques-in-context. An example is recognizing which applied techniques would or would not work in a particular context. Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) argued that redundant knowledge increases the likelihood that one will externalize tacit knowledge. Shared experiences can potentially open up the opportunity for increased tacit-to-explicit knowledge conversion. Small groups were therefore composed in a way that even if members were diverse in demographic variables, (i.e., gender, age, and race) they would share experiences and applied techniques from similar work contexts. The redundancy effect was achieved in both groups in the sense that the participants could recognize and relate to each other's experiences. I argue that this to some extent confirms Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995) claim that tacit knowledge is more likely to be externalized if participants from similar work contexts engage in social dialogues. The indication is that participants are more engaged when they can recognize the problem-in-context and applied-technique-in-context. Because they were more engaged, they produced more

data in the meeting through social dialogues. My impression was to some extent that the engagement might have been highest when participants first identify with the problem-in-context and applied-technique-in-context of the other participants, and then discover differences within their redundant knowledge. This, as well as how redundancies and differences occur, will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

Applied Jargon

The psychoanalytic theory that underpins the tradition of group relations makes use of terms like "splitting," "projective identification," and "introjection." While these terms may be used from time to time at USD Tavistock-inspired group relations conferences, it is more common that jargon has developed and been used over the years inside of the Tavistock/case-in-point tradition. Examples of this jargon are "What are you holding for the group?" "What is your piece of it?" and "doing the work." It is important to note that academic psychoanalytic language and the Tavistock and case-in-point inspired jargons are key signifiers and signifying chains that contain special meaning to participants. In order to avoid leading participants in a particular direction during the interviews, I did not use these psychoanalytic terms, nor did I use a Tavistock and case-in-point-inspired jargon. However, if participants happened to use jargon or psychoanalytic terms, then I too could use the same term(s) later during the interview and in follow-up questions.

Initial Domain List

I used a domain start list adapted predominantly from the Paradigm Model of Strauss and Corbin (1990) but also somewhat influenced by the domain start list described by Hill et al. (1997) and Hill, Nutt-Williams, Heaton, Thompson, and Rhodes

(1996). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), Corbin and Strauss (2008), and Hill et al., (1997), more experienced researchers may intuitively be able to recognize the wide range of conditions that enter a situation and their defined problems, while novice researchers may need more direction. Strauss and Corbin (1990) argued that the Paradigm Model enables the novice researcher to think systematically about data and relate to them in ways that are more complex. They suggest that a novice researcher needs a starting concept list if he were to better understand his findings. The domain start list should be viewed as a more general support system whose purpose is to help participants categorize data. Strauss and Corbin suggested the presence of the following factors: causal conditions, phenomenon, intervening conditions, action/interaction strategies, and consequences. Corbin and Strauss explained that during initial coding, certain data pertains to specific phenomenon while other categories refer to consequences of action/interaction strategies, again in relation to a specific phenomenon (see Table 2).

Table 2

Comparing the Paradigm Model with this Study's Initial Domain List

The Paradigm Model	This study's Initial Domain List
causal conditions	c0: concrete problem/challenge/task
phenomenon	c1: concrete thinking/emotions
context	c2: concrete intervention/action/interaction
intervening conditions	c3: concrete result of intervention
action/interaction strategies	g1: general change in thinking/emotions
consequences	g2: general change in practice (applied technique)
	a1: group relations term
	a2: doubt/misgivings
	a3: conference/course experience

The initial domain list was developed from Strauss and Corbin's (1990) general

Paradigm Model. The following modifications were completed in order to develop the

initial domain list seen in Table 2. From the Paradigm Model, the term "phenomenon"

was changed to "c0 – concrete problem/challenge/task;" the term "consequences" was

changed to "c3 – concrete result of intervention;" the term "action/ interaction strategies"

was split into four domains, two general domains: "g1 – general change in

thinking/emotions" and "g2 – general change in practice (applied technique)." These

general domains (g1 and g2) describe developments of routine based activities as being a

result of group relations learning. The two other domains are concrete domains: "c1 –

concrete thinking emotions" and "c2 – concrete intervention/action/interaction." Concrete

domains c0, c1, c2, and c3, describe events where learning was relevant for a "single

applied technique" that took place only once at a specific time and place but had not yet

developed to become a routine based technique. The initial domain list in this study is

therefore tailored to capture both general changes that lead to routine-based applied

techniques and single, non-repetitive interventions. The domain list is a part of a coding-

system that represents a systematic way of categorizing interventions and applied

techniques, not evaluating them.

The "a1 – group relations term" was included to capture key signifiers like

psychoanalytic terms, case-in-point jargon, and Tavistock group relations jargon. These

key signifiers were marked under domain a1. The domain "a2 – doubts/misgivings," was

included to capture core ideas about doubts or critical opinions about the experiential

learning. Finally, experiences related to classroom and conference settings were be

categorized under "a3 – conference/course experience" and this separated the experiences

held in classroom settings from applied practices used in real life outside classroom settings. It was important to separate these two since this study primarily focuses on applied practices outside classroom and conference settings. It was not expected for the initial domain list terms to lead students in a given direction or otherwise contaminate data because the terms chosen were not specific to group relations theory or group relations experiential teaching practices.

Individual Transcript Domain Analysis

I will now go through the steps taken for individual transcript domain analysis. First, I met with participants, after the interview, individually for a 30-minute training session and instructed them how to carry out individual transcript domain coding according to coding rules through use of the initial domain list. The purpose of this training was to ensure that the participants were able to code the data according to the coding rules. The exercise of individual training brought everyone to the same page in relation to the implementation of coding rules. Participants were given the following materials: (1) interview transcripts of other team members and their own transcripts in electronic MS Word format, and (2) an individual transcript domain coding instruction sheet that explained technical aspects of the coding process. The instruction sheet included the aforementioned initial domain list and research questions 1 and 2 (see Appendix D). In addition, the researcher already coded the first three pages of the transcript for each participant to exemplify proper coding procedure, enabling participants to spend less time on understanding coding norms.

Participants were instructed to work individually with the individual transcript domain analysis before meeting as a group to reduce the risk of developing "groupthink."

The participants were informed that they could change codes if they felt like it. The codes, I argue, did not promote groupthink since they did not evaluate the meaning of the applied techniques and interventions carried out by the participants. The main point of the individual work was for participants to externalize their own tacit knowledge. The codes would simply identify applied techniques and interventions in the transcript texts. The participants thus had the opportunity to contrast similarities and differences between how they and other participants applied group relations/case-in-point experiential learning in their lives. This better prepared participants for the first group meeting because they had read the transcripts of every group member and become familiar with each other's applied practices during the coding process.

Initially, participants individually read the transcript, identified and marked different segments of text that could be associated with various domains from the initial domain list. For example, if a segment of the text described how the participant carried out an applied technique inspired by group relations learning, and this applied technique was used on regular basis, the text segment should have been marked with: g2 – general change in applied technique. Participants then summarized the selected text into abstract, core ideas and categorized them under the appropriate domain. This "domaining" process has also been called "boiling down" or "abstracting" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The purpose of this process was to capture the essence of what the interviewee had said about the application issue, in fewer words. Participants were asked to code transcripts of the other team members before coding their own, assuming it would be easier for a participant to carry out the self-coding process after coding the others. Results from a pilot study that had used this method (Setnes, 2008) indicate that participants felt it was

easier to code other participants than to code oneself. Before the first group meeting, the researcher exchanged coded transcripts among participants in each research unit. Coding work from each participant was displayed in separate columns so that it was easy to compare the differences. In this way, participants could go through coding differences before the first group meeting and be better prepared.

The first small group meeting was then held. Together, the group reviewed the coded individual transcript domain analysis of each participant in 45-minute sessions. Sessions were facilitated by use of elements from the container-contained model (Bion, 1970), a process model where the analyst contains the analysand (contained) in a mutual collaboration process and develops realizations that were previously not articulated by the analysand (i.e., the patient in a psychoanalytic therapy session). The containing process produces new knowledge and makes unformulated experience understandable. Bion (1970) emphasized that the analyst's containing work is not a passive function; the container function engages both the analyst and analysand in an active inter-relationship. The analyst takes and holds the analysand's narrative long enough in his mind for new realizations to emerge, so earlier unarticulated experiences can be articulated and shared with the analysand. Bion (1963) asserted that the analysis and thoughts that exist prior to articulated realization and the container function enable the analyst to bring this to a conscious, articulated form of expression. The analysand needs help from the analyst to realize his pre-conceptions so they can be articulated. Bion argued that thinking does not produce thoughts; on the contrary, thoughts emerge in the psyche primarily through the processing of experience secondarily. Thinking is an emergent function of managing thoughts. Bion also assumed that thought is made out of relationships held with other

minds and it is related to processing an emotional experience (Bion, 1962a, 1962b; Cartwright, 2010). According to Bion (1962a), the analyst should be particularly interested in presence of how one's thoughts are formed, and in the ability to have our own thoughts while listening to the analysand's narrative. Bion argued that learning is only possible if the analyst's mind acts as a container that remains integrated, but flexible. The analyst should attempt to hold a state of mind where his knowledge and experience are preserved, yet he is ready to reconstruct past experience in a way that enables the analyst to be receptive of a new idea (Bion, 1962a). Bion advised the analyst to keep his or her theories at a distance but still be able to draw from structural knowledge as it naturally emerges. Symington and Symington (1996) interpreted Bion's container-contained process as the analysand's unsaturated pre-conception merging in conjunction with the analyst's realization. Therefore, it is important for the analyst to identify unsaturated areas in the analysand and proceed towards them. Bion (1970) emphasized the importance of the analysand's willingness to be contained by the analytic situation. In this study, the analysts worked in a similar context to the analysand, presumably to lead to a higher level of containing capacity in the group, since group members would be familiar with the analysand's typical challenges and problems. The containing capacity was likely to increase from common experience. This is congruent with Nonaka and Takeuchi's postulation that knowledge redundancy increases the capacity to externalize tacit knowledge.

For each 45-minute session, one participant at a time entered the role as analysand (contained). Meanwhile, the other group members were instructed to take the role as analysts (container) along with the researcher. The participants were informed of the

roles and as they entered the role as analysts, they were asked to keep personal theories

and practices at a distance and pay attention to what happened to their own thoughts.

Eventually, they were asked to share realizations with the analysand. I supported

participants in their roles. For example, asking analysts in the container role the

following question: "Based on what the analysand has said, do any realizations come to

mind?" This question transitioned the participant into an analyst's containing role. In the

following 5-10 minutes, participants in the role as analysts were able to work

independently in the container role, without my support. They were able to facilitate the

externalization of knowledge and make individual transcript domain analysis more

precise and rich in description.

The container-contained process model has an interpersonal mode similar to

Lacan's Analytic discourse (2007). The analyst contains the analysand to produce his or

her master signifiers (S_1) by sharing new realizations (S_2). At the last part of the 45-

minute session, I moved the discourse into a Hysteric mode, by asking for specific details

around core ideas, interventions, and applied techniques, in addition to asking if coding

rules were correctly followed. A Hysteric mode of communication is where participant's

statements are placed under direct questioning. (See Chapter 2 for a detailed description

of the Hysteric discourse.) This moved the analysand from producing broad master

signifiers (S_1) to producing ordinary knowledge signifiers (S_2). The participants and I

built a consensus about the individual transcript domain analysis. The purpose was to

agree upon and clarify interpretations or contextual issues in coding.

The source of data analysis has come from the participants themselves, those

present during the coding process. This is important for two reasons. First, participants

could verify, identify, and clarify the interpretations of the transcript's data. Second, the externalization of tacit knowledge required participants who were present and engaged to be in the social knowledge production process. Participants themselves can only externalize tacit knowledge, because it is embodied and unconscious to participants. Tacit knowledge cannot be externalized from transcripts or from a researcher's interpretations. Therefore, this group process differs from the one described by the Consensual Quality Research method (Hill et al., 1997) where participants are absent in the coding group and researchers must rely solely on their interpretations of transcript content and where tacit knowledge gets lost. Table 3 summarizes the steps.

Table 3

Individual Transcript Domain Analysis

Individual Transcript Domain Analysis
4. I distributed transcripts among participants within the small group.
5. I individually trained the participants to do individual transcript domain coding.
6. Participants individually coded transcripts.
7. Two 15-minute individual coding interviews were held with two participants
8. I exchanged the coded transcripts amongst the participants within each small group.
9. Participants contrasted similarities and differences among the coded transcripts.
10. First small group meeting was held for individual transcript domains analysis.
11. Faculty interviewed me (first interview.)*

* A full-time faculty member at the School of Leadership and Educational Sciences with group relations work experience interviewed me to evaluate the influence the research methodology had on me and deepen my understanding of the process. She interviewed me for 30 minutes on three separate occasions. See Table 4 and 5 for the second and third interview.

Common Small Group Categories Analysis

For the next small group meeting, I developed a linking table of selected core

ideas containing similar types of applied techniques across participants in the small

group. The participants' interventions and applied techniques that appeared to have

similar characteristics were linked together in the questions I prepared. These linking

questions were developed based on interview transcripts and transcripts from the first

small group meeting. By this time, because the first group meeting discussed

participants' applied practices in 45-minutes sessions, I had rich data of applied practices

and used these to create linking questions. The linking questions became the dialogue

structure for the second small group meeting. The linking table consisted of one column

for each participant. Each row defined hypothetical links where there appeared to be

common characteristics between the participants and similar core ideas and captured

applied practices and interventions. Therefore, each row of the table represented a

hypothetical common small group category. Table cells included core ideas and small

excerpts from transcripts, where participants' specific interventions were described.

References from small excerpts into transcript texts were included in case I needed to

read from them, in order to help participants recall specific interventions or applied

techniques. Thus, the readings gave an extended contextual background to the other

participants. I asked whether or not the linking interpretations of applied techniques

could be categorized as a common category by, for example, reading two interventions

that were carried out by two different participants and establishing a link between them.

A typical question was: "Did the both of you use the identical applied technique and if

not, what is the difference?" The group then analyzed similarities and differences

between applied techniques. By contrasting applied techniques from one member to another, redundant knowledge with narrow knowledge gaps and nuances activated the tacit-to-explicit knowledge conversion process and produced subtle differences and shades of meaning. The narrowed gaps between applied techniques created repetitive narratives and it is in these repetitions that complexities and contradictions of applied techniques could be explored. It was important that core ideas across participants were similar enough to avoid meaningless links, yet different enough to develop the subtle nuances. An example is when a university teacher of leadership asked a student to take up another student's classroom role so that the first student could free herself from the role that the group had given her. This strategy allowed every student in the classroom potentially to perceive that a student's role may be a choice. This applied technique was compared to that of a second teacher in group A, who asked the students to acquire scripted roles in a theatre play such as a role in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. These applied techniques of shifting roles have similarities and differences. In this example, when two teachers compared two applied techniques that were quite similar, the most valuable knowledge might have emerged as a small difference between two applied techniques. The knowledge might have been tacit. The small difference in application might have been caused by contextual and situational difference, and these nuances are important to understand in order to reach a more precise understanding of the applied techniques. This difference might have been fully externalized by conceptualizing the difference, but this conceptualization is difficult, and will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

Participants built their responses based on these linking questions and the other participants' response to them. This developed an iterative linking process that activated

the tacit-to-explicit knowledge conversion process and helped to develop a collective and refined understanding of shared applied experiences. The group developed common categories across group members based on the linking questions and a consensual process and discussed whether the links were valid as common small group categories. Table 4 summarizes the steps. The difference that emerged in such dialogues might contain valuable knowledge. It is important that I did not force my opinion onto the participants but addressed differences and similarities and invited dialogue. The participant might reject what I suggest to be similarities, or there might be a lack of response or engagement from the participant. These types of responses from the participants are valuable data.

Table 4

Common Small Group Categories Analysis

Common Small Group Categories Analysis
12. I developed a linking table across individual core ideas within the small group.
13. Second small group meeting – developed common small group categories.
14. Faculty interviewed me (second interview.)

Common Large Group Categories Analysis

Similar to the preparation for the second small group meeting for groups A and B, I prepared a linking table for the large group meeting that contained hypothetical links across participants' applied practices that appeared to have related characteristics. The two participants from group A and the three participants from group B participated in the large group meeting. The linking table was developed based on the previously taped interview and small group meetings that had formed a structure for the discussion held in

the large group meeting. I presented a dialogue with core ideas about applied techniques that had similar characteristics across participants in order to expand the applied technique category across all members. In this way, the large group developed common large group categories in a manner similar to how the small group developed common small group categories. When the number of participants increased from the small group to the large group meeting, descriptions of the common applied techniques increased in complexity. Each additional person introduced new variations of the same theme. In addition to me, five of the participants from group A and B attended the larger, more complex group meeting and the discussion took 40 minutes to reach a consensus upon one common category that spanned over all five participants. Table 5 summarizes the steps.

Table 5

Common Large Group Categories Analysis

Common Large Group Categories Analysis
15. I developed a linking table that hypothesized similarities and differences.
16. I held a large group meeting that developed common large group categories.
17. Faculty interviewed me (third interview.)

Time Spent on Interview, Coding, and Group Meetings

Each participant was interviewed for an hour and spent approximately three hours doing individual coding activity for each transcript with an additional three hours for each of the three group meetings. The four participants who completed the whole process, (two small group meetings and one large group meeting and coding of two or three transcripts) each spent approximately 20 hours in total on the work. The fifth

participant who completed all the meetings, including the large group meeting, but did not complete the individual transcript coding, spent about 12 hours. The sixth participant who participated in the two extra dyad interviews spent about 3 hours. The remaining four participants who participated only in the initial individual interview each spent about one hour.

Data Collection on the Research Methodology

A full-time faculty member at the School of Leadership an Educational Sciences with group relations work experience participated in this study by interviewing me. In order to evaluate the influence that the research methodology had on me and deepen my understanding of the process, she interviewed me for 30 minutes on three separate occasions. The first time she interviewed me followed the individual transcript domain analysis, the second interview after the common small group categories analysis, and the third after the common large group categories analysis (See Tables 3, 4, and 5 for the detailed sequence of the tasks including these interviews). The interviews focused on my perceptions of how the method of Relational Qualitative Research was working. This included how different steps of the method worked as they were carried out. It also included how the interviews and group meetings worked out. Aspects of this interview included what emerged during the research as the research was implemented, which aspect of the method seemed to work well, and what was challenging at the time. The interviews focused on areas such as boundary management and my authority and role as a researcher. This helped me to step back and reflect on how the research methodology was used, and how this data was to be used when modifications for the next phases of the study were considered. These interviews were about how the methodology worked and

how the process of implementing the research methodology affected me as a researcher. These interviews helped me to reflect on myself, and my work as a researcher. They also provided a safe space for me to discuss challenging issues.

Final Data Analysis

Key Signifiers

The participants' work in this study was terminated after the large group meeting. I then carried out the final data analysis, first analyzing the key signifiers that were marked as a group relations term (a1). The group relations term (a1) was compared to the key signifiers discussed in Chapter 2 that were common for the two Tavistock branches: the Human Resources Centre (HRC) under Trist's leadership (Fraher, 2004), which included the socio-technical school, and the Tavistock Centre for Applied Social Research (CASR) under Rice's leadership, which included the group relations methodology (Fraher, 2004). To mention a few members in this group, the group led by Trist, included F. E. Emery and H. Murray among others, and the group led by Rice, included I. E. P. Menzies and E. J. Miller. The key signifiers for the Tavistock socio-technical school were identified from three major edited volumes: *The Social Engagement of Social Science – The Socio-Psychological Perspective – Volume I* (Trist & Murray, 1990); *The Social Engagement of Social Science – The Socio-Technical Perspective – Volume II* (Trist & Murray, 1993); *The Social Engagement of Social Science – The Socio-Ecological Perspective – Volume III* (Trist, Emery & Murray, 1997). These three volumes contain the major publications produced by the Tavistock socio-technical school. The key signifiers for the Tavisock group relations school were identified from the three major edited volumes: *Group Relations Reader 1* (Colman &

Bexton, 1975), *Group Relations Reader 2* (Colman & Geller, 1985), and *Group Relations*

Reader 3 (Cytrynbaum & Noumair, 2004). These three volumes were the major

publications of the group relations practices published by the A. K. Rice Institute for the

Study of Social Systems.

Key signifiers identified for these two branches are listed in the section "Two

Branches within the Tavistock Institute" in Chapter 2. Chapter 4 elaborates with

comparison of these key signifiers and this study's group relations term (a1).

The qualitative software program used for the textual analysis was QDA Miner

combined with WordStat, a text analysis module developed to study textual information

and the frequency of key signifiers. The theoretical elements described in Chapter 2 were

used to interpret key signifiers in a total context.

Initial Domain List

The next step, coding Individual Transcript Domain Analysis, was analyzed. The

initial coding domain list was discussed and refined based on the coding data collected in

research. When I received transcript coding from four participants, I compared their

coding to my own coding. Based on this review, I arranged two short (15 minutes)

individual meetings with participant 3 in group B and participant 7 in group A because I

wanted to clarify their understanding of their coding. I focused on one particular issue

for each participant. The refinement of the initial domain list was based on these two

meetings and the two small group meetings that analyzed individual transcript domain

coding. For example, during the individual transcript domain analysis for group A, the

teachers and I came to a consensus that a change in thinking at times can be an

intervention in itself even though no particular action or observable intervention has

taken place. In a group discussion, teachers of group A realized that when a teacher described a major shift in her thinking, her emotional state changed in such a way that she perceived and interacted with her environment differently. As a result, the teacher group and I came to a consensus that the domain concrete intervention (c2) should be split into two separate domains: internal concrete intervention (c2i) and external concrete intervention (c2e). Further elaboration on this particular case and other modifications of the coding list are discussed in Chapter 4. Initial domain list suggestions were developed and will be presented together with suggestions for research in Chapter 4.

Common Categories

I refined common small and large group categories using data from individual interviews and transcribed group meetings. The total data consisted of 465 transcribed pages. Because of the large amount of data, only a subset of the data was selected to develop the final common categories. Data chosen to be included in the common categories' analyses were abstracted from sections where the interaction among participants was free flowing and participants took turns referring to one another's statements in discussing their applied experiences. These topics were originally unsaturated and slowly became saturated during the discussion. In addition, based on individual transcript domain analysis, individual domains that were identified across participants' interview transcripts were selected to be included in the final analysis. Only data from the five participants from group A and B were included in the large group common category analysis that is presented in the write-up in this dissertation. It was in this part of the data that participants' tacit knowledge was most likely to have been externalized. The selection was based on the initial linking table and the dialogues that

emerged around linking questions for each group. This formed the basis for the selection and refinement of group common categories, which expressed participants' real life practices. Since the group meetings were taped and transcribed, I received rich data available to capture the complex group relations practices. The aforementioned key signifiers were linked to the small and large common group categories and gave them contextual background. The write-up of this study contains the large group common category. Inclusion of the small group common categories would lengthen the write-up and be beyond the scope of this study.

Positionality

I am a fourth-year doctoral student in the Leadership Studies PhD program at The School of Leadership and Education Sciences at the University of San Diego (USD), with a specialization in organizational consulting. I had a student-to-student relationship with some of the TA student-participants. I have been extensively involved in the USD group relations/case-in point courses and conferences and in my role as a researcher. Thus, I had to be mindful of the possible preference for the USD Approach, and the biases that I may bring into the study. In an effort to maintain a balanced critical view, I included a question in the interview guide that asked about the participants' doubts and misgivings about the aspects of the program that use group relations as a theoretical frame. I included a corresponding domain, "doubt/misgivings (a2)," in the initial domain list and in the following interview question: "Do you have doubts or misgivings about the group relations work?" According to Merriam (2002), there lies an important distinction between insider and outsider perspectives. In this study, the insider and outsider perspectives affect several dimensions of the research.

First, I am an insider of the group relations community at the University of San Diego. This serves as an advantage in the sense that I could identify with students' experiences since we shared experiences in the same USD group relations course/conferences. This presumably made it easier for the students to talk about their experiences with me. On the other side, however, this could also lead them to tell me what I wanted to hear in order to facilitate the study.

Second, I had to be sensitively aware of my own culture, background, religious and spiritual perspectives, gender, and professional experience that may differ from those of the students involved. I was brought up in Norway, in a society with a high labor union density and where trade unions have a strong reputation and great influence. People are used to trade union representatives speaking in the media about political issues, often refuting politicians and corporate leaders who want to weaken labor laws. The trade unions are in general regarded by the public as trustworthy and reliable, speaking on behalf of the common people's interests. This socio-structural element in society has most likely influenced my positionality compared with researchers from societies with low labor union density. Moreover, feminist movements have been strong in Norway since the 1970s, and this may have influenced me as well. Yet another influence is Norway's focus on immigrants, diversity, and multiculturalism, a response to recent waves of immigration.

During the collective interpretation of data in this project, I could not deny my own subjectivity and had to be careful to understand that the students might have had very different experiences than I have had. I might not understand where they are coming from. I also had to be aware of my motives in doing this study. I aimed to

develop and promote Relational Qualitative Research methodology after completing my dissertation. I needed to bracket this goal because the methodology might not function as I had hoped and I had to be prepared to accept that.

Downward Scalability

This study relied on the hard work of voluntary, unpaid participants. It was expected that some participants would become less motivated as the study progressed. It was also anticipated that participants may have been prevented from participating because of the occurrence of unforeseen events or because they may have had less time available for the study than what they first anticipated. On the other hand, participants could have been increasingly motivated when they learned more about themselves and developed a deeper, shared understanding within research groups. Nevertheless, when using a research methodology like the one presented in this study, one should have a "back-up" plan to handle a high attrition rate. I wanted to allow participants to withdraw from the project whenever they wanted to, without feeling any obligation. The methodology used was therefore downwardly scalable so that participants had the option to code only part of the transcript, or one transcript, and could skip meetings when unable to attend. If participants only partially completed their tasks, they would have a reduced, but still important influence. As it turned out, six of the ten participants completed most of tasks. Table 6 breaks down the participants' completion of research tasks.

Table 6

Break Down of Task Completed by the Participants

Break Down of Task Completed by the Participants	
Participants 3(B), 6(A), 7(A), 9(A)	Completed all tasks.
Participant 2(B)	Completed all tasks except individual transcript domain coding.
Participant 1	Completed interview and two additional individual meetings.
Participants 4, 5, 8, 10	Completed the interview, no additional tasks were completed.

Table 6 shows that all teachers of group A, the teachers group, completed all tasks. In group B, one of the two educational administrators did not complete individual transcript domain coding but still read through the transcripts and participated in individual transcript domain analysis. Participant 1 could not participate in any group meeting because of her busy time schedule. As previously mentioned, I therefore conducted two individual interviews with her to compensate for this. Participants who completed the tasks or most of the tasks received a gift of the *Group Relations Reader 3*, a book containing a collection of articles about group relations theory and its application.

Theoretical Underpinnings of Relational Qualitative Research

Tacit Articulation of Signifying Chain

Lacan (2007) asserted that the structure of the unconscious signifying chain governs combinations of articulated signifiers. This claim is similar to Polanyi's (1966) description of the functioning of tacit knowledge. Polanyi refers to various research experiments in his theoretical elaborations. One experiment in particular (Eriksen &

Kuethe, 1956) illuminated the link between Polanyi's theory of tacit knowledge and

Lacan's Theory of Signification, and also Freud's (1984) theory on

vorstellungreprasentanzen and *vorstellung*. Through this experiment, it is demonstrated

how tacit knowledge behind the scenes repressed signifiers from speech. I will go

through this experiment; it is crucial because it binds and confirms the links between tacit

knowledge, psychoanalysis, and group relations.

In Eriksen and Kuethe's (1956) experiment, the participants were informed they

were taking part in an experiment to determine the maximum speed of mental

associations. The real purpose of the research was to study the repression of associated

words. The participants were asked to respond as quickly as possible with the first word

that came to their mind when the stimulus words from a 15-item word association list

were presented to them. During the first trial of the 15-item word association list, the

administrator gave a strong electric shock promptly after five arbitrarily selected

associated response words. After the first trial, the participants were then administrated a

number of test runs on the same 15 stimulus words. On each trial the stimulus words

turned up in a different order. Each time the participant responded with one of the five

first-trial punished responses, he or she received a strong electric shock. The researchers

administrated a total of ten trials or until the participant had two consecutive trials

without the occurrence of any one of the five punished associations. The participants

learned automatically to repress the painful associations within 4-5 trials.

Eriksen and Kuethe's avoidance conditioning experiment supports Freud's theory.

Freud, for the most part, claimed that it was the words that were repressed into the

unconscious and not the emotions associated with the words. Freud called what is

repressed *vorstellungreprasentanzen*. Lacan emphasized many times during his career

the importance of returning to Freud's original work, and he studied Freud's work

directly in German. Lacan came to realize when reading Freud's texts directly in German

that these representatives can be equated with what are referred to in linguistics by

Saussure as signifiers (Fink, 1997). It was Lacan who saw this link between Freud's

theory of the unconscious and Saussure's theory of semiotics. Eriksen and Kuethe's

experiment demonstrated the links between Polanyi's tacit knowledge to Freud and

Lacan's theories of the unconscious and language.

In Eriksen and Kuethe's (1956) experiment, the participants' omission of syllables

from speech is similar to Lacan's theory where subjects unconsciously can repress

signifiers with an unbearable emotional load. Lacan's theory of signification is therefore

a theory that describes the mechanism of tacit knowledge. The structure of the

unconscious chain prevents a certain combination of signifiers from being surfaced in

conscious speech while allowing or promoting other combinations. Repression of

syllables or signifiers typically results from a negative emotional load or inflicted pain

from a psychological injury in real life, or as in Eriksen and Kuethe's experiment, from

electric shocks. In the case of psychological injury and following Lacanian theory as

described in Chapter 2, the emotional load is associated with the signifier, not the

signified, and is often felt most strongly in the moment the emotional loaded signifier is

spoken. For example, when one utters the name (or the signifier) of a deceased loved

one, tears come in the moment the signifier (the name) is spoken. The emotional load

can lead to repression of the signifier from speech, similar to the mechanism described by

Eriksen and Kuethe. It is important to keep in mind that the repressed signifier can still be uttered in certain signifying combinations but not in others.

Reading explicit-to-tacit knowledge conversion processes through Lacan's Theory of Signification and Polanyi's Theory of Tacit Dimension provide links between trauma and tacit knowledge, and between socio-normative symbolic and tacit knowledge. Eriksen and Kuethe's experiment demonstrated how the tacit mechanism operates. An effect of psychological injury in which signifiers are repressed is a special case of tacit knowledge. For example, when a student's group relations inspired applied technique meets resistance at the workplace, the unconscious signifying chain represses certain combinations of group relations jargon signifiers, so an automated tacit learned response can develop. This can help the student over time tacitly to prevent articulations of chains, which earlier have caused emotional stress at work. The deepest learning is therefore not primarily what is articulated and explicit, but it is what is absent from the conscious articulated chains. The same mechanism explains how certain signifiers are repressed in the socio-normative symbolic field of speech.

Building on Lacan and Polanyi's theories as well as Eriksen and Kuethe's research, I will show an example that illustrates how tacit knowledge repress signifiers from the socio-normative symbolic field. This process, the unconscious structuring of the signifying chain, prohibits within speech combining in the signifying chain the signifiers "poor," "white," and "men", while the unconscious chain allows the signifiers "poor" and "children" to be articulated. The tacit knowing represses the signifier "poor", but the chain still allows the term "poor" to be used in daily language as long as it is not used in certain other combinations, like the signifying chains "poor white men" or "poor white

women" and so on. This example was developed from the data and will be further elaborated in Chapter 4. Repression of the metonymic chain like "poor white men" is unrelated to trauma, but is caused by similar repressive mechanism, the socio-normative symbolic field internalized from language's inherent rules that are derived from a historical context, what Lacan calls the Other.

Focal versus Tacit Knowledge

According to Polanyi, in each activity or each applied technique, there are two dimensions of knowledge that are complementary but cannot be kept conscious at the same time. There is focal knowledge about the object in focus, and there is tacit knowledge used as a tool to handle what is in focus. The tacit knowledge operates "behind the scenes," to smoothly manage the task in focus. For instance, when a person is speaking, linguistic and grammatical rules function as tacit knowledge (behind the scenes) while the person's focus is on the meaning the person wants to express (the object in focus). The person does not think about grammar while speaking because the complex grammar rules are followed automatically. Likewise, a carpenter driving a nail using a hammer as a tool must focus on the nail while the tacit knowledge operates complex muscle acts (behind the scenes) using the hammer as a tool. If the carpenter focuses on the hammer (the tool), he or she will miss the nail. In similar way, the speaker must focus on the overall meaning, not the grammar rules in order to speak fluently (or tacitly). If the speaker focuses on the grammar rules while speaking, the person will not be able to speak tacitly. Likewise, in group relations conferences, if the instructor focuses too much on one single issue, the instructor would probably be less able to observe the overall situation in the room.

Imaginary Tacit versus Symbolic Tacit Knowledge

Polanyi makes no distinction between physical skills using muscular acts and analytic knowledge. According to Polanyi, the process-of-knowing is the same, and he would therefore not distinguish between the tacit knowledge of a craftsman and a group relations instructor. I argue the importance of making this distinction between tacit knowing that uses objects like a hammer as physical tools and using language as an intellective tool, because the latter activates the unconscious while the former does not. In the first case, tacit knowledge, stored as muscular acts, is operating "behind the scene" to handle the physical tool, the hammer, and the focal point is the nail. In the latter case, tacit knowledge, stored as unconscious structure, is operating behind the scene, to handle the analytic tool, the analytic language, and where the focal point is the meaning of the emerging event and what is going on in the group as a whole, in the here-and-now. The group relations instructor focuses on the meaning of what is going on, while tacit knowledge handles the speech that operates behind the scenes.

Reading Polanyi through Lacanian theory, I can split the tacit knowledge into two types and name them *Imaginary tacit knowledge* and *Symbolic tacit knowledge.* Imaginary tacit knowledge is based on stored sensory impressions and stored combinations of muscle acts in memory while Symbolic tacit knowledge is language-based and is based on the structure of repressed signifiers in the unconscious. Relational Qualitative Research is tailored to focus on tacit Symbolic knowledge communicated through language. I argue that we need to distinguish between tacit knowledge that resides in the Imaginary realm (e.g., the carpenter's tacit knowledge), to sensory imaginary impressions, from tacit knowledge in the Symbolic realm (e.g., the therapist's

tacit knowledge) that involves the unconscious and is connected to speech. Imaginary tacit knowledge is built from combinations of stored images from sensory impressions, for example, catching a ball with our hands is an automatic response that involves complex coordination of the body's muscles. Similarly, repressed signifiers, structuring the unconscious, organize Symbolic tacit knowledge. An example of this would be an instructor's articulated responses in large group relations conferences. In group relations conferences and classes, the students learn to match the chains of words articulated by instructors and peers that are more capable. This helps them to internalize articulated chains spoken by the instructors.

Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995) method, like the Tavistock socio-technical school, focused on workers' tacit knowledge in technical industries where operating machinery systems were collaborated. They have frequently used the physical tools and muscles to steer equipment and operating machines. They are using Imaginary tacit knowledge that is not symbolized but is stored in memory. A typical basketball coach will place himself in the center of the court where the players are training. The coach will talk loudly and make comments to each player while they are in action, using language as a tool to comment on their body movements and direct how to coordinate their legs and arms. The coach is symbolizing the players' muscular acts so that they can relate the words to what they are doing in the here-and-now. What the basketball coach does is to make muscular acts expressed in language. The coach must do it in the here-and-now while the player is doing the muscular acts, and the symbolic description of them evolves in parallel. The coach uses Symbolic tacit knowledge to address the basketball player's Imaginary tacit knowledge. Group relations learning, alternatively, is the learning about unconscious

group processes, and in order to understand these processes we have to observe how the language is used as a tool in interventions and applied techniques. The group relations instructor is also using language as a tool in the here-and-now. So the difference between the basketball coach and the group relations instructor is that the basketball coach uses language as a tool tacitly behind the scenes addressing the body movements of the player, while the instructor uses skilled group relations language as a tool tacitly addressing the speech of the participants' normal language. Both the basketball coach and the group relations instructor are using language tacitly as a tool. The difference is that the coach addresses body movements while the instructor addresses normal language. Building on Lacan and Polanyi's theories as well as Eriksen and Kuethe's (1956) research and focusing on the Symbolic realm, tacit knowledge regularly uses language as a tool to impact speech in at least four different ways. These are described in the section "Lacan's Theory of the Four Discourses" in Chapter 2.

Table 7

Imaginary and Symbolic Tacit Knowledge

Imaginary Tacit Knowledge	Symbolic Tacit Knowledge
1. Real images from sensory perceptions (craftwork, operating machinery) 2. Fantasy images (art work)	1. Normal speech (grammar) 2. Skilled speech (group relations, psychoanalytic) 3. Unconscious speech in groups 4. Unconscious speech caused by trauma/psychological injury 5. Unconscious speech caused by socio-normative symbolic field

First, there is normal speech (ego speech) where tacit knowledge operates behind the scenes so grammar rules automatically follow. Second, is the tacit governance of skilled speech, like for example group relations experiential learning or counseling sessions where the instructor or therapist using tacitly skilled language (as a tool) addressing the receiver's unconscious speech. The meaning of these two speeches are largely controlled by the ego; however, there is included a trained awareness of the unconscious in latter speech. The next three speeches are unconscious to the speaker. Third, is the unconscious speech in groups. The group impacts the person in such a way that the person includes unconscious elements in the normal speech (e.g., unconsciously address a group member as the authority of the group). Forth, there are unconscious speech elements after traumatic events like psychological injury, causing unconscious avoidance in using certain signifiers that elicit unbearable pain. Fifth, in speech people unconsciously follow patterns of the socio-normative symbolic field. For example, if a person is using a group relations applied technique overtly at work, this intervention might violate contextual work norms, which could lead to negative results, or exclusion. This might again lead to repression of certain combinations of signifiers over time and the modification of future articulations used in the act of carrying out the applied technique.

For psychoanalytic therapists or group relations instructors, the analytic work over time will be automated. It is about observing the contextual situation and developing an automated analytic response to the event in context. The therapist or the group relations instructor has automated a type of language beyond the normal language in order to impact the receiver's Subject. This tacit knowledge works behind the scenes so the

instructor can automate a different mode of communication using language as a tool,

beyond the normal use of language, and impact the Subject of the receiver. This will be

discussed in the result section in Chapter 4. I have in Table 8 distinguished between

different types of professionals making use of tacit knowledge operating behind the

scenes addressing the object in focus.

Table 8

Types of Tacit and Focal Knowledge

Type of Practice	Tacit Knowledge of Speaker	Focal Knowledge of Speaker
Group relations instructor uses	skilled speech (group relations) as tacit symbolic knowledge	addressing (3) unconscious speech of students in groups governed by tacit symbolic knowledge, potentially addressing (5) the socio-normative symbolic field
Therapist uses	skilled speech (psychoanalytic) as tacit symbolic knowledge	addressing (4) unconscious speech caused by trauma/psychological injury governed by tacit symbolic knowledge
Basketball coach uses	skilled speech (coaching speech) as tacit symbolic knowledge	addressing bodily movements of players governed by tacit imaginary knowledge
Basketball player uses	skilled bodily movements as tacit imaginary knowledge handling arms and legs as tools	addressing the ball, court, other players
Carpenter uses	skilled bodily movements as tacit imaginary knowledge handling the hammer as a tool	addressing the nail

The Knowledge Conversion Process

    This study investigates how participants apply group relations experiential

learning in real lives. It is therefore relevant to not only capture participants' explicit

attitudes and beliefs about their own group relations experiential learning, but also capture the implicit applied skills and practices. In order to make this research method capable of doing this, the method makes use of Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995) knowledge conversion processes and their ideas on how to make applied knowledge explicit. How tacit knowledge works will be further explained in this section.

Polanyi asserted that human beings as the subject of perception acquire knowledge by involving themselves with objects, and he refers to this as *indwelling*. Polanyi posited that human beings acquire knowledge by actively creating and organizing their own experiences and only a part of this knowledge can be expressed in words. The other part, tacit knowledge, is embodied, personal, context-dependent, and therefore difficult to communicate. On the other side, explicit knowledge is expressed through formalized language and is therefore easier to communicate. Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) extended Polanyi's (1966) philosophic position on tacit and explicit knowledge in a more practical direction and developed a theory for knowledge conversion. They built upon the principle that knowledge is developed through interaction between tacit and explicit knowledge. This opens four different modes of knowledge conversions: (1) explicit-to-explicit knowledge conversion (combination); (2) explicit-to-tacit knowledge conversion (internalization); (3) tacit-to-tacit knowledge conversion (socialization); and finally, (4) tacit-to-explicit knowledge conversion (externalization) (see Figure 10). I will now go through types of knowledge conversion and relate them to group relations, case-in-point learning and this research methodology.

Explicit

Externalization   Combination

Tacit   Explicit

Socialization   Internalization

Tacit
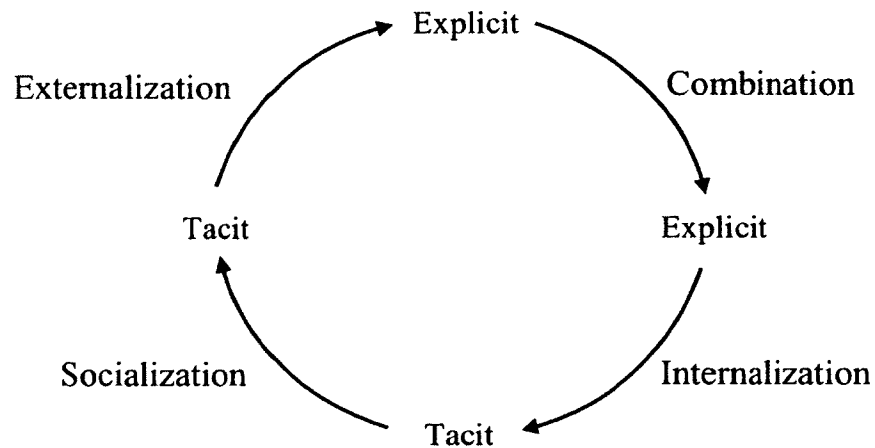
Figure 10. The knowledge conversion processes, adapted from Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995).

Explicit-to-explicit knowledge conversion (combination) involves combining different pieces of explicit knowledge through such media as documents, meetings, telephone conversations, and lecture-format seminars and conferences. Knowledge creation in educational settings usually takes this form. The USD approach and case-in-point teaching methodology include theoretical readings and homework, in addition to experiential learning. These teaching methodologies have therefore a built-in explicit-to-explicit knowledge conversion process.

Explicit-to-tacit knowledge conversion (internalization) is a process where explicit knowledge of the mind converts to tacit knowledge of the body. This process is linked to "learning by doing." When knowledge creation through socialization, externalization, and combination are internalized and embodied, tacit knowledge will be based upon shared mental models and become a valuable group asset. This is a typical scaffolding system in the Vygotskian sense. The USD approach and case-in-point

experiential teaching methodologies facilitate a learning environment where explicit-to-explicit and explicit-to-tacit knowledge conversions take place. As is already mentioned, theoretical readings and parts of classes taught in a traditional lecture format activate the explicit-to-explicit conversion. The explicit-to-tacit knowledge conversion is activated by engaging in experiential learning activities (learning by doing) in the classroom laboratory. The experiential learning method facilitates an explicit-to-tacit knowledge conversion process where students use explicit theoretical concepts and "imitate" the instructor and staff's explicit behavior to adapt interventions and here-and-now interpretations as classroom events unfold. Over time, the activities are internalized, embodied, and become tacit. To a lesser degree, the methodology of group relations conferences has built-in explicit-to-explicit knowledge conversion, because few readings are required and participants often report skipping the readings. This is problematic since concepts are not made explicit to the participants from the start. Therefore, as a result there are few signifiers to internalize and repress. The USD approach includes theoretical readings as homework and thereby produces relevant conscious signifying chains that can later be repressed. This promotes explicit-to-tacit knowledge conversion.

If the students' skip the homework or do not do any readings, the explicit-to-explicit knowledge conversion will be achieved to a lesser degree and students are likely to develop a tacit knowledge more based on the *Imaginary* realm and less on the *Symbolic* realm because there was less explicit knowledge to begin with.

Tacit-to-tacit knowledge conversion through socialization is a process of sharing experiences. Transfer of information usually makes little sense if knowledge is disconnected from emotions and specific contexts in which shared experiences are

embedded. Nonaka and Takeuchi argued that the key to acquiring tacit knowledge is experience. Since tacit knowledge is dependent on context, students will not always be sufficiently competent to apply their acquired tacit knowledge of the classroom because current tacit knowledge is dependent on classroom context. One can assume that students adapt to the context of real life through the process of trial-and-error because it activates a tacit-to-tacit knowledge conversion process beyond the classroom laboratory that is unsupported by faculty. Presumably, this adaptation allows "old" tacit knowledge that is dependent on classroom settings to convert into "new" tacit knowledge dependent on the real life context of the student.

Tacit-to-explicit knowledge conversion (externalization) articulates tacit knowledge into concepts, or signifieds, expressed by signifiers. This is a knowledge creation process where tacit knowledge becomes explicit, taking the shape of metaphors, analogies, concepts, hypotheses, or models and is seen in the process of concept creation, carried forward by dialogue or collective reflection. Externalization is often carried out with a combination of deduction and induction, but if adequate expression for an image cannot be found through analytical methods (i.e., deduction or induction), non-analytical methods (i.e., a metaphor or analogy) can be used. In this creative process, team members articulate hidden tacit knowledge that is otherwise hard to communicate. Unless shared knowledge becomes explicit, it cannot easily be communicated among group members and by the group as a whole.

In this study, the data collection process of Relational Quality Research methodology facilitated a tacit-to-explicit knowledge conversion process. Core ideas and domains that participants attached to interview transcripts functioned as multiple "hooks"

or an explicit chain of signifiers that helped participants externalize the tacit action-based knowledge that they have internalized over time. The research involved participants in the coding process, and thus emerging themes and categories likely helped participants express more "hidden" applied action based skills and knowledge. The research attempted to have participants externalize potential skill-based knowledge by letting them symbolize and signify core ideas and categories derived from the coding process and group discussions of transcripts. Participants are not often able to articulate their experiences because there are limited symbolic tools and a lack of appropriate signifying chains available to them. However, over time participants can learn about their own experience, as this study was designed to allow.

In Relational Qualitative Research, participants are given the opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of their own experiences during the coding process. Allowing conscious signifying chains to name experiences in the symbolic realm, externalizes knowledge. During the research process, new knowledge is anticipated when participants re-combine applied pieces of knowledge. As a result of mediating external concepts through relationships, participants might be able to co-create new knowledge and articulate more complex, precise signifying chains. Table 9 below compares the four knowledge conversion processes by Nonaka and Takeuchi with Vygotsky's learning theory, Lacan's psychoanalytic theory, and this study's teaching assistants' involvement in different learning activities related to these four knowledge conversions.

Table 9

Teacher Assistant Learning Phases

Nonaka & Takeuchi	Vygotsky	Lacan	Teacher Assistant Involvement
explicit-to-explicit (combination)		recombining chain of signifiers in conscious	receiving lecture format learning and conceptualization of group relations theory or interpreting the data of this study
explicit-to-tacit (internalization)	zone of proximal development	repressing signifiers into unconscious	participating in group relations experiential learning in classroom laboratory
tacit-to-tacit (socialization)	automatization	re-structure the signifying chain in unconscious	adapting the experiential learning on a trial-and-error basis outside classroom laboratory (without theorizing it)
tacit-to-explicit (externalization)	de-automatization	attaching signifiers to tacit knowledge	participating in this study

It is important to note that all four knowledge conversion processes are going on at all times. Table 9 emphasizes which conversion processes is dominant in various learning situations.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

The data analysis consists of two main parts. The first part focuses on how the participants carried out the coding work, the pattern, frequencies and structures of words that were transcribed and discussion of whether and how tacit knowledge was externalized. I also analyzed the frequencies of key signifiers and their structure in speech by using Lacan's theory of signification (2007). In the second part, I wrote up the narrative of eight interventions carried out by five participants. I used Lacanian theory of four discourses to analyze the communication modes of the interventions and applied techniques that participants used as applications of their learning. I also analyzed the interventions with regard to central and secondary antagonisms.

Data Collection and Coding Work

The data from the ten individual interviews were transcribed into 200 pages. Transcriptions from individual transcript domain analyses conducted in the first two small-group meetings ran another 90 pages. Eighty pages were added from the common small group categories analyses in the last two small group meetings, along with 50 pages from the large group common categories analysis. Finally, an additional 45 pages were transcribed from three interviews with one participant who was unable to attend group meetings. In total, 465 pages consisting of 155,700 words were transcribed.

Data Selected for Final Analysis

Ten participants were interviewed initially and five of them participated in further stages of the research process. I chose to focus predominantly on the data from these five

participants because they contributed data to different stages of the collection process. These stages were the individual interviews, transcript analysis, and common small and large group analyses. The analysis of data from various stages in the research process better demonstrates aspects of the research methodology than data from a single stage. Therefore, the data provided from the five participants who did not participate in group analysis was used only to analyze the frequency of the key signifiers.

Individual Transcript Domain Coding

The five participants who participated in the consecutive individual transcript domain coding and group meetings were divided into two groups. Three teachers, Paula, Kate, and Sam were placed in group A and two educational administrators, Hanna and Teresa, were placed in group B. Each of the three teachers in group A completed individual transcript domain coding. One of the two educational administrators in group B completed transcript domain coding while the other read the transcripts but did not code them. As the researcher, I coded all transcripts and compared the four participants' coding with my coding. Because of a number of instances of contradictory coding between participants, there was a need for corrections and clarifications of the domain coding during the individual transcript domain meeting. I then took steps to further develop the coding scheme. To initiate dialogue around participants' coding on a deeper conceptual level, I selected sections from the text where coding differences between participants resulted from different interpretations of the phenomenon rather than a misunderstanding of the coding rules. These led to fruitful discussions that were used to develop an improved and more nuanced coding matrix. The group agreed upon some

modifications of the coding domain list during the meetings. See next section *Analysis of Domain Coding List* for detailed elaboration and examples.

I sensed that the mental strain of coding work varied amongst participants. I could therefore only move the group into the domain coding for short time periods, (usually not more than fifteen to twenty minutes at a time). Thinking within the systemic logic of the coding framework is challenging and potentially unpleasant or tiresome because participants are forced to explore "grey" areas with more precision than they are accustomed to. The coding framework may disable participants from using free-flowing automatic and unconscious structuring of the signifying chain when the group discusses the coding. This is not necessarily a downside of the methodology because "unpleasant thinking" or "energy demanding" thinking is helpful to allow participants to externalize knowledge and discover inconsistencies and gaps within their thinking and practices. The signifying chain that drives conscious speech functions as a simplifier that glosses over inconsistency and paradox yet produces an apparently consistent perspective on reality.

The participants' reactions to the coding framework varied. One of the educational administrators, Teresa, was research-oriented and enjoyed the coding and analysis. She completed the coding work and found it useful in understanding the applied practices of other participants. She said she could understand the other administrator's applied practices much better after the coding work. Because she saw a pattern in the other participant's applied techniques, she gained a better understanding of the other participant's transcript. In contrast, Hanna, the other administrator, had just completed a larger scientific research project that included coding work and she said she

needed a break from this type of work. As much as she tried, she could not overcome her resistance to the coding work. Hanna did everything except for the coding. I had the impression that she was much more engaged in applied work than theory, while Teresa was invested in research as a future career. The result was that Teresa was better prepared to understand Hanna's group relations application when the meeting started, than vice-versa.

Paula, in the teachers' group, reported that focusing on coding rules caused her to pay less attention to the meaning of the content. Coding is not intended to take participants' focus away from meaning, but participants' experiences varied by how comfortable they felt with the coding.

<div align="center">Analysis of Group Relations Signifiers (a1)</div>

Four participants carried out the marking of words and phrases they identified in the transcript as "group relations signifiers" (a1), (please see Appendix E for complete results of coding of the group relations signifiers (a1) domain coding). Group relations signifiers (a1) are defined as key signifiers and signifying chains that contain special meaning to the participants related to their group relations learning. These included signifiers from psychoanalytic theory underpinning the traditions of group relations and case-in-point teaching. Examples of this are signifiers like "the-group-as-a-whole," "projective identification" and frequently used USD group relations/case-in-point questions such as "What are you holding for the group?" and "What is your piece of it?" The group relations signifiers (a1) were included in the initial domain list in order to capture how participants used USD group relations terminology when describing applications of their learning. Their use indicates something of the participants'

linguistic framing and expression of their experiences at the outset of the study. Kate and Sam, in the teachers' group, identified a higher number of group relations signifiers in their own and each other's transcripts than they did in Paula's transcript, the third member of their group. Paula, in comparison to Kate and Sam, articulated a limited amount of group relations expressions. Kate and Sam had completed a Teacher Assistant group relations course less than a year earlier in which they had used group relations vocabulary on a daily basis. Paula applied group relations principles at the same level of understanding as the other teachers but did so in a manner that was more personal and tacit. She relied more on her own experiences and less on the explicit and articulated knowledge than the two other teachers did. Paula said that she used the group relations learning on a daily basis but had forgotten some of the group relations terminology and it was hard for her to explain to others what the group relations work was. For example, she explained:

> We are trying to explain to these students Terri's class and it is just impossible. It is hard for people to wrap their heads around to the point where they can cogently express it in some way. So that was a big problem that I had after taking Terri's class was how do I even begin to explain what I have just done and I don't not know how to do that.

Paula did not recently read theory or attend group relations conferences; she implicitly applied the learning in her teaching and in community work without renewing the group relations vocabulary. It had been several years since she was educated on case-in-point and group relations methodology that included theoretical readings. Paula said she did the TA class around 2004:

That [the TA class] was probably 2004, 2005 and I did the conference maybe winter of 2003. I intend to go back every year and I never do it. And it is now become really embedded, it is now become almost unconscious in the way. It has become part of how I understand the world and how I make sense of the world. So it really mattered for me a lot in that sense. So I am teaching elements of what Terri taught in the fall. Now it has to become explicit again. So it is interesting as I am trying to take what has now sort of become an automatic way of thinking to, okay, I have got to help 10 other people understand this, so I have got to change the way I am thinking about this.

Paula's previously explicit knowledge, had over the years become tacit and unconscious as she says, and during the interview, she stressed working on making the knowledge explicit again so she can communicate the group relations concepts to her students. Paula was aware that what she had learned at an earlier time had become over time internalized tacit (automatic) knowledge, and her knowledge was therefore applied, but not expressed (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995; Polanyi, 1966). Paula used ordinary words to replace the key group relations signifiers (a1) that she most likely once had learned. Kate, Sam, and I only recognized a few group relations signifiers (a1) in Paula's transcript.

In contrast, during initial interviews, Kate and Sam tacitly described their applied practices using group relations terminology. Paula's application techniques surfaced later and were made explicit in small and large group meetings. This confirms that a person may apply tacit knowledge in a work environment without being able to put into words the knowledge and skills that he or she is using.

Table 10 shows the data pertaining to the coding of the marked group relations signifiers (a1) in the teachers' group. The numbers of signifiers in parentheses indicate

the total of distinct group relations signifiers that were identified by each coder, and, in the "Total" column, by all coders summed together. Because signifiers were often used more than once, the numbers without parentheses are included to show the total number of times that group relations signifiers were identified. All signifiers identified are listed in Appendix E.

Table 10

Identified Key Signifiers (a1) in Teachers' Group

	Researcher	Kate	Sam	Paula	Total
Kate's transcript coded by	44 (29)	22 (20)	13 (12)	10 (10)	89 (71)
Sam's transcript coded by	38 (25)	18 (17)	6 (6)	2 (2)	64 (50)
Paula's transcript coded by	15 (14)	3 (3)	6 (6)	0 (0)	24 (23)
Total	97 (68)	43 (40)	25 (24)	12 (12)	

Kate and Sam identified a higher number of group relations signifiers (a1) when they coded their own transcripts than when they coded Paula's transcript. Paula did not identify any group relations signifiers in her own transcript, although Kate identified ten group relations signifiers there. This suggests that Kate and Sam have a high level of explicit knowledge in comparison with Paula, and her high level of tacit knowledge only became fully evident later, during the group meetings.

Table 11

Identified Key Signifiers (a1) in Administrators' Group

	Researcher	Teresa	Hanna	Total
Teresa's transcript coded by	30 (16)	28 (14)	-	58 (30)
Hanna's transcript coded by	81 (27)	107 (35)	-	188 (62)
Total	111 (43)	135 (49)	-	

Teresa's coding of Hanna's transcript in group B resulted in 109 marks of group relations signifiers (a1), the highest level identified in any of the coded transcripts. Hanna said that in the last six to seven years she has regularly attended group relations conferences and has also been reading group relations theory. Consequently, Hanna, contrary to Paula, maintained explicit knowledge at the same time that she also developed tacit knowledge. Paula and Hanna were both experimenting using group relations at work in radical new ways, but Paula, unlike Hanna, was not articulating group relations vocabulary to a large extent when she talked about her group relations practices. However, Paula could articulate more of her experience in dialogues with Kate and Sam than during the initial interview.

There are three hypothetical explanations for this. The first hypothesis is that Paula's group relations signifiers were explicitly learned at an earlier time, but since have become unconscious because the signifiers have been repressed (explicit-to-tacit knowledge conversion). The second alternative is that Paula connected the group relations learning images to vocabulary associated with directing theatre rehearsal (explicit-to-explicit knowledge conversion). Paula learned to direct theatrical plays prior

to learning about group relations; therefore, she could make a connection from her internalized vocabulary directing theatre rehearsals to what she experienced in the group relations classroom. A third explanation could be that Paula converted knowledge through socialization (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995), which is a tacit-to-tacit knowledge conversion, where Paula integrated her social experiences in the group relations classroom into her earlier internalized practice directing theatre rehearsal through tacit socialization without using explicit signifiers and language. In this case, her tacit skill set has not been articulated in either group relations signifiers or theatre rehearsal vocabulary; she just used normal language and chains of regular words, as defined in Chapter 3.

<div align="center">Analysis of Domain Coding List</div>

Domain Matrix

The coding domain list described in Chapter 3 expresses two dimensions, each displayed on an axis. The horizontal axis contains the sequence of events: problem/phenomenon (0), thinking/emotions in response to the problem/phenomenon (1), intervention (2), and result (3). The vertical axis contains two levels: the concrete level (c) and the general level (g). The concrete level covers singular interventions from a specific time and place and the general level covers the abstract generalizations of applied techniques. These two dimensions are conceptualized in Table 12 below.

Table 12

Two Dimensions of Initial Domain Coding List

	Problem	Thinking	Applied	Result
Concrete	c0	c1	c2	c3
General		g1	g2	

These abstract generalizations (g) can be derived from pure theory (from reading or lecture) and then be expressed through language, or derived from the trial-and-error of lived experience and then be expressed through language. We can call the former general explicit theoretical (impersonal) knowledge and the latter general explicit applied (personalized) knowledge. As well, preliminary trial-and-error interventions may initially be inspired by theory. Theory can therefore be a source of practical knowledge when it inspires trial-and-error type of interventions. In the following sections, I describe additional concepts derived from analysis of the four participants' coding using the initial domain list. Of the five participants who continued in the study after the initial interviews, one was not motivated to do the coding work because she recently had completed an extensive academic project and felt she needed a break from such work. Consequently, only four of the original 10 participants carried out the coding work with the initial domain list.

Context-Specific Generalizations

After I looked over the participants' coding to determine whether they had followed the agreed upon coding rules, I organized two individual fifteen-minute meetings with Teresa in the educational administrator group and Sam in the teacher

group in order to clarify my understanding of an instance of each participant's coding that

seemed curious to me. I wanted to clarify my understanding of the logic behind their

coding choices to optimize how I engage in our group meetings around coding.

Accordingly, I met with Sam to discuss his coding of Kate's weekly use of silence as a

tool to help students to find their roles in her class. Sam coded this as a general change in

applied technique (g2), but that seemed illogical to me since Kate had only used this

technique in a classroom context. While analyzing the data, I saw that the context itself

was related to how the personalized skill was developed in that particular context,

because in another context, for example in a business meeting, the use of silence as a

technique to help people find their roles might violate social norms and be unacceptable.

Sam and I came to agree that some applied techniques were used frequently in certain

contexts, but were not generalized to other or all contexts. We came to the consensus that

generalized techniques might be tailored to certain contexts and not necessarily

appropriate in others and that it is meaningful to distinguish general applied techniques

from context specific applied techniques. When I shared this discussion in the teacher

group, we reached the same consensus. This led me to develop a third row to the grid, a

context-specific layer (d0, d1, d2, d3) (d=dependent on specific-context) to cover

techniques that were regularly applied in particular contexts but not to others. It is

important to note that tacit knowledge is usually manifested in context-specific

techniques (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). In addition to adding the context specific layer,

I also added (g0) and (g3) in order to complete the two-dimensional space. At first, it did

not seem necessary to define a domain as a general problem (g0) and general result (g3),

but during the study, I concluded that there are general problems that are independent of

context (e.g., access to clean water, homelessness) and general outcomes of attempted

solutions to these problems. For instance, a particular society could have either solved or

not solved the general problem of access to clean water for all people. All societies need

to deal with this general problem. I felt it was meaningful to make this distinction. See

Table 13 for the expanded grid.

Table 13

Expanded Grid with Context-Specific Generalizations

	Problem	Thinking	Applied	Result
Concrete	c0	c1	c2	c3
Context-specific	d0	d1	d2	d3
General	g0	g1	g2	g3

When "generalizations" are made across two or more concrete interventions that

have taken place in the same or similar contexts, the result is a context-specific

generalization (d). In contrast, true generalizations (g) are phenomena that can be applied

to any context. For instance, a person who pays careful attention to the roles people

assume can apply this technique in any group, whether the context is familial,

professional, or other. Thus, this type of general applied technique (g2) is fairly

independent from context. An internal technique such as observing the roles of group

participants can be more easily generalized across context than techniques that require

active engagement and which may produce resistance.

In the fifteen-minute meeting with Teresa, I inquired about her coding one of her

own interventions as being general (g2) when I had viewed it as being a concrete (c2),

one-time event. She explained that she had used generalized thinking to develop the concrete intervention. She said that even though the intervention was done only once and was concrete, it was inspired by general thinking. She argued that it is rare for one to find pure concrete interventions that were not inspired by generalizations. I agreed with her perspective that generalized knowledge can inspire concrete action in context. I also concluded that if the intervention were repeated over time, the participant would most likely adjust the applied technique to improve it, and over time this application would develop into a type of context-specific knowledge. This knowledge conversion and learning path would go from general to concrete to context-specific (g → c → d). The analysis of the eight vignettes described later in this chapter will demonstrate this conclusion. For example, a teacher who is inspired by a general model about role and authority can use concepts and words from the model in concrete interventions in order to help particular students. The teacher might over time, based on trial-and-error testing in real life, develop a context-specific way of teaching the model to a particular group of students at a particular school. In this example, the knowledge conversion goes from an abstract general model to the teacher's concrete interventions in real life with specific students, and then to a context-specific generalized way of teaching. As earlier mentioned, this knowledge conversion path goes from general to concrete to context-specific (g → c → d).

Separating Internal and External Applied Techniques

The further fine-tuning of the understanding of the coding domain list was based on consecutive individual transcript domain analyses in the two meetings that were held for the teacher group (group A) and educational administrator group (group B). During

the individual transcript domain analysis meeting of the teacher group we learned that a major shift in a participant's (Kate) thinking restructured her perception and interaction with the environment. We concluded that a shift in concrete thinking (c1) could be an intervention (c2) in itself even if the teacher did not carry out any external action. Kate said that in her role as a teacher, she regularly supported her students' learning and development by preparing them with two to three minutes of silence. Kate coded the event: "I'm setting my intention as helping to create a container for them" as a change in thinking (c1). Sam coded the same text as an intervention (c2). Upon discussing this divergence, Sam argued that the change in thinking could be an intervention because the person changes internally and would receive things differently. In Kate's case, setting an intention in thought allowed her to receive the group members differently. After discussion, all of us agreed that holding a space for silence in the class was an external intervention, while mentally setting the intention to create a container for the students (a shift in concrete thinking) was a type of internal intervention. As a result of this dialogue, the teachers in group A and I agreed that a concrete intervention (c2), as in this example, can either be an internal concrete intervention (c2i) as well as an external intervention (c2e). Based on this perspective, the commonly expressed dichotomy of "thinking versus doing" is a false one. I therefore divided the previous column "applied" into two columns, "Applied Internal" and "Applied External" in the table to separate these categories. I also associated (c2e) with the *agent* in Lacan's (1998) matheme of the four discourses (see Chapter 2), because it is an external action that is addressing somebody, and I associated (c2i) with the *other* because it is an action that initiates internal work.

Table 14

Grid with Separated Internal and External Applied Techniques

	Thinking	Problem	Applied Internal	Applied External	Result
Concrete	c1	c0	c2i	c2e	c4
Context-specific	d1	d0	d2i	d2e	d4
General	g1	g0	g2i	g2e	g4

The coding often revealed an overlap between the domains of problem challenge (c0), change in thinking (c1), change in applied techniques (c2i/e) and results (c4). This shows that the domains "problem," "thinking," "intervention," and "results" are intertwined. The participants confirmed this by sometimes combining the codes together.

In Table 14, "Thinking" is placed on the left hand side of "Problem" in order to demonstrate that that the thinking (c1) precedes the problem definition (c0) and that if the thinking is altered, the problem will also shift its character.

When a generalized applied technique is converted to tacit knowledge, it will be expressed as context-specific tacit knowledge since applied tacit knowledge always takes place in a specific context (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). The matrix can contribute to understanding how practices move from general to concrete to context-specific (g → c → d). General thinking might either emerge from (1) general theory (generalized 'book' knowledge), or (2) from participants' practices and personal generalized context-specific tacit knowledge, (not generalized 'book' knowledge) that is externalized. The two dimensions, concrete-general and tacit-explicit form the space where knowledge is developed.

Analysis of Key Signifiers Frequencies

I used the data program WordStat (a module for QDA Miner) in order to identify

and compute the frequencies of the key signifiers as discussed in Chapter 2. This

program measures the frequency of words and retrieves sentences and paragraphs in

which the words are located. The study's 465 pages of transcripts derived from the 10

participants were used as the source for the frequency analyses. I went through the

ranked frequency list created by WordStat and identified words that could be associated

with four categories: (1) group relations school/case-in-point/USD Approach, (2) socio-

technical school, (3) central antagonism, and (4) secondary antagonisms. The central

antagonism does not determine how we speak, but it has a structuring and organizing

impact on our speech (Žižek, 2000a). This analysis, looking into the frequency of

signifiers in these four categories, will investigate how the central antagonism has been

organized in the language of the participants.

Key Signifiers Associated with Group Relations/Case-in-Point

I identified group relations key signifiers in the data that describe conscious and

unconscious processes within systems. I call them *systemic process-related signifiers*.

For example, signifiers like *adaptation* and *experience* tend to relate to process because

one can *adapt* to other group members or one can investigate one's *experience* in a group.

Signifiers like *authority* and *role* tend to relate to the structure of the system and therefore

have a systemic and structural character. I used QDAMiner/WordStat to make a list of

the selected signifiers sorted by frequency. I looked through this list and retrieved the

systemic process-related signifiers from the list. The frequencies of systemic process-

related signifiers, are placed in parentheses: group (837), work (mental) (659), experience

(360), role (241), authority (148), change (136), whole (136), hold (133), leadership

(129), bring (119), system (96), purpose (95), process (85), power (81), boundary (38),

challenge (38), context (36), task (35), adaptation (21), balcony (19), formal authority

(12), informal authority (5), adaptive challenge (3), technical challenge (1), and dance

floor (0), with a total of 3,463. The word challenge (38) in the list above was present

without the word adaptive and technical. The frequencies of the more uniquely

psychoanalytic signifiers: boundary (38), here-and-now (14), unconscious (10),

projection (8), group-as-a-whole (5), unconscious (2), splitting (2), denial (1), projective

identification (0), repression (0), disavow (0), transference (0), with a total of 80

signifiers.

The words and short phrases mentioned above that derive from case-in-point

theory are, "balcony," "formal authority, " "informal authority," "adaptive challenge,"

"technical challenge," "dance floor, "work (mental)," and "purpose" (Heifetz, 1994).

The more uniquely psychoanalytic signifiers used in Tavistock-inspired group relations

theory are, "here-and-now," "unconscious," "group-as-a-whole," "splitting," "denial,"

and "projective identification" (Bion 1961; Wells, 1985). Words like "group,"

"boundary," "leadership," "authority," "role," "task," "experience," "system" are

typically used in both group relations theory and case-in-point theory.

The total number of group relations school/case-in-point/USD Approach signifiers

(systemic process-related signifiers) was 3463; adding the 80 psychoanalytic signifiers,

totals 3,543 signifiers (see Table 16).

The meaning of some of these words may not be intuitive for people who are not

familiar with Group Relations School/USD Approach terminology. The signifier

"whole" is often used to express the whole group, and typical chains are "the group-as-a-whole," "the whole organization," or "the whole system." To "hold" means to support a person or a group of people by "carrying" some aspect of experience on their behalf. The signifier "bring" is often used to describe how an individual can bring something to a situation or to a group so that the dynamics of the situation or group change. The signifier "being on the balcony" is used to describe when one takes a bird's eye view of what goes on in the system. The opposite signifier is "being on the dance floor" where one is involved in the process and where one sees things from an engaged position (Heifetz, 1994). The difference between adaptive and technical challenges is that the former requires responses involving complex adaptations and openness to emergence while the latter may be straightforwardly solved using existing, technical procedures (Heifetz, 1994). Inspection of the frequencies of USD group relations/case-in-point terms in comparison with psychoanalytic terms shows that the latter are relatively infrequent.

Key Signifiers Associated with Socio-Technical School

The frequency of commonly used signifiers in the literature of the Tavistock HRC (Human Resources Centre) branch under Trist's leadership that included Socio-Technical School and the industrial democracy projects were as follows: productive (6), collective (5), production (5), equally (3), union (2), and equal (1), 22 signifiers altogether. The following signifiers associated with the Socio-Technical School that were not present in the data were: equality, inequality, democracy, solidarity, productivity, wages, labor, and worker. The absence of these signifiers confirms my

prediction about the function of the language around group relations. I will discuss this later in this chapter and in Chapter 5.

Key Signifiers Associated with Central Antagonism

The central antagonism, described in Chapter 2, is derived from the inherent conflict in society caused by social conditions. This fundamental struggle is caused by the social dynamic where one group of people places itself above another group by using force. The more powerful group will over time impose social norms, which normalizes the subordinated position of the less powerful group (Freud, 1989). This "normalized" oppression manifests itself as the central antagonism, which either is surfaced or displaced in society (Žižek, 2000a). Since the fundamental structure of society in our time is capitalism, the powerful group or the capital class attempts to normalize the exploitative relationship between capital and workers. This can conceal the central antagonism. Let us now look at the data.

The frequency of key signifiers that are associated with class struggle and the central antagonism are in parentheses: poor/poverty (13), privilege (5), rich (2), wealth (2), status (2), class (2), and socio-economic status (1). Consequently, the number of high and low class strata signifiers that emphasized the central antagonism in society were 27 (e.g., class, wealth, poverty), and if I include the signifiers associated with the socio-technical school, which were 22 (e.g., labor, production), the total number of signifiers associated with the central social antagonism was 49. Other typical class strata signifiers associated with the central struggle that were absent from the data were signifiers like working class, middle class, and upper class. Later in this chapter, I will discuss how the high-status and low-status signifiers in this data set tended to be linked

with secondary identity struggles and not with issues related to the central antagonism like the economic system and workers' rights.

This signifier analysis should be seen from the perspective of the increasing inequality in the U.S. Since the 1970s income and wealth inequality in the U.S. has increased significantly and steadily (Krugman, 2007). For the year 2010, the upper class, the top 1% of family units, owned 35.4% of total privately held wealth. The top 20% of the family units owned an astonishing 89% of total privately held wealth. The wage and salary workers that make up the bottom 80% own the remaining 11% of the total privately held wealth in the United States (Wolff, 2012). A remarkable illustration of the inequality is that the Walton family alone owns the equivalent of the wealth of the entire bottom 30 percent of U.S. society (Stiglitz, 2012). Taking into account the results in the previous section, the low number of central antagonistic signifiers despite massive wealth inequality, it is reasonable to claim there is a displacement of central antagonistic signifiers onto secondary signifiers in speech and that there is a collective displacement in mainstream language itself. A high number of secondary signifiers found in the data displayed below confirm this.

Key Signifiers Associated with Secondary Antagonisms

In my review of research on group relations conferences (see Chapter 2), I found that the participants frequently mentioned the identity signifiers: gender, race, and age. These identity signifiers were used to define boundaries around groups and subgroups that are engaged in secondary struggles. I investigated how frequently these signifiers appeared in the total data set of this study. The frequency of these secondary identity signifiers in the total data set of this study were as follows: woman (90), man (74), male

(25), gender (6), and female (4), taken together occurred a total of 199 times. The race

signifiers, white (37), African-American (10), race (8), black (8), Asian (4), whiteness

(1), and Latino (0), taken together occurred 68 times. Sexual orientation signifiers: gay

(13), straight (5), lesbian (4), and heterosexual (1), were identified a total of 23 times.

Age signifiers, young (40) and old (25), were identified a total of 65 times. The total

number of all identity signifiers naming the secondary struggles identified in the data was

355. These data are summarized in Table 15 below. The class and other strata signifiers

are also included in the table. Note the contrast between the low number of class

signifiers compared to the relatively high number of other strata signifies (e.g., wealthy,

rich, privilege) and the number of identity signifiers (e.g., men, women, black, white,

etc.), see Table 15 below.

Table 15

Key Signifiers Associated with Central and Secondary Antagonisms

Types of key signifiers:	Frequency
Gender signifiers (e.g., men, women)	199
Race signifiers (e.g., black, white)	68
Sexual orientation signifiers (e.g., gay, heterosexual)	23
Age signifiers (e.g., young, old)	65
Total identity signifiers (secondary antagonisms)	355
Class signifiers (lower, upper, middle)	2
Other strata signifiers (wealthy, rich, privilege, status. poor, SES)	25
Total strata signifiers (central antagonism)	27

Discussion of Key Signifiers Categories

The number of signifiers associated with the aforementioned categories can be viewed in Table 16 below. The data show that there is a dominant focus on the secondary identity struggles and a relatively low focus on the central antagonism.

Table 16

Key Signifiers Associated with Four Main Categories

Key signifiers associated with:	Number of key signifiers	
Group Relations School/Case-in-P. (e.g., group, role)	3,543	(Symbolic/Imaginary)
Socio-Technical School (e.g., labor, production)	22	(Real)
Secondary antagonisms (e.g., gender, race)	355	(Symbolic/Imaginary)
Central antagonism (e.g., class, wealth, poverty)	27	(Real)
Total	3,947	

The signifiers associated with secondary struggles were 365 versus 27 signifiers that were associated with the central antagonism. This indicates that there was a low focus on the central antagonism manifested, for example, as class and wealth inequality. There was also less emphasis on labor and production and how these relate to equality, economic income distribution, and accumulated wealth. There were 3,543 systemic process-related signifiers associated with the Group Relations School/USD Approach and 22 signifiers associated with the Socio-Technical School. The frequency levels of the four categories indicated that there was an emphasis on how roles, authority, leadership, and systemic processes were linked to identities like gender, race, and sexual orientation, but not to socioeconomic class. The category of systemic process-related signifiers is

related to group relations/case-in-point. The words in this category were judged effective in the sense that the participants used their learned vocabulary in their daily language and it significantly altered the way they were speaking. The participants were using the group relations/case-in-point signifiers in natural fluent speech during interviews and group meetings without explicitly thinking about them while speaking. Consequently, the participants have tacitly incorporated these signifiers into their speech. The frequency analysis indicates that there is a focus on group relations/case-in-point in solving organizational and educational problems by focusing on systemic processes in organizations and how identity struggles are related to these processes. There was much less focus on the central antagonism, wealth accumulation, and how the effect of these relates to the problem definitions.

Based on the frequency analyses, we cannot say whether the group relations language was being used in a deeply meaningful way. In order to determine this we have to study the participants' concrete interventions and analyze these carefully. I did this in the second part of this chapter in which I interpreted eight interventions carried out by the participants.

Analysis of Signifying Structure Associated with Central Antagonism

I investigated the signifiers associated with the central antagonism. These were the upper-strata signifiers: *wealthy, rich, privilege, and status,* and the lower-class signifiers: *poor and poverty.* I investigated the metonymic associations of the signifying chains in the data set in which these class strata signifiers were present. The purpose of this was to provide a more precise meaning of these signifiers.

The signifiers *poor* and *poverty* were identified 13 times and were predominantly linked to the signifiers *children* and *students*. The embedding of the signifiers "poor" occurred four times in the chain "poor children," and one time in each of the following chains: "poor kids," "poor … minority," "children in poverty," "issues of school choice for the very poor," "students from a poor family," "poor communities," "students do not understand issues being poor," "students that do not have interaction with poor families," "poverty exist more in a diverse world," and "Gandhi leading the poor of a nation." A pattern of implicit rules emerged from this. The participants' speech has linked the words "poor" and "poverty" with the words "kids," "children," "students," "community," "minority," "school choice (for poor versus rich)," "family," "diverse world," and "Gandhi." The lower-class signifiers are linked to children, students, and general groups like family and communities, and not to topics like labor rights and accumulated wealth, except for one occurrence in which the participant compared how school choice impacts poor versus rich children. This occurrence will be described in the next paragraph.

The signifier "rich" was found in two statements. The first statement was, "We don't care if they're rich or successful. We want them to be generous." This statement argues that the rich people in society should act with generosity. Rich is here associated with successful and generous, and indicates the participant possibly believed that poor people could benefit from the rich people's generosity. The second statement was associated with freedom of school choice: "The very poor will suffer because they won't be able to exert their [school] choice in the same way as the very rich." In this case, the participant, Teresa, addresses the educational policy of school choice. She raised the problematic aspect of reframing the problem of poverty and education as a problem of

school choice. In this case, Teresa surfaces the central antagonism. This will be discussed in vignette 8 later in this chapter.

There were two instances in which the signifier *wealthy* was used in a chain: "older white wealthy men in power" and "very wealthy La Jolla doctors." The signifier wealthy was linked to the signifiers "white," "old," "male," and "doctors," which are signifiers associated with the secondary identity signifiers age, race, gender, and profession. Wealth in these cases is not linked to issues related to class or topics but it is linked around issues like distribution of wealth and tax policies. The frequencies of the signifiers tell us how concentrated the focus is on strata signifies (e.g., wealthy, rich, privilege, etc.), which are associated with the central antagonism compared to identity signifiers (e.g., men, women, black, white, etc.), which are associated with the secondary antagonisms.

The signifier *privilege* occurred five times. Four times it was associated with whiteness, males, and heterosexuality, and one time with undergraduate law students. The five instances came from one single participant. *Status* occurred two times in the data, the first occurrence was associated with older white men, and the second occurrence was attributed to an older man in a group relations conference.

A pattern of implicit rules seemed to govern the structuring of how the low-status signifiers (*poor* and *poverty*), and high-status signifiers (*wealth, privilege,* and *rich*) appear in speech. White men tended to be chained to high-status signifiers (i.e., "older white wealthy men in power"), while children, students (except law students), and minorities tended to be linked to low status signifying chains (e.g., "children in very poor communities"), and where the other identity configurations tended to be absent in relation

to privilege, status, and wealth. If we combine upper and lower class, black and white race, and women and men (male/female), there are 2 x 2 x 2 combinations, which give eight possible combinations. Only one of these eight combinations occurred in the data: "wealthy white men." The seven other combinations were absent. For example, there was no instance in which the lower-class strata signifiers poor or poverty were associated with white men or white women, nor to black men or black women. The lower-strata signifiers were linked to children, minorities, communities, and students. It is also worthwhile to note that wealth was not linked to white women.

The socio-normative symbolic field has an impact on the structuring mechanism (Žižek, 2000a). Žižek argued that the un-manifested central antagonism in society will manifest itself in the actual context and be surfaced either as a central antagonism or be displaced onto secondary struggles. I argue that the surfaced or displaced central antagonism will be manifested in speech. In this case, by having wealthy white males represent the upper-class strata and the poor children represent the lower-class strata, the central antagonism can then be repressed from the symbolic field and displaced onto the secondary struggles. The asymmetry makes the wealth difference appear as an identity issue rather than a fundamental political, economic, and material problem. I argue that these results indicate that the central antagonism is to some extent displaced onto the secondary struggles. The displacement is caused by associating elements from the central antagonism with secondary antagonisms and this distorts and skews the socio-normative symbolic field. This tacitly structuring mechanism inherent in language drives the symbolic pattern of displacement in speech.

The sharing of the unconscious symbolic mechanism through language makes such a collective displacement of the central antagonism onto secondary antagonisms possible. The skewedness of the symbolic space caused by the displacement contains various repressed (repulsed) combinations of signifiers that are less likely to be spoken. The symbolic socio-normative field's implicit rules allow white males to be linked to wealth, but not to poverty. Wealth tended to be associated with "whites" rather than "blacks," "males" not "females," "old" rather than "young," and "adults" not "children." No links from "wealth," "rich," "privilege" and "status" were made to "black males," "black women" or "white women." The social symbolic field tends to prevent chains like, *rich black men or women,* and *rich white women* from being produced by the structuring of the unconscious signifying chain. There is a pattern to how identity signifiers are structured towards or away from upper and lower-class strata signifiers.

I argue that this result illuminates links between tacit knowledge, psychoanalysis, and group relations. Lacan (2007) asserted that the structure of the unconscious signifying chain governs the pattern of implicit rules displayed in speech. This phenomenon is congruent with Polanyi's (1966) description of the functioning of tacit knowledge in language and was illuminated, for example, in the experiment by Eriksen and Kuethe (1956) that demonstrated how tacit knowledge behind the scenes represses signifiers from speech. Later in this chapter, I will discuss the impact this has on how participants tacitly apply the group relations learning.

I will now look into the signifiers *class* and *socio-economic status.* There are two instances of the word *class* being located in the same paragraph. A participant used the word *class* when she was talking about the fall 2008 U.S. presidential election campaign:

There were so many people who did not want to talk about some really important things that America needs to talk about, like issues about race and class, class even more so than race and education. I was so appalled to find that in this country, not even being intellectual but being educated is a high crime and misdemeanor. Apparently, it isn't okay to be a thoughtful, well-educated person in today's American society.

In discussing the dynamic in the U.S. presidential election of fall 2008, the participant began by stating that there were issues in the election campaign that were more related to class than race but without elaborating on these, she then shifted to another topic that there is an antagonism against educated people.

The signifier *socio-economic status (SES)* occurred once in the data. The participant said she was brought up in a relatively homogeneous white community and was relatively unaware of racial conflicts. She explained that she saw that differences among people were determined by their socio-economic status, but after attending group relations courses, she learned that the problems were more nuanced and saw that race and gender also play a role.

The findings in this study's data set support Badiou (2001), Žižek (2000a) and Brown's (1995, 2008) observations that the words *worker* and *working class* are rarely present in the vocabulary of Europe and the U.S. This study's data contained very few instances of *class* and *worker*. This indicates that these words are no longer explicitly produced by the structuring of the unconscious signifying chain. Arguably, this confirms the literature that claims that the dominant Western discourse in the U.S. and E.U. has ~~expelled~~ repressed (repulsed from the structuring of the conscious chain) words like *class, labor,* and *worker*. This might also confirm Brown's hypothesis that signifiers, which historically were associated with the central antagonism, are now linked to

secondary identity struggles (e.g., class, race, gender, age). The metonymic associations of the historical central antagonistic signifiers were in this study's data set skewed towards the meaning of secondary struggles. The finding of the frequencies showed that only a few signifiers in the data name the central antagonism in one or another form, and these few signifiers of the central antagonism were nevertheless metonymically associated with secondary struggles, and not the content of the central antagonism. As discussed in Chapter 2, the findings are also in line with Brown's (2008) and Žižek's (2000a) argument that one seldom hears the signifier *class* named unless it is as part of a series of other identities, and therefore *class* is rarely analyzed in detail. These data support this observation and suggest that the signifiers *class*, *socio-economic status*, *wealthy*, *privilege*, *rich*, *poor*, and *poverty* are disassociated from economic struggle and associated with secondary struggles.

Laclau (2000b) criticized Žižek and claimed that to place priority on class is traditional Marxism and is an insufficient approach because it provides no solutions. In response, Žižek (2000a, 2000b) argued that privileging the central antagonism is not essentialism, as many claim, and that it is a weakness of postmodern political theory that it views any reference to capitalism or class as essentialism. He claimed that the plurality of postmodern political struggles, such as gender, race, and sexuality, do not oppose the free-market capitalist system, and this is a problem. Žižek also claimed that academia overlooks the possibility that capitalism might form the "naturalized" background of the social constructionism advanced in postmodern thought.

Žižek (2000a) does present class as essentialism, but not the one Marx defined. In Marx's time, in 19th century industrialized Europe, the exploitative relationship between

capital and labor was relatively obvious for people. Marxist class essentialism was therefore built on an Imaginary (visual perception) understanding of observable class exploitation in the immediate environment, for example, in the neighborhood or in the local community. The local workers could recognize that local factory owners profited from the capital-class relationship because they lived nearby. The workers could identify the particular person (capital owner) who benefited directly from their labor. They could observe the systemic exploitation unfolding.

Žižek (1989), on the other hand, argued that class struggle takes a different form today. In his view, class struggle takes place in the global free market society, with no clear conflict lines between workers and property owners. For example, the factory owners rarely live in the local community with the workers where the factories are located. The capital flow and ownership can at times be intricate, complex, and almost impossible to trace. Therefore, the manifest relations between capital owners and workers are much less visible. Žižek (1989) argued that class struggle does not exist through the observable dominance of one group of people over another group, but through a silent concealment of the actual relationship between the two. The low-wage workers today might have no awareness of capital-labor relations, but they are still deeply impacted by it. Class struggle is therefore not present in people's mental life, while still the labor exploitation goes on as before. To Žižek, removal of the relationship between owners and workers as a tangible and imaginary relation has led to the emergence of other struggles as more observable. Such struggles gradually came to be considered dominant by both workers and capital owners. Hence, one can see that Žižek's class essentialism, in contrast to Marx's class essentialism, is neither fully symbolizable nor

imaginable. Žižek argued therefore that class struggle is present through its effects on other particular antagonisms that are visible today, such as race and gender, which are secondary antagonisms.

Several scholars are critical of Žižek's (2000a) class definition. Devenney (2007) is critical of Žižek's conception of class and argued that Žižek does not have any evidence for his proposition of class. Robinson and Tormey (2005) suggested that Žižek's attempt to define class using Lacanian-Hegelian theory is problematic because Lacan and Hegel did not have any 'empirical' conception of class, and they did not have a particular focus on class in their work. Sharpe (2004) claimed that Žižek is not able to define class properly, and that he is compensating by using various definitions of class. Homer (2001) argued that Žižek's re-assertion and revival of class is needed, but his lack of a positive definition of class prevents his project from going further, and that Žižek's devotion to Lacanian psychoanalysis is a problem. McMillan (2007) who has the most extensive evaluation of Žižek's class concept also argued that a lack of a minimal positive definition of class is a problem.

My research above, on the signifier chains, did provide some evidence that Žižek's definition of class dimension is being symbolically represented through its effects and that the positive class concept is largely absent in speech, but not its effects. In my research, the two types of stand-in forms for class struggle—identity chains created by metonymy and poverty chains created by metaphor—seem to give some evidence for Žižek's claims. This should be investigated further.

The opposition to the privileging of class is expressed in contemporary mainstream sociology textbooks that are in general aligned with Laclau (2000a, 2000b).

There we find typically a series of inequality concepts that are placed under the umbrella of conflict theory. The concept of class inequality in contemporary sociology textbooks is as a rule placed together with other inequality concepts like gender inequality, race inequality, age inequality, and other inequalities (where each inequality type often makes up a chapter in the textbook; see for example Macionis (2014), Henslin (2013), and Hughes and Kroehler (2013). As a second chain of associations, the class concept is merged together with the status concept (including life styles), in contrast to Weber (1978) who made a clear distinction between the concept of class and the concept of status (Scott, 1996). As a third chain of associations, the class concept has become a combination of income, education, and profession where it should have been determined by accumulated wealth alone or as the dominant factor (Conley 2008; Shapiro 2004). The conclusion is that there is no indication that class has priority over other antagonisms in mainstream sociology textbooks, and this is aligned with Laclau (2000b). The original concept of class described the antagonistic (but mutually dependent) relationship between the capital class, made up by those who accumulate income through property ownership, and the middle and working classes that receive their income through selling their labor to the capital class (Marx, 1990; Weber 1978). The mainstream academia treats class conflict as one of many conflicts and one with no particular priority or privilege.

The discussion about essentialism is an ongoing discussion in philosophy and psychoanalysis. Although a majority of academics side with Laclau (2000b), a significant minority of academics have the opinion that the class struggle takes priority over other struggles. My belief is that the central antagonism should have a modest priority. However, I conclude that in many situations, as for example in interventions 3,

4, and 5, the central antagonism seems not to be present. One should therefore not always use the lens of the central antagonism. The lens of the central antagonism should be dependent on the context and used when it is relevant, for example, in contexts of high wealth inequality.

Leadership Learning's Interaction with Antagonisms in the Other

I will now briefly go through the theoretical foundation that is necessary to form a better understanding of the aforementioned findings of the repression of the central antagonism in language. An important part of leadership learning is to understand how language is used in society. I will discuss this in the next section.

Condensation and Displacement of Central Antagonism

Freud (1913) introduced two concepts through which repression takes place: displacement and condensation. According to him, displacement happens when the emotional energy that has charged an idea (*Besetzung*) is transferred to another idea. In condensation the energy from several ideas are directed into one single idea. Lacan (2006) connected Freud's (1913) theory of displacement and condensation to Jakobson's linguistic theory of metaphor and metonymy (Jakobson & Halle, 1956) and concluded that displacement and condensation constitute two poles in the unconscious that correspond to the linguistic functions of metaphor and metonymy. Lacan asserted that the human brain is structured around these two poles. Metaphor will transfer a part of the meaning (concept/idea) of the original word into a particular direction based on a traceable similarity of the meaning, whereas metonymy builds on associations where no similarity in meaning is transferred to the new phrase (signifying chain). Metaphor is therefore a process of substitution and condensation (reduction of complexity) of

meanings (concepts/ideas) based on similarities, whereas metonymy is a process of combination and displacement onto new meanings based on associations, where no part of the meaning of the original word is transferred (Lacan 2006; Bailly, 2009). Metaphor and metonymy are processes of repression that can be used by the psyche to circumvent and avoid the charged narrative content and express instead stand-in ideas that are more acceptable and sufficiently different from the original meaning. Freud understood that one must go beyond the explicit narrative content and take into account the narrative's form that functions as a stand-in for the repressed part of the content. Through identification, the emotional charge is often attached to the stand-in form that is shaped through metaphoric and metonymic processes (Žižek 2012).

In the data set of this study, I identified two types of stand-in forms for class struggle, one created by metonymy and the other by metaphor. The first form contains variations on identity chains like "class-gender-race" as the stand-in form for the excluded content of class antagonism. For example, when a participant (tacitly) speaks the word "wealthy" in the chain "white wealthy men," the process moves the emotional charge from the associated meaning of class antagonism towards an identity concept. This displacement takes place through a metonymic association process where the economic-antagonism property of "wealth" is excluded. There is no transfer of original class-antagonistic associations (e.g., big capital exploitation of workers) to the new concept, and the problem of identity aspects can be solved by advocating tolerance towards difference.

The second stand-in for class struggle I found in the data is the returned signifying chain related to poverty, for example, "poor communities" or "poor children." Here the

class antagonism is substituted by a traceable, similar but simplified (condensed) concept, "poor communities," through the process of metaphor. The antagonistic properties of class antagonism are removed from the substituted concept, while the property of material suffering and misery is maintained. The underlying complex structure of capital-labor exploitation is condensed into a traceable, similar but less complex concept of poverty. The phenomenon of class antagonism is transformed into a poverty problem where poor communities and poor children need help. The problem of poverty can then be solved by charity or programs of education and/or development that are seen to "remediate" the "deficits" of the poor.

Repression of Central Antagonism in the Other

I will now discuss these findings in relations to the symbolic order. The dominant influence, "the bigger language," comes from the socio-normative symbolic order, the Other (i.e., '*l'Autre*' or '*le grand autre*') (Lacan, 2006), and it contains an almost endless set of hypotheses and rules that come with the language that humans are forced to introject. For the participants, the socio-normative symbolic order, the Other, has already formed an essential linguistic background before they enter the group relations/case-in-point training program. The participants then internalize the language of USD language/approach, and in this process the USD group relations language interacts with the already internalized Other. The "smaller language" of the USD Approach interacts with the "bigger language" of the Other, which already contains the central and secondary antagonisms inscribed into its linguistic grammar-like structure. It is therefore important to look at how the USD Approach to learning interacts with the central and secondary antagonisms in the Other, since this interaction structures the participants'

applied language in real life contexts and influences how the participants direct their

attention to the central and secondary antagonisms. This interaction is tightly connected

to leadership because it determines to what extent the participants direct their attention

toward exploitative social structures in the service of deep social change. The group

relations leadership learning interacts with linguistic structures in the Other that offer

prescribed solutions to the condensed and displaced problems of the central antagonism,

like charity to solve the problem of poverty, and tolerance to solve the problem of

identity difference. The data of this study show that the participants do relate poverty to

poor communities, poor students, and poor children. The problem is that the central

antagonism and the capital-labor relations are ignored when one talks about the "good

poor" (e.g., poor children) and not the antagonistic poor (e.g., unionized workers).

The signifier analysis shows that repressed parts from the narrative return as the

forms of identity chains (e.g., white wealthy men) and poverty chains (e.g., poor

communities) that stand-in for the repressed central antagonism (Freud, 1913). The

typical prescribed solution is tolerance for the identity-chains and charity for the poverty-

chains. However, I claim that the USD group relations/case-in-point training approach is

not taking an easy way out by prescribing these standard solutions of tolerating the

difference in others (the signifier "tolerance" had zero occurrences in the data) or offering

charity to the poor. The USD group relations model directs attention to a more complex

solution by addressing the conflicts between the ego and the drives, which includes

surfacing unconscious elements by working on one's own anxiety (Lacan 1992, 1998).

The participants did not refer to tolerance but to processing anxiety and the strength of

group relations is "traversing the fantasy" (Žižek, 1999, p. 390) of the different other.

The USD Approach trains participants to work on their anxiety and therefore they have less need for displacing their own fear and anxiety onto the different and anxiety provoking other. This is one of the most important learning outcomes from the USD group relations/case-in-point learning. The participants' speech however directs more attention to conflicts related to the secondary antagonisms than to the central antagonism, but in their interventions, they are in fact to some extent addressing the central antagonism. This might indicate that the central antagonism is repressed in the speech more than in their real life interventions.

<div align="center">Eight Interventions</div>

Introduction to Data Collection and Write-Up of the Interventions

One of the themes I selected to explore as a common category in the large group meeting was the theme of *empowering and authorizing others*. My intention was to capture a theme in their group relations practices that was common for all five participants. I made a linking table to reference the relevant interventions held in the participants' interview-transcripts. I identified a minimum of one intervention per participant associated with this theme. Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) emphasized the importance of redundancy of experiences in order to facilitate externalization of tacit knowledge. This production of redundant knowledge in the large group meeting would most likely create the conditions for externalizing tacit knowledge into explicit concepts. I selected this theme, empowering and authorizing others, because this topic was a broad topic that was common to the application of the learning to all participants, so therefore it was a good starting point for dialogues. The participants who attended the large group

meeting were from groups A and B: the three teachers from group A were Paula, Kate and Sam, and the two educational administrators from group B were Hanna and Teresa.

In the large group meeting, I gave a narrative description of each of the eight interventions I had selected. I went through the interventions one by one. I asked each participant to confirm that he or she carried out the intervention that I described and asked if the participant felt like adding additional information to my description of the participant's intervention. I would sometimes read directly from the earlier recorded transcript to help the participant recall the selected intervention. For example, when I was describing an intervention, to clarify I asked about a detail with the intervention, "Do you give some space for the student to have some power, to choose between task A or B in the classroom?" The participant confirms this by saying "sure." This example illustrates how I could verify a detail in a complex interaction that took place in a particular intervention. Participants could also add more nuances and details to my first description of the intervention. After the presentation of the few first interventions, I asked the participants if the interventions I had selected contained characteristics of empowering and authorizing others and asked them to compare the interventions presented.

After the final large group meeting with the participants, I developed eight vignettes based on the interventions that were discussed in the meeting based on the theme of *empowering and authorizing others*. These vignettes describe how participants have had applied group relations experiential learning in real-life contexts outside of classroom settings. Each intervention vignette that I developed was is about one page in length, a length that I consider optimal to capture sufficiently the nuances necessary to

characterize each intervention, and render it possible to accurately detect subtle differences between the interventions.

In the large group meeting, I chose to present early in the meeting the interventions that I felt had less complex characteristics. I assumed this would make it easier to engage the participants in discussions. The intervention vignettes and externalization dialogues in this write-up are presented in the same sequence as they were in the large group meeting. The reader can therefore follow the interventions in the same sequence as they were presented in the meeting.

The sections titled *externalization dialogue* and *interpretation* follow most of the vignettes. The externalization dialogues present what the participants themselves expressed about their own and other participants' interventions. The words I used to describe the intervention vignettes and externalization dialogues closely follow those spoken by of the participants in the large group meeting.

I presented vignettes 1 and 2 before I gave the participants the opportunity to respond. I wanted to present two interventions first so the participants could compare. The first externalization dialogue begins therefore after vignette 2. The externalization dialogues contrast and compare two or multiple interventions (vignettes) at a time. There was no externalization dialogue following vignette 8 because it did not trigger any associations or responses among the participants.

The presentation of some interventions activated more rich dialogues than others, and it was during these rich interactions that indications of the externalization process were manifested. Nevertheless, tacit-to-explicit knowledge conversion cannot easily be measured by an objective scientific method because the tacit part of the knowledge is

unconscious. When knowledge is explicitly presented in speech, we cannot know whether it was tacit before it was spoken or whether it was already explicit for the participant. Therefore, each particular externalization dialogue may or may not have led to externalization of tacit knowledge.

Tacit knowledge can be spoken as narrative without being conceptually understood because the tacit knowledge is inscribed in the structure of the unconscious subject, the unconscious structuring of the signifying chain. I did not necessarily conceptually understand these narratives at the time the meeting was held. The interpretations were therefore added later by me. These interpretations reflect time I spent analyzing individual responses on a deeper level to conceptualize the structure of the various tacit communication modes expressed in the narratives. These *interpretations*, which follow the *externalization dialogues*, contain my personal retrospective analysis of the intervention vignettes and the externalization dialogues. I have predominantly used a Lacanian lens in my interpretations. The interpretation has a two-fold purpose: first, to provide a deeper understanding of what the participants are doing, and second, possibly identify a tacit pattern of group relations applied techniques to reveal an unknown pattern in their communications to the other participant during the interventions. These interpretations are intended to conceptualize the participants' interventions. The signifying interpretation adds a layer (signifying system) that conceptualizes the participants' interventions and applied practices, which is what Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) call explicit-to-explicit knowledge conversion. When I used Lacanian terminology and signifiers to interpret the data I produced (via explicit-to-explicit conversion) more differentiated meaning from the narrative data. This signifying process

conceptualizes the externalized tacit knowledge that was expressed in the narratives produced by the tacit-to-explicit knowledge production in the large group meeting. There are therefore in this interpretative process two signifying systems that coincide: first, data signified with group relations terminology and second, the Lacanian signifying system. When these systems come together, new conceptual knowledge and meaning (signifieds) are created, and this initiates what Nonaka and Takeuchi call explicit-to-explicit knowledge conversion process.

In summation the three sections that follow include: (1) vignettes that describe the participants' applied group relations interventions in real life, (2) the externalization dialogues that contain the group members' comparisons of the interventions (made in group dialogue), and (3) my interpretation and analysis of the interventions. This write-up gives a structured and differentiated understanding of the data. The relational aspect of the method is expressed through the data production in social dialogues, and the significational and interpretative processes are added to it. I will now present the eight vignettes.

Vignette 1: Educator Inserts Symbolic Order in Student

Hanna described a 14-year-old student at her school who was power-oriented but had no power in her life and had never been in control of anything. Hanna explained that the student was like a street kid. The student was assaultive and disruptive in the classroom. Hanna felt the need to intervene when she recognized the power struggle that was occurring between the student and her teacher. Hanna first spoke with the student and teacher individually. During the meeting with the student, Hanna asked about the student's behavior problems and talked about roles, power, and authority. In this

dialogue with the student, Hanna acknowledged the student's power and desire to be in charge. Based on observation, Hanna hypothesized that the student felt powerless and uncertain of what role to take. Hanna explained, "I wanted to give her some power and let her sit with it so that she may believe that she can get what she wants when she uses her power appropriately." In other words, she wanted the student to recognize that she had some power and that she was using this in the classroom, either negatively or positively. Hanna then spoke with the student about behavior and power within roles. For example, she asked the student, "What is the teacher supposed to be doing? The teacher is the boss but you are also powerful. However, remember you're the student so sometimes you have to listen." The student appeared to accept the teacher's role as boss, given the condition that she would be given some power, too. Hanna affirmed that the student could have some authority if she used it appropriately. She was speaking without telling about the BART model, but this model inspired her when she talked about authority and role. Hanna was using language to describe the socio-normative rules (Symbolic order). This helps the student to develop Symbolic register (Lacan, 2007). The student is internalizing the socio-normative symbolic field.

Hanna then arranged another meeting with the student and teacher, this time together. The student and the teacher were informed in advance about the meeting's agenda and they approved it. She believed that letting them know what the meeting would consist of would make it predictable and reduce the level of anxiety for the teacher and student. Hanna gained the teacher's acceptance in order to assure the teacher that her intention was not to undermine her authority. In the meeting Hanna said, "You are both powerful, strong people. Someone has to give a little bit." They continued talking about

power, rules, and roles and came to an agreement: to give the student some authority in the classroom. For example, the student could be given a choice between performing task A or B. In response, the student settled down because she recognized that she had some control of her own situation. The teacher was also satisfied with this solution. After the presentation of this intervention (vignette 1), I went on to present the next intervention (vignette 2).

Vignette 2: Educator Inserts Symbolic Order in Student using BART

Another intervention also carried out by Hanna resembles the previous one. A 17-year-old student's mother complained about her son's misbehavior and inappropriate speech when addressing his mother in public and her schoolteacher in class. As with the previous intervention, Hanna hypothesized that this student did not know how to behave appropriately or use different roles. The mother confirmed that this was the case. Hanna then initiated activities where she explicitly used the BART model (Boundary, Authority, Role, and Task) to talk about roles and authority. Hanna wrote a specific goal for this student and picked three different roles to discuss with him: student, son, and friend. Hanna asked questions like: "How do you talk to a teacher when you are in the role of the student? What are you and the teacher supposed to be doing? How do you talk to your mother when you are in the role of a son? Moreover, how do you talk to friends when you are in the role of a friend?" Hanna questioned the student, allowing for the student to consider herself in each role and see that there are certain boundaries that come from characteristics of authority norms in different social contexts. The student settled down when she could recognize her different roles in different situations. Hanna said that she probably settled down because she felt more in control and empowered. The student's

mother, who was present during training, also learned about the different situational roles and loved the intervention.

Vignettes 1 and 2: Externalization Dialogue

Hanna said that in these interventions (vignettes 1 and 2) she worked to orient the students about their power and taught them to recognize and appropriately use their power in social roles. Hanna worked with the students using the BART model, teaching them about boundaries, authority, role, and task in different social contexts. Hanna said that she sometimes helped unruly students to see what they represented for the class and how they impacted others by exerting their power, as for example when they disturbed other students in class. Hanna wanted to give power to the students who felt powerless. When the students recognize the impact their power has on others, even if it is in a negative way, they realize that there are unrecognized possibilities for them. For example, when a student in class tried to manipulate the other students to gang up on a teacher, Hanna said she was trying to convince the student that he was actually exercising some kind of leadership even though in a negative way. The next step was to offer the idea that he might exercise leadership in a positive way. When the students discover this, they realize that they could have a positive influence on the class and this is a big thing for them. Hanna said it is an incremental process over time where she sometimes reminds students about what they have learned earlier in role playing to shed light on a current situation.

Vignettes 1 and 2: Interpretation

Vignette 1 describes a single concrete, sporadic intervention that was inspired by Hanna's counseling practices and group relations learning where she used the concept of

role and authority, but did not explicitly teach the BART model to the student. Hanna was using the words "role" and "authority" in a natural way in speech, but she did not explain the four terms: "boundary," "authority," "role," and "task," making up a coherent model for understanding social roles. In vignette 2, Hanna was teaching the BART model in a more organized and explicit way when she was coaching and teaching the student and the mother. Hanna said, "So I used the BART, boundaries, authority, role, task, and I wrote a goal specifically for this child." The mother agreed to this, so Hanna used the BART in a more explicit way to the student and his mother.

One would perhaps expect Hanna's interventions to be associated to Lacan's Analytic discourse (1998), with intention to address and uncover unconscious elements which one would typically associate with group relations. However, this is not the case; Hanna's mode of communicating in vignettes 1 and 2 comply with the University discourse. Hanna did teach roles and authority in lecture format using the BART model focusing on explicit social norms, and staying on the surface level. Hanna's purpose, I claim, was to impose the Symbolic register in the student's subjectivity, and particularly that part that deals with established social norms. She did this by teaching the BART model. Teaching the BART model develops understanding about social norms and concepts so the student can better function and "survive" in a society of modernity, where it is necessary to manage multiple roles in multiple social contexts.

Hanna said that when the students in intervention 1 and 2 recognized their own power, they were more willing to use it in a positive way in the class. Using Lacan further, when the unruly youth gives up the more self-centered Imaginary and narcissistic world, and submits to the socio-normative order, then power can be re-gained in a

different way from the Symbolic subjectivity (Moncayo, 2008). Learning about one's

roles and the boundaries that follow each role, forms the identity and ego structure

constituted in the Symbolic register of subjectivity.

At first, the students were not submitted to socially established norms but to

dominant Imaginary (Lacan, 2007), self-centered image of self, accompanied by an

underlying feeling of being powerless. The Lacanian Imaginary is a realm where

individuals that deals with fictional images and the fantasy that sustain the ego. This

narcissistic power experienced in the Imaginary register had to be given up by submitting

to the socio-normative law in the Symbolic register. Using the BART model, both

indirectly and directly, Hanna gave the students the opportunity to re-gain their own

power in a different way over time. A prerequisite for this transition from Imaginary to

Symbolic subjectivity is that the student must give up the power that lies in the

narcissistic self-image. When the student has lost the Imaginary "machismo" power, the

student will later regain some power in the Symbolic realm (Mancayo, 2008). This

imaginary-to-symbolic trade off could explain why the student would be willing to finally

obey social norms inherent in the tradition transferred from generations. If this element

of regaining some power was not offered, the student might have preferred to stay in the

Imaginary dominated subjectivity. Hanna was building her relationship with the students

through the intervention, the students might have identified with her, and this might be

why the student is willing to do what she says. Hanna's personal dialogue and lecturing

provided a Zone of Proximal Development, in a Vygotskian sense, where she supported

the students to develop a context-specific mapping of roles and authority using the BART

model. This helped the students to regulate their behavior according to context-specific social norms.

It is important to add here that Hanna performed the psychological paternal function that establishes the symbolic socio-normative order for the students, and set up the conditions and support so the student could submit to the social norms, the Law (Lacan, 2006). Paternal is used here in the Lacanian sense, which means not in a biological function, but as a psychological function of the Symbolic Law. In group relations theory this is less discussed, because Melanie Klein emphasized the maternal (Analytic) container function, and was less focused on the paternal function (Lacan, 2006, Evans, 2003).

Vignette 3: Counselor Engages Student using Analytic Discourse

In his role as student counselor, Sam said that he encourages undergraduate students in the counseling sessions to take up their own power and decide the path by which they want to develop themselves. The purpose of Sam's work was to encourage the students to ask themselves crucial and difficult questions, to investigate who they are, who they want to be, and whether they are developing into someone they want to be. Sam said he did not have the answer, even though the student often was seeking answers from him. Sam exemplifies this with a student who was hospitalized due to one night of excessive drinking. The student said to Sam that he did know that he had made a mistake and that he was willing to do what Sam would tell him to do, and then he would like to leave and be over with it. Sam attempted to prolong the counseling session by not allowing the student to arrive at a quick solution, and responded as follows:

I understand that this was a difficult experience and you would much prefer to put this behind you as quickly as possible, but I believe that there is an opportunity for you to learn from this. You are at a critical period where you have the opportunity to define who you are going to be in this world and not just in this moment but in your next four years in this university. You get to reinvent yourself in a way with the choices you are making now. You are [now] inventing someone whom I do not think you might really want to be. So let us take this opportunity to kind of sit back and really think about this.

Sam said that he intervenes with incremental steps and holds them in that space, helping students entertain the idea that maybe they have not learned all that they need to learn. Sam says that they typically have not learned who they want to be in a way that is meaningful and likely to be sustained for a long period of time, related to issues like alcohol use and social pressures, or joining an organization and maintaining their own value systems and staying grounded in that.

Sam says, however, that in most cases there is an opportunity for the student to learn from what has happened. Sam says he tries to meet the students where they are. It is a lifelong process for a person to orient his or her power and learn how it influences life's consequences. Sam said that we are taking incremental steps for the students to solve problems but it is not his job to determine the answer for them because if he did, it can often create some unhealthy dependency on him. Sam said he is trying to empower them to be courageous in how they solve their own problems.

Vignette 3: Externalization Dialogue

I asked Sam whether he could see similarities or differences between his intervention (vignette 3) and Hanna's interventions (vignettes 1 and 2). Sam said he could recognize in Hanna's work (vignettes 1 and 2) the use of incremental steps with his own work in student counseling. He said that his students know they have power and

privilege, but they are not aware of where it comes from. Like Hanna's experience and evaluation, Sam said that his students as well are not aware of how they are using the power, and how it influences others. Sam and Hanna mutually agree that the interventions were about helping the students to recognize their power, how they are using their power, and how their power is influencing others. Hanna pointed out that her students (vignettes 1 and 2) are from 14 to 16-years old while Sam's undergraduate students (vignette 3) are 18-20 years old. Nevertheless, Hanna and Sam mutually agree that their interventions are similar and that they are doing the same thing, using incremental steps to make the students recognize and see the consequences of their power, and to learn to use the power in appropriate ways.

Vignette 3: Interpretation

Hanna and Sam agreed that their interventions had a similar empowering effect on the students. This is an important finding. However, the difference in their communication mode did not emerge in the dialogue. In Sam's case (vignette 3), his students are 18 to 20-year-old undergraduates and have already established a functioning Symbolic subjectivity in the socio-normative realm (Lacan, 2007). Sam is investigating and addressing the underside of their Symbolic identification, using the Analytic discourse, and discussing problematic unknown identity issues for the student. On the other hand, Hanna's students are less adjusted to society and this is why Hanna is teaching to the students' Symbolic socio-normative understanding. Despite that, both Hanna and Sam's interventions have an empowering effect; Hanna (vignette 1 and 2) and Sam's (vignette 3) mode of communication are fundamentally different processes.

In Sam's counseling session, he established a container function (Bion, 1961) in order to allow the student safely to explore his issues. This containment is a psychological maternal (not biological) communication mode, typically found in Kleinian and Bionian psychoanalysis, and this mode of communication is what Lacan called the Analytic discourse. Contrastingly, in Hanna's intervention, the primary focus was on the paternal function that establishes the symbolic socio-normative order communicated through a lecture format (University discourse), and "forces" the student to submit to the cultural and social norms. Hanna is not primarily focusing on containment as Sam is doing. The work Hanna is doing is important because if students' do not submit to the symbolic law they cannot in the future function in society as mature adults where they follow established social norms and rules. Sam's student is an undergraduate who has already built up the symbolic edifice of the ego, and therefore it makes sense for Sam to engage this student in an Analytic discourse.

The five participants, including Sam and Hanna, did not articulate the structural difference between Hanna and Sam's interventions. This indicates that participants were not able to express with words the different types of discourses addressing the receiver (i.e., the person who receives the participant's speech-act), where Hanna used the University discourse, and Sam used the Analytic discourse. Neither was I, the researcher, able to see this distinction between the two discourse types at the time of the meeting when this was discussed, and it wasn't until later when I used Lacanian theory to analyze the discourse that the differences became explicit to me. I conclude that since Sam and Hanna were unable to express the conceptual difference between the discourses, their communicating skills using different discourse types are tacit. The evidence for this was

that the participants used different discourse types that did fit the specific context for each intervention. The participants did not tell me about these communication style differences when I asked them. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

Vignette 4: Teacher Rejects Student's Request for Affirmation

Kate said that in her role as a teacher, she has developed an applied technique to teach students self-authorization, self-acceptance, and self-affirmation. Kate said it was a group relations article that inspired her. From the article, she gathered that when the teacher chooses not to affirm a student who seeks approval during encounters, the student experiences the lack of affirmation as rejection. Furthermore, because a student must find a solution to survive, the student will be indirectly forced to reflect on where to find a source of affirmation, acceptance, and authorization. Usually students will be able to struggle through the frustration that the "rejection" has caused. Kate argued that what students sometimes really need is to be left alone by authority in order to experience the growth of self-authorization. They will look to themselves and find that self-authorization, self-acceptance, and self-affirmation are motivating factors.

Kate said there is a mutual dynamic between herself and the students. She said, "I need the students to reject me so I can understand my own sense of authorization, my own sense of acceptance. If I am caught up with the student's acceptance of me as a good teacher, the structure of my class would be dictated by that, too." Conversely, Kate mentioned a risk in applying this technique because some students may shut down completely, so she has to find a balance and give some students more support.

Vignette 4: Externalization Dialogue

Kate emphasized that being in the role of teacher, she does not reject the student, but she refuses to accept the student's act of seeking affirmation. Kate elaborated that the students have to struggle through the lack of response to their request for affirmation and find a way to self-accept, and most healthy students are able to struggle through this. Kate said that if she automatically affirms a student's request for affirmation, the student will be less likely to do the work creatively, and the student's work will become much less authentic and slip into standard roles that anybody could fill. Therefore, to reject a student's request for affirmation makes the student's role come alive, and makes it unique and personal.

There was a general agreement among the five participants, Hanna, Teresa, Sam, Paula, and Kate that it is necessary at times to not accept students' requests for affirmation. The participants at this point did not have a response to my question about what were the about differences and similarities between their interventions in the large group, but it was brought up in the dialogue again after vignette 5.

Vignette 4: Interpretation

Initially some students think their goal is to receive the teachers' approval and acceptance. Kate is trying to make the student independent from the teacher's approval. The student must seek his or her own answers, self-accept, or self-affirm. Kate uses a mixture of a maternal function of containing and a paternal function of saying "no" to narcissistic demands. Kate is both containing and terminating her dialogues with her students. In this way, Kate, like Hanna in her intervention 5 in the next section, works on decreasing dependency on her as an authority figure. She also explains to the student

why she is doing this, giving the student symbolic understanding of why she is doing this. Kate likely wants the students' motivation to be internally driven and not be driven by external affirmation from authority. Kate's intervention breaks the students' narcissistic idealization of the teacher that prevents their critical thinking process. I believe that this technique can work as Kate suggests, but this applied technique can also complicate a student's relationship with the teacher. The student might be suspicious, and rightfully so, because the student might feel pressure to "play the role" of the independent student while still following an order to be independent knowing that the teacher is still watching his or her performance of being independent. The explicit order to be independent might in some cases be followed by an implicit command of being independent. The implicit order might be felt as a stronger order than the explicit order. This is a complex topic on its own, and I will not discuss this further here.

Vignette 5: Empowering Assistant by Stimulating Imaginary Order

Hanna tells about an event involving one of her staff members, a 23-year-old teacher assistant, whose task was to support two classrooms together with a second teacher assistant. One morning the other teacher assistant had called in sick, and the young teacher assistant had to choose which classroom to assist, and she felt this was a stressful situation. She then came running to Hanna and asked, "What classroom should I be in?" Instead of giving her the answer, Hanna replied, "You are a smart woman who knows the needs of both classrooms. I would like you to decide what classroom to be in today." The teacher assistant looked at Hanna in dismay and said, "Oh no." At this time, Hanna had placed her hands on the emotional assistant's shoulders and actually physically grounded her. Hanna told her, "Look at me. Listen to my words." Hanna

said when the teacher assistant looked right at her, she assured her, "You can do this." Hanna explained that in this way, she was honoring the teacher assistant's feelings and experience at the moment without necessarily rescuing her. Furthermore, Hanna told the teacher assistant, "I trust you. You have the power to make your decision and whatever you decide, I will support you." Hanna wanted to empower the teacher assistant by saying, "You are a smart woman." She explained that she refused to provide the teacher assistant with a quick answer and in this way gave authorization and power back to the teacher assistant. Hanna then left the scene without further discussion. Now the young teacher assistant was left alone with responsibility to decide what to do.

Vignette 5: Externalization Dialogue

I asked the group if they noticed any similarities and differences between the five interventions (vignettes 1 to 5). Hanna said that her intervention (vignette 5) was about giving power back to the teacher assistant. For example, by telling her, "You have the knowledge which classroom needs you most." Kate said that Hanna, like herself, rejected giving the quick answer and that she gave authorization back to the individual. Kate affirmed that she and Hanna were doing the same thing, and it was about making the person trust him or herself.

I asked Hanna and Kate to what extent they contained (e.g., listening and being mentally present for the person) the people they addressed in vignettes 4 and 5. Hanna said she grounded the teacher assistant physically by putting her hands on her shoulders, but not rescuing her. Hanna said there was a limit to the containment of the teacher assistant. Kate said that she likewise contained the person up to a point, and then encouraged the student to trust herself, and her own judgments.

Kate said that when a student does not know what to do, she usually intervenes by saying something like, "Okay, stop, how can you find a way to trust your own experience right now? Can you speak to that experience?" Kate assumed that this approach was comparable to Hanna's intervention. However, Hanna replied to Kate's comparison that her staff did not sign up to be part of a leadership class like Kate's students had, and that those students who sign up for a leadership class are more likely to expect the type of intervention that Kate made. Hanna said that currently in her organization more careful consideration is needed depending on the situation. Hanna explained that the preceding director of the school had exercised leadership differently. He ran the school based on a very traditional model and did not share any authority with the staff members. Because of this, Hanna said she had chosen slowly to introduce her organization to a leadership style that is based on group relations. Hanna was in her second year as director and thought that maybe by her third year the staff would be more ready to receive the group relations learning that she will gradually incorporate.

Sam said he could see similarities between his counseling role in empowering the student (vignette 3), and Hanna's intervention with the young teacher assistant (vignette 5), in that they both use a gradual approach to group relations learning. Sam gradually counseled students in a step-by-step therapeutic process while Hanna gradually introduced group relations learning to her organization. Sam finds that taking incremental steps helps his students to entertain a new idea in a way that is meaningful and likely to be sustained for a longer period of time. Sam is helping his students, holding them in the counseling sessions over time, despite their desire to flee from the sessions and just be done with it. Hanna said she incrementally addresses the

organization as a whole, and her employees will gradually become used to her group relations inspired management approach. Hanna said that Sam's approach, like hers, was incremental.

Vignette 5: Interpretation

Hanna, in a critical moment, first grounded the teacher assistant before she addressed her in a one-way communication with the master signifiers "smart woman" and "independent woman" that stimulated the teacher assistant's self-esteem and ego image. As a result, the assistant could realize her capacity to make decisions on her own and be more self-reliant. Hanna tells her that she is capable of figuring out the answer herself because she is a "smart woman." Then Hanna terminates further containment of the teacher assistant. Hanna acted as a person who knows and who has the answers, using the Master discourse to tell the teacher assistant what to do, but, interestingly, she did so without giving her the answer with the details of what to do, but just telling her that she knew that she could do it. This discourse ended with a quick termination (a cut) that left the teacher assistant with "intense" thoughts about making her own choice. The teacher assistant might later understand that Hanna was actually delegating responsibility and motivating her to be more self-reliant because Hanna felt she was smart enough. This process does not lead to analytic discovery, but rather is a step-by-step process where a young person develops and discovers her or his own skills and capacity over time. However, if the teacher assistant had had an abnormally low self-esteem, or for some other unknown and more complex reasons that made her reluctant to take charge, this intervention could have led to an analytic discovery.

Hanna expressed that she was paying attention to how directly she could address the staff using group relations analytic-oriented terminology. That involves what she can say in her organization in contrast to what Kate can say in her classroom. Kate, on the other hand, did not seem to consider how direct one can be with group relations learning since she is a classroom teacher. When Kate asks, "Can you speak to your experience right now?" she "analytically" addresses the underlying unconscious thoughts and assumptions, while Hanna is not using the Analytic discourse in this way with the teacher assistant (vignette 5) and the students (vignettes 1 and 2). Hanna talks about role and authority using University discourse (vignettes 1 and 2), and stimulating the ego (vignette 5) by using Master discourse. The other participants and Kate did not see the difference, but Hanna knew there was a difference about how direct one can be by using the analytic mode of communication. Hanna and Kate, therefore, use a "mixed bag" with both a containing (maternal) and terminating or cutting (paternal) mode of communication. They confirm that they contain the students up to a point and then leave the students to trust themselves.

Vignette 6: De-center by Opening up Space – Advocacy Work

Paula and her colleague wanted to advocate that the San Diego Unified School District maintain its arts education program in spite of budget cuts. This was during the 2008 educational budget cuts in California. Paula and her colleague felt that if they did not do something about this, they would regret it later. They thought that once the arts budget was cut, it would be so much harder to restore. It would be years and years before kids had any of the arts in the schools, like theater and music.

Having no connection to an authority figure in this area, Paula and her colleague

called people whom they thought were like-minded and explained, "We have no

authority, nobody to support us and no money to do this. We want to tell the school

board that they cannot do this." Paula and her colleague formed an ad hoc group that

encouraged people to call other people and send e-mails to express their concern for the

cause. Paula said, "There were people who would come forward and try to sort of seize

control of the group, and I found myself trying to keep the group balanced and on task

and not to fight the little battles. What I did was to keep everybody talking who was

really interested in moving this forward, and keep everybody focused on task and reframe

the thinking." In addition, Paula was aware that certain things had to be said by others

and not by her. She explained, "I was reaching into that bag that I got during Terri's class

of recognizing when the group was not going to hear my voice on certain things and this

needs to be said right now.... Who can I call and say, 'come in, be part of this and say

this'?" Their advocacy lasted almost two months. They were able to mobilize 500 people

to gather in front of the headquarters of the San Diego Unified School District Board.

Vignette 7: De-center by Opening up Space – Community Work

Paula also involved herself in the local community with the aim of establishing a

neighborhood volunteer patrol system to increase safety in the area. For the initial

meeting, she invited about 25-30 people from the neighborhood to her house. A police

officer from the San Diego Police Department was there, and this collaboration with the

local police was important. As Paula coordinated the group, she tried not to sound like

she knew how to do the job or how to proceed but instead told the group that she had

never run a volunteer patrol before. Still, she portrayed the project as being a worthwhile

effort and very important for the neighborhood. In an effort to make it clear that all should take part in the responsibility, Paula said to the group, "We are going to do this and we are all going to figure out what kind of commitment we can make and how we can be facilitators for a larger safety and security effort throughout the neighborhood."

Paula paid attention to an additional issue. Some members were focused on technical aspects, like setting up an online calendar for scheduling the patrol and discussing t-shirt designs for patrolling. Paula could see how these technicalities were going to absorb all the energy from the more important work that actually had to be done. Paula had to maximize the limited time she had with her neighbors and quickly suggested that a subgroup would be dedicated to work on these technical issues. Paula said that the central questions and the adaptive challenges were about how we can live safely in our neighborhood and take care of each other, and how we can best collaborate with the San Diego Police. Paula did not place herself in the center of the group. She relegated technical tasks to a subgroup while adaptive issues became the center of focus.

Vignettes 6 and 7: Externalization Dialogue

I asked Paula whether she had indirectly empowered and authorized people by somehow "de-authorizing" or putting less significance on herself, or making herself appear less skillful and knowledgeable than she really was (downplaying herself) because this was my impression from the individual interview with her. Paula said that she and her colleague were afraid of becoming the "point people," becoming too central and ending up with full responsibility for the task. Paula said that she did not want the others in the movement to believe that she and her colleague would take care of it all and subsequently nothing would happen. Paula said they had to get others to help carry the

burden with them. I asked whether her coordination style could be seen as stepping out of the center so others could step forward. Paula agreed with this, and she also said that de-centering was a better word than "de-authorizing" oneself.

I asked whether the participants could see similarities and differences between Paula's interventions (vignettes 6 and 7) and the other interventions. Paula said that she believed Hanna's intervention (vignette 5) of de-centering responsibility to the teacher assistant was similar to her own de-centering of responsibility with the patrol group, except that Hanna carried out her intervention with a person, while Paula did it with a group of people (vignette 7). Paula added, "The results were the same but the way it was said was different." The result was the same, de-centralization. Hanna likewise emphasized that she does not want to be the sole knowledge and power holder in her organization, but would like her teachers to take responsibility and make decisions.

Sam commented that taking complete responsibility could make a person extremely overwhelmed. Thus, Sam pointed out that there is a self-care aspect to the release and decentralization of power in Hanna and Paula's interventions. Hanna said that the awareness of de-centralization and self-preservation are important. Teresa, building on Sam's comment, added that it is not only the issue of self-care, but the effectiveness for the group, "It does not work for your school to tell everyone what to do; they will always be coming to you and you will have a group of people that cannot function." Kate mentioned that the importance of recognizing the limitations of your role helps to avoid becoming the "dump" for everything and being the one that takes on all responsibility. There was a consensus in the group on this issue.

I asked the participants whether their interventions are moving from a more hierarchal system to a flat organizational system with a smaller power or authority level difference. Kate said she was resisting the idea of giving up authority in order to give authorization to others, or giving up space in order to include others. She said it was more about extending an invitation to join. Kate reflected upon what Paula had said and concluded that the term "decentralization" is more appropriate than the term "de-authorizing" because she argued that in this applied technique, one does not lose authority but only distributes the administrative functions or powers.

Paula agreed with this, saying she was accordance with Kate's teaching style. Paula said that it makes a lot of sense to decentralize the power when teaching her graduate students because they are adult learners. However, there is also the other side, she said, "There is no question that I am still the teacher and it is like with the community based patrol project. I am still the point person and in the role of being the coordinator."

Hanna said that a parallel to her intervention is the conference experience where the students get to see the administration work in public. She explains, "This is about trying to demystify a little bit what it means to be the authority figure and what management does behind the closed doors. I used that in running my school. I say to my students, 'would you like to come in when we have an administration meeting every Wednesday morning; you are welcome to come in if you would like to participate.'" For Hanna it was about demystifying authority rather than reducing authority hierarchy.

Vignettes 6 and 7: Interpretation

Paula did de-center responsibility, both in the case with the advocacy work (vignette 6) and community work (vignette 7). She opened the space in the group by

using subtle interventions to ensure that the people involved shared responsibility with her. Paula ensured that the center of the group was available for those who wanted to step in and work on the adaptive challenges. Paula ensured that the adaptive work was the center focus of the group and that the technical issues were in the periphery. The group members who wanted to work with technical tasks received some affirmation, but they could not "hijack" the group by centralizing the technical issues.

People in the neighborhood know Paula as a person who can get things done. They expected her to do the difficult work for them. For this reason, it was important for Paula to step out of the center of the group's attention, creating a void in the group's center, and encouraging other participants to come forward to take a more central role and to speak out. This is parallel to the therapist's role in the Analytic discourse, where the therapist places him or herself as a void that attracts signifiers from the client's unconscious. Paula is using an Analytic mode of communication, containing the group, and this resembles Sam's intervention (vignette 3) where he engages the student in Analytic discourse. However, there were no comments about the communication mode difference between Paula's, with her Analytic mode, and Hanna's mode of communication (vignettes 1, 2, and 5).

Vignette 8: Teacher Addressing Master Signifier

Teresa, in her previous job, was a vice principal at a school, and she was leading the administration in addition to doing teaching. She had entered a new job working in a position at a university, and one of the tasks in this new job was to work as a leadership teacher assistant supporting a professor teaching a law class. In this new role, Teresa had less formal authority than in her previous work positions.

Teresa said that the law students were about 25 years old, never worked a day in their lives, and had a very different classroom culture than what she was used to. Teresa said that during class, the law students would use their laptops to check their e-mails, watch the basketball game, take notes, and write their next paper all at the same time. In the beginning, Teresa found their mannerisms to be rude and she did not want to accept their classroom culture. Furthermore, she was frustrated to see that the law students just wanted the right answer, and she told them, "There are no right answers in the educational field of law." The students' expectations made it difficult for Teresa to use her preferred teaching style.

Teresa felt she needed the law professor's approval and acceptance, but it was unclear to her what he expected from her as teacher assistant. Teresa was also unsure about what type of teaching style the law professor wanted from her. She also felt the law professor was catering to the law students, and that he wanted her to give them something that would engage them. Teresa wanted to teach the students on a different level, but when Teresa spoke, she would not get any response from the students, which was frustrating. She felt the conversations with the students did not go very far. She was not able to express her authority, and the students would not receive her perspectives.

Teresa wanted to bring the students up to a different level of learning. She wanted to surface equity and systemic issues that reduce a poor child's opportunity to be successful in the educational system. Teresa said it is difficult for a poor child to exercise their school choice, and attend a good school, because the good schools are generally located far from the poor areas. School choice gives parents the opportunity to choose the school their children will attend and is a part of the No Child Left Behind Act of

2001. Teresa said that often a good school choice is not available for poor children. Teresa wanted to help these kids, and she wanted to teach the law students to see this perspective. Teresa said that the people making our policies need to understand what changes are needed in the system, and she saw the importance of helping the law students see this perspective.

In order to communicate on this level, Teresa realized that she needed to talk in a more inclusive way and not be directly confrontational with the students. An opportunity arrived when the school initiated two trips to Boston and Washington for the students and teachers to meet and interact with powerful politicians and state senators. During these trips, Teresa was able to improve her interaction with the law students by building their trust in her as an authority figure. After the trips, based on this trust that was established, Teresa was able to turn the communication around with the students, and she felt empowered. Teresa said that three law students became interested in how they could advocate for equity and systemic issues related to the field. These students were talking with Teresa about how to go into the area of Special Education Law. Teresa said that they would fight for kids.

The presentation of vignette 8 did not activate any association among participants to the other vignettes. The participants did not seem to find any relevance to their own interventions. There is, therefore, no externalization dialogue for vignette 8. Next, follows the interpretation for vignette 8.

Vignette 8: Interpretation

Teresa developed over time a relationship and trust with the law students, and as a result, the students deferred informal authority to Teresa. Therefore, in Teresa's case, the

law students had the power to begin with, and Teresa needed to work with them so they would give her the informal authority she needed. Teresa is not a law professor and in the beginning, she met resistance among the students. Teresa is communicating with privileged law students potentially drawn from circles of power, and this might reflect the students' position towards Teresa. Teresa spoke about poverty among children and its consequences regarding school choice. The law students were initially not able to connect or identify themselves with this issue. Teresa therefore needed to establish trust with the law students before they were willing to receive her perspectives addressing the master signifiers "school choice" and "No Child Left Behind Act" that were upholding a shared image of the educational policy. Teresa needed to build up a ~~personal~~ better and more personal relationship based on trust with the students before she could establish an Analytic discourse that could bring up the political issues.

Teresa's purpose was to communicate conceptual perspectives on educational equity and systemic issues to the law students. Teresa said that the term "school choice" is a buzzword used in the field of educational policy, promoting positive intentions and obscuring the underlying issues. School choice is an identity bearing master signifier that manages the social field by holding up positive intentions of educational policies as attractive, but the truth beneath it tells another reality. After the large group meeting, I went back to the interview data, identifying the following passage from Teresa's interview in order to go deeper into the issue of school choice:

> I do not know how familiar you are with K-12 education lingo, but school choice is somewhat of a debatable topic. Do I send my child to public school or should I send my child to a public school, charter school, or private school? Now, the issue of school choice comes up because overall the view of American

public education is that it faces a challenge. The *No Child Left Behind Act*, the legislation in California, and the federal legislation basically show that American students in the public education system are not performing well in comparison to the rest of the world and because of this issue school choice has become this new buzzword. If we give parents more freedom in choosing which school they want their child to go to, will the competitive market, basically the market of school, help make schools better because they must now fight for children to enroll. So I need to make my programs better so that the parents will choose to send their kids to this school. If they choose to send their kids to this school, the government will give me money to support my school. Then my school stays open. Now in that thinking, some people are for school choice and some people are against it, saying that if students have a lot of school choice, the very poor will suffer because they won't be able to exert their choice in the same way as the very rich.

Teresa says that school choice has become a buzzword for people working with educational policy. The Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2009) defines buzzword as, "important-sounding, usually technical words or phrases, often with little meaning and used chiefly to impress laymen." The positive connotations of buzzwords impede questioning of intent, and their characteristics are often used to achieve political and organizational goals. Buzzword is another name for master signifier, as they often contain a promise of a positive future, and they are supposed to fill a lack in the subject. Teresa orients the students about buzzwords hidden beneath the knowledge of educational politics.

In all educational institutions, employees always feel some level of frustration because there is always something that could be better. The educators can therefore affix the master signifiers to the lack (i.e., feeling that their school is not helping the students enough). In this way, the master signifiers skew the attention from the economic material problems to problems that can be solved on the symbolic level with symbolic processing (e.g., pedagogical school reform) that deflects the material-economic problem.

Therefore, when the identity bearing master signifiers "school choice" and "No Child Left Behind Act" are introduced to educators, they can temporarily fill the educators' lack (e.g., feeling that one's school does not cover the needs of the students) with a promise of future solutions for the known educational problems. The master signifiers therefore give some temporary hope and satisfaction to the existing lack, but this is only temporary. The master signifiers cover up the educational problem and the central antagonism that lies beneath it. Most likely, over time, the name "school choice" will not be able to conceal the problem, and new master signifiers will be needed in order to support the hope for a better educational system in the future. The qualities of the master signifiers are both attached to the lack while over time they also maintain and create the lack. The master signifiers might over time create compensatory, dynamic circulating master signifiers and re-displace the central antagonism.

Teresa is addressing the central antagonism because she does not accept the premise of school choice, but rather sees it as a symptom of a larger systemic problem, which the buzzword is trying to cover up. Instead of addressing the symptom, she addresses the cause of the problem. Teresa abolishes the displacement and exposes the central antagonism and the much more complex problem beneath it. The central antagonism generated from the lower classes is displaced onto the name of school choice that appears as a promise. When problems are solved on the narrative and symbolic level using symbolic logic of choice, the material level is displaced onto the buzzwords that cover them up.

Analyzing Mode of Discourse in the Interventions

Participants' Communication Modes

In this section, I will sum up the underlying pattern of tacit knowledge that was made explicit and conceptualized by comparing the interpretations of the eight interventions. Interventions 1 to 7 were similar in the sense that they contained characteristics of empowerment, self-authorization, and de-centering responsibility. This was confirmed in the externalization dialogues. However, I identified a pattern beyond this level when I interpreted the data describing all eight interventions (these modes of addressing the receiver's subjectivity are listed in Table 17). The participants did not conceptually express these different modes of addressing subjectivity, but they had nevertheless performed them in their interventions. The narratives of the interventions contained implicitly the information of the differences, but unless they are conceptualized, this pattern of tacitly learned differences will remain unconscious to the participants. Therefore, the participants knew more than they could tell. The characteristic of the differences were as follows: interventions 1, 2, and 8 instilled Symbolic subjectivity; interventions 3, 4, 6, and 7, revealed unconscious Symbolic subjectivity; intervention 5 stimulated, Imaginary subjectivity; vignette 8 also investigated the system's master signifier and went beyond the symptom to address the central social antagonism itself. I claim that the participants have tacitly calibrated the mode of communication based on the need of the receiver's subjectivity and based on contextual surroundings. Neither did I as a researcher or the participants detect these differences during the large group meeting.

Table 17

Mode of Communication used in the Eight Interventions

Vignettes	Communication mode that the receiver's subjectivity was addressed
1 Educator inserted Symbolic rules into student	Instilled Symbolic subjectivity (University discourse)
2 Educator developed Symbolic register of Student using BART model explicitly	Instilled Symbolic subjectivity (University discourse)
3 Counselor revealed the underside of one's symbolic identity	Revealed Symbolic subjectivity (Analytic discourse)
4 Teacher rejected student's request for affirmation	Revealed Symbolic subjectivity (Analytic & Hysteric discourse)
5 Stimulated teacher-assistant Imaginary subjectivity	Stimulated Imaginary subjectivity (Master discourse)
6 De-centered by opening space in center of group – advocacy work	Revealed Symbolic space for the group-as-whole and addressed the symptom of the central antagonism (the Real) (Analytic & Hysteric discourse)
7 De-centered by opening up space in center of group – community work	Revealed Symbolic space for the group-as-whole and addressed the symptom of the central antagonism (the Real) (Analytic discourse)
8 Teacher addressed law students' master signifiers	Instilled Symbolic subjectivity and addressed master signifier and the central antagonism (the Real) (Analytic, University & Hysteric discourse)

Differences in Discourse Mode among Interventions 1, 2, and 3

I will go through the interpreted differences in communication modes among

interventions 1, 2, and 3. Sam (vignette 3), held individual counseling sessions with an

undergraduate student about unconscious identity behavior issues that the student might

have had. For example, did the student desire his current roles or identifications, and

who did the student really want to become in the future? The effect of Sam's mode of communication reveals the student's unconscious Symbolic subjectivity, what the student did not yet know about him or herself, but what yet needed to be surfaced. Sam helped the student investigate the underside of his Symbolic identifications by using the Analytic discourse. Hanna, on the other hand, in vignettes 1 and 2, predominantly used the lecture-format communication mode (University discourse), where she addressed the students with systemic knowledge about role, authority, and boundaries, instilling the BART concepts and signifying chains into the Symbolic subjectivity of the students. Hanna moved the student subject's focus from Imaginary realm to Symbolic realm of subjectivity. Hanna was instilling and inserting Symbolic subjectivity while Sam was helping the student to reveal his Symbolic subjectivity. The difference is about inserting Symbolic structure versus investigating the ego's self-image. Both Hanna and Sam's interventions empowered the student, but the mode of addressing the receiver's subjectivity was fundamentally different.

After vignette 3 was presented, the difference among interventions 1, 2, and 3 were discussed in the externalization dialogue. I asked Sam and Hanna whether they could see similarities or differences between one another's interventions (vignettes 1, 2, and 3). Sam said he could recognize Hanna's use of taking incremental steps during interventions and that he was using the same incremental approach in his own student counseling. They both used incremental steps to aid the student in learning how to use power in a more appropriate manner. They mutually agreed that their interventions involved helping the students to recognize their power and how others are influenced by their power. However, Hanna and Sam did not conceptually express the difference

between instilling Symbolic subjectivity (University discourse) and revealing Symbolic

subjectivity in the receiver (Analytic discourse). Accordingly, I conclude that the

knowledge was tacit; the participants had adjusted the communication mode based on the

perceived need of the receiver and the contextual surroundings. Hanna and Sam tacitly

knew what type of communication style fit for each specific context, but they did not tell

me or the other participants explicitly about these communication style differences when

I asked them. I identified that their tacit knowledge follows a system, but I still had to

verify whether the communication style differences were appropriate to the specific

context of each intervention. Let us go to intervention 4 and 5, and the externalization

dialogue held after the presentation of intervention 5.

Differences in Discourse Mode among Interventions 4 and 5

Kate (vignette 4), like Hanna (vignette 5) encouraged the students to seek their

own answers; to self-accept, to self-affirm, and not to automatically seek acceptance, an

answer, or confirmation from the authority figure. The purpose of Kate and Hanna's

interventions was to make the individuals independent from an authority figure's

approval. However, the interventions were different and on a deeper level: the way they

engaged with the receiver differed, and led the receivers to different mental processes.

Kate directed the receiver towards a self-reflective Symbolic realm of subjectivity, using

the Analytic discourse, while Hanna directed the individual, by giving a command as the

one who knows using the Master discourse, the receiver experience to elevate self-image

and self-esteem. In vignette 4, Kate helped the students to investigate their reason for

seeking teacher affirmation and revealing Symbolic structure (Analytic discourse).

Consequently, both Kate and Hanna used their interventions to encourage the receivers to

trust themselves and make their own decisions, but they used different modes of communication addressing the receiver.

After vignette 5 was presented, I asked the participants compare vignettes 4 and 5, and in addition compare them to vignettes 1, 2, and 3. Four of the participants did not express any communication differences. Hanna indicated there was some kind of difference in the sense that students who sign up for a leadership class are more likely to expect the type of intervention that Kate did (vignette 4). Hanna said she could not be as direct as Kate had been in her intervention. Hanna explained that she chose to slowly introduce her organization to a leadership style that was based on group relations, where she spoke less directly using group relations language to staff. In vignettes 1 and 2 she used the University discourse, in vignette 5, the Master discourse, but she had her own twist on them so they still had a group relations learning perspective in them. Hanna was not using Analytic communication mode in these interventions. Neither was Hanna using Lacanian terminology, but she was conscious of the differences between the Analytic discourse and the other discourses defined by Lacan, but she used less precise wording. She expressed this difference by saying she did not use group relations language directly, and that she had to be more indirect. Other than this comment from Hanna, the participants did not consciously distinguish any tacitly learned differences among the interventions, which is interesting because it indicates that they know more than they can express in explicit wording. However, Hanna did not express the conceptual difference in mode of communication between interventions 1 and 2 compared to intervention 5. Hanna activated self-image by using the command of being the one who knows, stimulating narcissism, in vignette 5, while in vignettes 1 and 2 she instilled Symbolic

order into the students (University discourse), and influenced them to give up the

narcissistic self-image. To conclude, there are unrecognized tacitly learned differences

between interventions 4 and 5 and between these and interventions 1, 2, and 3. The

participants could not tell me this, but the participants differed by using language as a

tool, to shift to the correct and appropriate mode of communication dependent on the

specific context. The participants' knowledge of the discourses operates behind the

scenes and is therefore tacit. The communication mode is tacitly attuned to the need of

the receiver's mental situation and contextual surroundings.

Differences in Discourse Mode among Interventions 5, 6, and 7

In vignettes 6 and 7, Paula established the Analytic discourse of addressing the

receiver. Vignettes 6 and 7 are different from vignette 5 (Master discourse), and they are

also different from vignettes 1 and 2 (University discourse). After vignettes 6 and 7 were

presented, I asked whether the participants could see similarities and differences between

Paula's interventions (vignettes 6 and 7) and Hanna's intervention (vignette 5). Paula

and Hanna agreed that both interventions de-centered responsibility. When Hanna de-

centered the teacher-assistant's responsibility, it was similar to when Paula's de-centered

responsibility within the groups. The group members agreed on the importance of de-

centering for the leader to avoid being the sole knowledge and power holder in the

organization, and to allow employees to take responsibility and make decisions. Sam

mentioned that de-centering responsibility is a form of self-care and Teresa mentioned

that increased efficiency in the organization is an important reason to de-center

responsibility. Students expressed knowledge associated with the interventions, but

again, the fundamental difference between the modes of communication towards the receiver's subject was not expressed in this externalization dialogue.

Differences in Discourse Mode among Interventions 8 and 1-7

The presentation of vignette 8 did not activate any dialogue among the participants. The participants seemed unable to conceptually relate Teresa's intervention to the other 7 interventions. There is therefore no externalization dialogue section for vignette 8. It is possible that it is not clear for the other participants how intervention 8 is related to group relations learning. Despite this, Teresa spoke about intervention 8 in her interview because she felt that the group relations learning influenced the work she carried out in this intervention. Teresa said that she used the learning in intervention 8 to establish trust with the law students, and to find her role as a teacher in this specific teaching context. Teresa felt that USD group relations learning helped her to establish trust with the law students so they could be open to see the problems that an unfair social structure can create. Teresa's intervention surfaced the link between immediate social processes and the underlying structure of society. It is important for participants to see the difference between working to change immediate group processes and working to change social structures. The essential point here is that no participant pointed this out. Intervention 8, as well as interventions 4 and 6, addressed as the final goal, the social structure, while the other interventions addressed immediate relations, where the process is the end-point. Interventions 4, 6, and 8, have an element of "protest" against the established social structure. These interventions have therefore an element of the Hysteric discourse.

Teresa might also have included her intervention 8 in the interview because she recognized buzzwords (master signifiers) as often being part of unconscious group processes. Also, she might have had experiences where buzzwords were related to unconscious group relations processes where a special word takes on a significant role.

Participants' Tacit Regulation of the Four Discourses

In this final analysis, I interpreted the data without the involvement of the participants. This time, with use of Lacanian terminology (2007), I was able to signify and conceptualize the different modes (i.e., University, Master, Hysteric, and Analytic modes) in which participants were communicating. This indicated that I could not relate to the meaning of the data before I had terminology and signifiers to name the concepts that were related to the meaning. This supports the idea that the signifier precedes the signified (Lacan, 2007). The data indicated that when the participants directly focus on the receiver in the specific context, the focal knowledge (Polanyi, 1966) did automatically (and unconsciously) select and activate the tacit communication mode that would produce the speech act most suited for the receiver. The different modes of communication were implicit in the narratives of the interventions, but the participants were not conceptually conscious of them.

The externalization dialogues produced rich descriptions of empowerment, de-authorization, decentralization, and other issues, but not about the different modes of communication the participants were using. In this analytic process, the Lacanian signifying system of the four discourses conceptualizes the communication features that were expressed in the narratives produced in the large group meeting.

Surfacing and Displacing Central Antagonism in Interventions

The problem definitions in interventions 1 and 2 might contain symptoms surfacing

displaced class struggle. The underlying, longstanding cause of students' social

maladaptation might have been that the students belonged to low-income households

with a lack of material resources. This lower class life context might for example have

included deficient material conditions like poor nutrition, unsafe neighborhoods, and

parents having severely stressful work conditions, and few economic resources. Freud

(1989) argues that these social parameters will lead to diminished life conditions, and

lead children to develop limited drive-sublimation into higher cultural values manifested

in art, science and higher education. Drive-sublimation is dependent on the class

dimension according to Freud, and this might be the cause of students' lack of self-

control in Interventions 1 and 2. I am here not arguing for the deficit view that the

problem is caused by poor parenting or that the problem is caused by cultural oppression

(e.g., not respecting poor people's particular culture), which views I do not argue. I am

arguing for a problem related to the socio-economic structure and class position, parents

or care persons' accumulated wealth. The Vygotskyan Zone of Proximal Development is

dependent on the class dimension because the socio-economic structure is the basis and

quality for the Zone of Proximal Development. Hypothetically, the class position might

have prevented or played a part in the students (interventions 1 and 2) having a healthy

development, which might have hindered them from properly learning how to behave in

social roles. The social maladaptation of the students might be the symptom of a root

problem, the central antagonism manifested as poverty. This hypothetical cause-of-

problem illustrates how students' lack of understanding social roles might be a symptom

of displaced class struggle. Hanna's teaching about authority, role, and boundaries, using the modified BART model helped her students to develop a better understanding of social roles. The students needed the guidance and help that Hanna provided. Nevertheless, the underlying cause-of-problem in vignettes 1 and 2 remains and it might impact a large number of children raised in this class position. The essence here is that the problem-definition surfaces and defines the real longstanding problem. The interventions 1 and 2 did not surface the central antagonism (the deeper problem of society). The interventions therapeutically helped the students to learn social roles, which were very important for these individual students in order to function normally in society. The students did not analytically develop an understanding of how the socio-economic structure had harmed them. Therefore, the therapeutic and not the analytic aspect was included in this case.

In intervention 6, Paula addressed a security problem that emerged in her local community, and in intervention 7, she addressed the art educational budget cut. Paula organized a neighborhood patrol to prevent burglars from entering into the neighborhood and she mobilized a local group to protest against the art budget cut. There are dependencies between the burglars in the neighborhood, the art budget cut, and the larger economic system that needed to be addressed in the long-term. Although Paula's interventions would solve the security problem in the local community and prevent cuts in the art budget, these interventions would not solve the underlying long-term cause of these problems. Paula addressed secondary struggles and particular interests and therefore directed attention to the symptoms (burglars in the neighborhood), rather than their root causes, which were caused by the larger economic system.

Teresa, in intervention 8, addressed the central antagonism directly. She attempted to convince the law students not to accept the problem-definition of school choice, and to address the underside of this buzzword (master signifier) that upholds the seductive imaginary. This master signifier is a symbolic name that promotes a promising but obscure image (empty signified) of educational policy. If educators take this master name and its associated narratives for granted, they can unconsciously ignore material issues and displace the educational problems onto symbolic names. The antagonism of the painful unsymbolized dependencies within the economic system can therefore remain hidden.

Interventions 3, 4, and 5, unlike the others, might not contain displacement of the central antagonism. The students in interventions 3 and 4 attend an expensive and private university, and the teacher-assistant in intervention 5 is young and has a good job. This is hypothetical, but it might be that the people involved in interventions 3, 4, and 5 apparently did not have unfulfilled material needs, lack resources. Therefore, the class dimension is less relevant in these interventions. These interventions seemed to deal instead with secondary struggles that included issues such as identity, self-esteem, and self-trust. Although this is hypothetical, its principle is an important discussion because it is essential to separate those elements that belong to the central antagonism from those elements that belong to the secondary antagonisms.

The class dimension can obfuscate the self-esteem and identity issues in different ways when people from different strata of society interact. The lower classes can either direct their antagonism, emanating from material misery (central antagonism), upwards to the elites, against the upper classes, or displace their antagonisms (downwards) onto the

secondary identities. The upper-middle class cannot displace experiences of material misery because they do not have such experiences. The class dimension impacts the identity and self-esteem in a very complex way.

There seems to be a lack of symbolic associations between the interventions that tended towards problem-defining secondary struggles and the intervention tending towards a problem definition directed towards the central antagonism, particularly vignette 8, but also to some extent vignettes 4 and 6. The participants did not make any metonymic associations between vignette 8 and the other vignettes. The cause can be that the general Western (U.S. and E.U.) socio-normative symbolic field, with its signifying chains, does not associate, but rather disassociates the type of problems presented in vignettes 1, 2, 6, 7, and 8, from the central antagonism. The problem-definitions in these vignettes seem to be pulled towards problem-definitions that are solved by symbolic mental processes that are unrelated to economic and material conditions. The skewed symbolic space produces chains articulating problem-definitions that exclude the central antagonism. Because of this, the participants may have found it difficult to compare Teresa's narrative of intervention 8 to the other interventions. Hypothetically, a gap in the symbolic space prevented the other participants from associating intervention 8 with the other interventions 1-7. Interventions 1, 2, 6 and 7 addressed an immediate personally oriented solution and did not analytically address the central antagonism even though that might have been the root cause of the problem, and the social structure remains unaddressed and unchanged. Freud clearly saw this problem, and I will discuss this in the next section.

Therapeutic Adjustments or Theoretical Analysis in Interventions

Freud was skeptical about whether one should "cure" the neuroses of people living in poverty, since their neuroses possess the social justification that constitutes the person's identity and the reason to live. To remove the neuroses one should, before anything else, remove the social miseries and terribly unfair social structure that created the neuroses in the first place (Jacoby, 1997). Freud saw the necessity of neuroses when the world is full of misery. Freud clearly emphasized that it is very understandable that neurotic patients will not give up their illnesses even if they become aware of their illness and have the choice to give it up. This is justified, particularly for those who can look back on a life of misery, which has been deprived of higher cultural activities like art, science, and education on a higher level, and has been subject to harsh working conditions and the stressful living environment that poverty brings. To work through their mental illnesses might not be as rewarding because it does not make life easier or more joyful when one lives a life of poverty. Freud (1989) said that a therapist is quite helpless in such situations, and it is important for a therapist to recognize the limitations of therapy. This recognition should reinforce the analysts' determination to work for change in the social structure so that people should no longer be forced into desperate and bleak life situations. Freud was therefore very clear on separating the two aspects of psychoanalysis, namely psychoanalysis as therapy and psychoanalysis as theory (Jacoby, 1997). Psychoanalysis as theory is to criticize social structure and to surface the antagonisms between the individual and the repressive society, whereas psychoanalysis as individual therapy is not free to do that and functions as an instrument for personal adjustment and resignation to the existing, oppressive social structure. Freud was clear

about the limitations and strengths of therapy in a repressive society, and he therefore supported the notion of state psychoanalytic clinics for serving the poor people who suffer from neuroses (Jacoby, 1997). Freud was skeptical of using therapy for people living in poverty since therapy tends to adjust patients to the social structure that harmed them in the first place, and probably some aspect of the indirect and underlying cause of their illnesses would be concealed rather than surfaced. Freud did not want psychoanalysis to become a tool for adjustment, but he wanted psychoanalysis to keep its revolutionary core. Freud was therefore of the opinion that the analyst should work for change in the social conditions of the patients. Building on this, I claim that the distinction between therapeutic adjustments and theoretical analysis is at the heart of group relations challenges because the socio-economic structure is part of what can harm individuals, albeit in an indirect way (e.g., children do not do well in class because of insufficient nutrition), and must be taken into account in the analytic process. Moreover, when it comes to solving real life practices, this distinction is at the heart of leadership, and I will now relate this to participants' practices.

Using Freud's distinction, I can categorize my participants' interventions as therapeutic adjustments or theoretical analyses addressing the social structure. Interventions in the former category have the purpose of adjusting individuals or groups to the existing social structure, whereas interventions in the latter category aim to adjust and modify the social structure to individuals and groups. I will now go through these interventions in some detail and elaborate on the differences.

In interventions 1 and 2, the teacher is helping the students adapt to the existing social structure. The interventions in vignettes 1 and 2 help the students control their

impulses (conflict between ego and drives) by strengthening the super ego, and channeling and sublimating their energy into something more constructive while preventing them from acting up in the class. These are examples of interventions as therapeutic adjustments where it is necessary for the students to submit to the social norms of society, but these are not analytic investigations since the class position is not addressed. The question that arises is whether Hanna in the future will lead the students into an Analytic discourse addressing class structure so that they will understand how society has harmed them in the first place, and thereby become class-conscious citizens and political subjects. I could therefore in principle recommend to Hanna that she carry out a second additional step of the interventions 1 and 2, by which, at a later time, she could for example inform the students about stratification in society. The student must learn the impact of his or her class position on life opportunities. If the student denies the class problem, this could possibly be a sign of displacement of the central antagonism. The first step of the intervention could be therapeutic, as Hanna has suggested, while the second step could be analytical, and lead to politicizing the receiver of the intervention.

Intervention 3, *Counselor Empowers Student using the Analytic Discourse*, is analytic in the sense that the teacher helps the student to explore what his personal frustrations were all about, in order to figure who he is or who he wants to be as a young adult person. Because this student is attending USD, which is a private, expensive university, the student is hypothetically from the middle class, and one should ask the question whether the student is therefore not harmed by the larger social structure, and whether the problem is related to a secondary identity and adjustment issues that are

typical for a young person. The issues for this student are more likely related to

secondary identity issues, and not the central antagonism.

Intervention 4, *Teacher Rejects Student's Request for Affirmation,* is an attempt to

make the student independent. The student appears to believe that she will be loved by

the teacher if her work is accepted by the teacher, and if she follows the teacher's

instructions, but instead the teacher rejects the student's demand for approval. Because

of the rejection, the student cannot fully use the teacher's image as her own ego-ideal,

and she must focus on the development of her own ego-ideal. Following Freud (1921),

when the individual replaces his or her ego-ideal with the ideal object of the leader, the

individual becomes deprived of his or her ability for critical thinking. The process might

lead to questioning of established social authority norms since the student's idealization

of the authority figure is reduced by the teacher's intervention. This type of intervention

is only possible when the student has already submitted to the socio-normative symbolic

order of being obedient, in the first place. This was not possible in the context of

interventions 1 and 2 where the students were acting up in class and not following the

social structure. Intervention 4 addresses the social structure by encouraging the student

to find her own answers, and this might lead the student to address the social structure

itself. The intervention is not a therapeutic adjustment because it does not encourage the

student to adjust to educational norms and to seek the teacher's approval. Thereby the

authority structure is put into question, and the result might be that the student reflects on

the structure of the institution itself, and relies more on his or her own ego-ideal (Lacan,

1991) and not on an idealization of the institution and its master signifiers. Intervention 4

is to some extent disruptive and will create an element of Hysteric questioning in the

student (Lacan, 2007). Kate said that the student starts to reflect when she does not

confirm the student's demand for approval. Kate explained further, "When I reflect that

back to them, it causes enough dissonance that they're able to work with it, but we have

established some sort of mutuality and some sort of trustworthy relationship so that they

don't completely turn off." This dissonance might lead the students to take it a step

further and question social structures. Intervention 4 is complex because the teacher

rejects the students' idealization of the teacher, unlike interventions 1 and 2 in which the

teacher allowed the students to idealize her in order to have them listen to her and follow

her directions. Interventions 1 and 2 lead the students to conform to authority norms

while intervention 4 potentially politicizes the student since she or he cannot adjust to the

standard educational norms. Therefore, interventions 1 and 2 are therapeutic while

intervention 4 is analytic.

Intervention 5, *Empowering a Teacher-Assistant by Stimulating Imaginary*

Subjectivity, is an example of a therapeutic intervention where the teacher-assistant works

on fulfilling her professional role in the best possible way. This intervention does not

analyze or address the social structure. The important task here is to build up the teacher-

assistant's self-image as a smart and independent woman who trusts her skills in order to

achieve more independence at work. This is most likely a therapeutic intervention so that

the teacher-assistant can adjust to work-related expectations. The issue can possibly be

related to gender issues in the work place, a secondary antagonism, where women are not

supposed to be or expected to be as confident and assertive as men are.

In intervention 6, *De-center by Opening up Space in Center – Advocacy Work*, the

participant mobilizes an advocacy group urging the San Diego Unified School District to

maintain its arts education program in spite of budget cuts. In this intervention, the participant uses group relations learning to organize and manage the group. This therapeutic process involves adjusting members to the ongoing group process. However, the end-purpose is not for the sake of group process, but to change the social structure that impacts the educational art budget. In this, it differs from interventions 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7, where the goal was the process itself. The problem of restoring the art budget would not address the central antagonism, the deeper economic structure underlying the problem. The socio-economic structure is set up in such a way that it favors the capital class above the labor class in such a way that the capital class receives the larger part of the accumulation of wealth. This is the underlying structural problem, and it might impact the art budget.

Intervention 7, *De-center by Opening up Space in Center – Community Work,* is a therapeutic intervention that aims to protect the local community by establishing local neighborhood patrols. The intervention will most likely make the neighborhood safer, but it does not address the social structure and the central antagonism that is surfacing through high crime rates in the community. The intervention provides a temporary solution because it does not change the social structure. The group process is the end-goal itself.

In intervention 8, *Teacher Addressing the Master Signifier,* the participant addresses the heart of the problem by pointing out that the master signifier, or the buzz word "school choice" conceals the fact that there are no real choices since the poor children cannot travel from poor to wealthy communities where the good schools are located. The poor children are prevented from selecting good schools even though they

have a free choice. Teresa used group relations learning process to establish a

relationship with students, enabling them to address the structure of the law instead of

offering a temporary, therapeutic intervention. Intervention 8 is therefore about having

the goal of empowering poor children in general by arguing that the social structure must

change so they also can have a realistic, free choice to enter a good school. Teresa

encourages the law students to look at solutions so that poor children can access good

schools. I argue that it is not clear whether Teresa believes it is needed to surface the

central antagonism to such an extent. This will probably meet resistance from those in

power. Most likely, legislators would not have the power to do this without the political

support that can only be achieved by pressure from unified labor unions and social

movements. A major change in the economic distribution is necessary in order to

provide good schools for all. Nevertheless, my argument is that to provide quality

schooling for all children and reduce poverty at the same time demands extensive

resources; therefore, it can only be accomplished through reclaiming wealth from the

upper classes by the lower classes, which can only be achieved through surfacing the

central antagonistic struggle. To discuss school reform without addressing poverty and

wealth accumulation is a displacement of the central antagonism onto the pedagogical

secondary issue. Parents' accumulated wealth will often determine which school the

parents can choose on behalf of their child because the good schools tend to be located in

areas with high real estate prices. Some educators do argue that this can be overlooked

because they believe that school reforms alone will reduce poverty (Kopp, 2011). Other

educators claim that reducing poverty and improving the schools in poor areas must take

place at the same time (Ravitch, 2010, 2013). The latter is most likely correct because

school reforms focuse on the pedagogy that operates in the symbolic order, and do not address the central antagonism, the poverty itself.

For the participant in the intervention 8, the structure of society should adjust and provide better school structure for poor children. The social structure must adjust to the individuals (the poor children), as opposed to the intervention 7, where people in the neighborhood adapt to unsafe local environment, by initiating local neighborhood patrols, instead of changing the social structure itself. Intervention 8, as well as interventions 4 and 6, addresses the social structure as an end-purpose, while the others interventions addressed immediate relations and group process as an end-goal. As already mentioned, interventions 4, 6, and 8 have therefore an element of "protest" or "questioning" against the established social structure, and these interventions have therefore an element of the Hysteric discourse.

I have shown that in their real life practices, participants make interventions that both promote therapeutic adjustment and theoretical analysis. The participants do not necessarily explicitly distinguish these two dimensions from each other when they speak about their applied techniques and their purposes. For some, there is a tendency to use a therapeutic approach rather than a theoretical analysis and to address the secondary antagonism rather than the central antagonisms because there is an overlap between therapeutic approaches and the secondary antagonism, where the therapeutic approach functions as a temporary solution that conceals the central antagonism. By introducing Freud's distinction between psychoanalysis as therapy and psychoanalysis as theory, a new dimension was surfaced in the data. The result of the signifier analysis, showing a high number of process and identity signifiers and a low number of signifiers related to

social structure, indicates that there is a trend towards therapeutic orientation and away from the analytic orientation.

Leadership and Social Change

Freud reasoned that the modern class society is founded on two forms of inequality and exploitation. It was not just the question of exploitation of labor (Freud 1930). The other problem was that the drive sublimation for upper class citizens, which is necessary for the creation of art and knowledge, depended upon the working class's limited ability for self-control of inner impulses caused by their inability to sublimate drives that again is a result of, that they direct their energy into selling their labor. Freud pointed out that the symbolic sublimation of drives is dependent on the material access to cultural and symbolic items necessary for the educational sublimation process. The very labor carried out by the working poor creates the necessary wealth and conditions for the upper class to have time and resources to develop their drive sublimation (e.g., reading books, fine art, theater, opera, playing instruments, exhibitions, museums, conferences, therapy, private tutoring etc.). People in poor communities have less access to cultural and symbolic objects, and less opportunity to filter drives through the symbolic order because they spend their life-energy on labor (Freud, 1989; Bourdieu, 1995). The upper classes depend on wealth production by the labor of the lower classes. Hence, according to this double logic, the privileged exploit the working class in two ways, economically and psychically.

Freud believed that the modern society that leads the working class into a state of surplus privation does not have a viable future. Freud (1989) saw that this form of civilization does not deserve a permanent existence because it drives a large unsatisfied

group of people into justified rebellion. A group relations conference is therefore a challenging situation because the typical participants, who are generally from the middle class, already have the capacity for drive sublimation while the poor, who might need to learn and develop drive sublimation (Lacan 1992; 1998), often do not have access to the group relations courses because of lack of economic resources. USD is a private, exorbitantly expensive university, and therefore potential participants from the lower strata of society rarely have access to the USD group relations classes. Indeed, if the poor were able to participate, they might reject the group relations training method in the beginning of the course, due to their lack of some minimal capacity for drive sublimation (Lacan 1992). For example, hypothetically speaking to exemplify, this might be why Hanna in real life application must use the University discourse and not the Analytic discourse in intervention 1 and 2.

Freud (1989, 2010) suggests that if treatment would allow patients to analyze how their relationships and positions in the social structure are related to their suffering they could become more class-conscious citizens. This could over time re-politicize the lower strata of the population, and this would ultimately lead to social change. In the case where the person is harmed by the social structure, an analytical perspective can reveal the harm that the repressive society inflicted on him or her. Such an approach can engage the patient in an egalitarian, emancipatory struggle, in solidarity with others, against the repressive, exploitative structure of society, rather than addressing the patient as a passive person needing help. Leadership and social change is therefore closely related to these psychic processes. Although focusing on individual therapeutic adjustments might be important, changing the social structure might better help individuals cope with society's

demands. Moreover, solely individual therapeutic adjustments might have the structurally undesirable effect of reinforcing and grounding the existing social structure and thus leading to de-politicized subjects. Freud argues that the therapeutic method will ultimately lead to a society with a cold and unemotional inner core that is unconcerned about the structural reality of society. Consequently, this methodological love will end in lovelessness (Jacoby, 1997). Freud was concerned that if there were a one-sided strong emphasis on therapy and emotional aspects, without addressing the socio-economic structure of society, this would lead to a cold and insensitive society, simply because the people would be de-politicized and adjust to the oppression and the social structure that comes with the poverty.

<div align="center">Participants' Perceptions of Their Learning</div>

I will present in this section the participants' own perspectives and attitudes towards their own group relations experiential learning. I have used the data that was elicited by the interview question: "What significance has the group relations experience played in your life?" This question, from the semi-structured interview guideline, was initially sent to the participants by email two days before the interview. The participants therefore had time to reflect on this question before they arrived at the interview. In the following section, I will use data from all 10 participants and not only the five participants who carried out the coding and attended the group meetings.

Seven of the ten participants reported that the group relations learning had a fundamentally life changing impact on them whereby their basic ways of thinking were altered. The other three participants reported that the influence from the learning was important and very useful in their life, but not fundamentally life changing. Thus, the

total impact of group relations experiential learning ranged from being an important

impact to a fundamentally life changing impact. Nine of the ten participants used group

relations experiential learning on a regular basis in multiple areas; for example, in their

life at work and in their private life. They used the learning from group relations to

resolve social situations with family members or friends, saying that they acted

differently with their families or with their friends than they would have without the

learning. One participant used the group relations learning only at her work, and not in

other areas of her life.

Normalization of Group Anxiety

The most important result that emerged from these data was that the learning

helped the participants to act in groups in different ways than before. Particularly

important was the acceptance of not being in control of the group and the ability to resist

being overtaken by the urge to immediately do something about it. The participants

could de-dramatize and normalize the feeling of being uncomfortable or having anxiety

in group situations. They could be more easygoing when they were in groups, even

though they did not necessarily have control or influence over the group. Several

participants emphasized that one of the essential concepts of the learning was to see that

the group responses often were not about them personally, but about what they

represented for the particular group. For example, Paula said, "It [the group relations

learning] made me far more aware of how I'm perceived and that was both very powerful

and a little frightening. It helped me relax a little bit to sort of understand sometimes how

it is not about me, but it's about sort of what I represent."

Observation of Roles and Group Processes

The participants said that the learning had helped them to read what was going on in groups and to observe the roles that the members, including themselves, take on in groups. They were now much better equipped to see how the group might push them into certain roles. For example, Paula said that one of the most valuable aspects of the learning for her was to see what the group could drive her to do. Karen said that the impact of the group relations learning on her has changed her way of seeing others and how she perceived others to see her in group situations. For instance, she became aware and learned that the roles she takes up in different social situations were related to how others perceived her, playing the role they expect from her. Hanna was inspired by the learning to observe how a person acts in different groups, and to not observe the person in only one specific group situation before she develops her opinion about the person's functioning in groups. As an example, she mentioned a situation where she wanted to give feedback to a teacher: "I would get what the teacher represents in different layers of the system—the teacher in the classroom, the teacher when only teachers are around, and the teacher with administration—before I give advice or consult that teacher." In this way, Hanna could figure out whether a particular context would impact the teacher a certain way or whether the reason was in the teacher and not caused by the context.

Group Relations Learning and Identity

The participants' responses made it evident that to observe and handle oneself in a group is essential, not only for practical handling of group processes, but also for their own identity and social integration. People in a modern society frequently shift roles from one social context to another in their daily lives, and it is therefore important to

manage one's role and identity in different group situations. The learning therefore has more than a practical and functional side; the learning has also an impact on social relationships, and these two sides, the functional and the social side, were related. For instance, earlier Paula did not have any particular interest in being involved socially with her local community. However, Paula found it more interesting being part of her neighborhood community after the group relations learning. She said that being part of the neighborhood group became much more satisfying because she could stand back and have control of the extent to which the group was pushing her into a particular role. She could regulate how much she would be willing to assume the roles the group was assigning to her. Another participant, Teresa, said that over time the group relations work had become a natural and deeply felt part of herself in the way she perceived her own thoughts and actions. She said this learning had a great significance for her because the group relations work had changed the way she interacts with people in general, and the learning had become more relevant to her personal life. Similarly, Kate also emphasized the personal aspect of the learning; she shared the learning with certain family members and this has helped her on a personal level with her family relationships. This helped her to gain an analytic perspective on her family dynamics. Kate said:

> So let's say in my marriage it'd be easy to think that it's two people, one marriage, but it really exists within some larger systems so that can get rather complicated. So there are two families. It is within one whole system of a family and another whole system of a family, which now overlaps, and when I observe something about Jason's behavior or his perspective or his framework of thinking, I feel now that I'm not just dealing with one person's framework. I can see that his framework is a part of the larger whole of his family, which can make it more complicated but I think it helps me to have a more compassionate stance of inquiry towards him and towards our marriage.

Hanna and Sidney also mentioned the private and the personal aspects of the use of group relations in their daily interactions in real life. Hanna said that the learning has changed the way she sees herself in groups, personally and professionally. This change in the way she sees herself in groups took place in different contexts: It could be in a relationship with a friend, with one person in the family, and with people at work. Sidney said that she changed how she looks at things in her everyday work, and now she is always looking for and seeing what roles people take on when, for example, she is at home with her family or in a restaurant. The overall patterns show that the real-life application of the learning impacts all kinds of social situations. The learning had an impact on the participants' social integration and on their identity in social situations, suggesting that the learning was deeply internalized and available in a variety of social situations.

Living with Valences

Five participants reported that the learning has helped them to work on personal issues. These personal issues often surfaced in the form of a valence to take up certain roles in group relations situations. The participants were, over time, able to name and address these valences. For example, Paula became aware of how she often takes up work and responsibility of others, which is not good for her. Some people at her work and some people in her community tended to see her as a mother figure, so they somehow expected her to take care of things. After the learning, she could still accept that some people in the group offered her this role, but she was now conscious of this. She could, for example, play the role for a while and then leave the role or wait for someone else to pick it up. She still had the tendency to be the one who takes care of

things; the valence was still there, but she became aware that she was being used. This awareness made her valence less destructive and much more controllable.

Lisa's problem was similar. She felt the need to please others in order to feel accepted and valued. She said she always wanted to be liked; therefore, she often took on extra work so others did not have to worry about it. This made her sometimes feel used by others in group situations. The group relations learning helped her to become aware of this problem. Instead of trying to please other people so much she could now, at times, hold back, and that was an eye-opener and very interesting learning experience for her. Lisa said, "The biggest thing I was realizing was that I cared too much what people thought about me in the wrong way, did they like me? I always wanted to be liked, even when I was a TA. They all [group relations participants] got on me about that because I wanted my small group to like me, so we worked on that kind of stuff."

A third participant, Harriet, learned to be self-aware of her tendency to draw attention to herself when she was in group situations. She would, for example, sometimes ask questions with the purpose of getting people in the group to focus on her. She realized how many times she has drawn attention to herself at the expense of the group, and has done this with her own family as well. Before the group relations learning, she did not really think about her motives for doing this. She is now working on this issue on a regular basis, and although she is still doing it from time to time, it's with an awareness of what is going on.

My impression from these and other examples was that some of the participants seem to have developed an understanding and an acceptance to occasionally live with

their valence in a moderated and less dominating form rather than finding a necessity to

eliminate it completely.

Retrospective Learning

Seven of the ten participants had combined previously learned theories or

concepts with the group relations learning. For example, Hanna reviewed counseling

from a group relations perspective, and now sees her role as counseling groups rather

than counseling individuals. Harriet combined the concept of Triangulation from Family

Theory (Bowen, 1985) with her group relations practices. Laura integrated Consensus

Organizing (Eichler, 2007) with group relations when she was working with non-profit

organizations. Paula retrospectively reviewed her experience of directing theatre play

rehearsal from group relations perspective. Paula said:

> I started working in the theater very young and most of my adult life working in
> theater, and when you're in rehearsal, like if you're directing, which is my
> background, you kind of have that lens on because you're looking at what's
> happening in the rehearsal room on multiple levels. There's the story you're
> telling [the fictional story of the theatre play] and you're trying to work through
> that, but then you have real people and those real people have real relationships,
> which are different from the relationships they're acting on stage. So you're
> considering the fictional group dynamics on top of the real group dynamics in the
> room and so you have these multiple lenses going on. So the idea of being in the
> balcony is really important as a director because you're really look at the picture
> really differently. When you get on the floor sometimes you lose the real people
> or you lose the [fictional] characters and so you've got to be really careful and
> that's why being the metaphor of the balcony really landed with me.

This is one example out of many where the participants revisit past experiences

with group relations learning, but the past experiences also impact how one understands

the group relations learning. These examples show that the participants combined and re-

conceptualized concepts and theories they had learned earlier in their life with the group

relations learning. Therefore, the group relations learning had a retrospective impact on earlier learned abstractions. Any kind of learning can have an aspect of retrospective impact, but group relations seem to have a particularly retrospective effect. The reason is probably that group relations is psychoanalytic, it works with the unconscious, and is therefore always relevant in all situations where human communication is involved.

Earlier learned theories and internalized abstractions also impact how new members will initially encounter the group relations learning. Previously internalized historical, socio-normative symbolic chains will influence the set of symbolic possibilities that will determine the signifying chain that subjects might generate when they perceive the experiential learning through the sensory impressions in group relations conferences. It will impact how participants will perceive the new learning and the development of their general thinking about group relations. The historical and prior internalized socio-normative field will therefore have an impact on group relations experiential learning in the here-and-now.

Role of Anxiety

Several participants reported that the crucial time periods in their learning processes were the initial phases of group relations learning, when they experienced anxiety and frustration. These time periods could have been short with high intensity, or long-term with low intensity. An interpretation is that the emotional anxiety is created when perceptions do not fit the current symbolic register of the subject. Since the participants are trained to hold this anxiety and reflect upon it, they might be able to re-connect the original repressed signifiers to the particular emotion. For example, Teresa said, "Why did what this person said to me, make me feel frustrated? What does that

mean? Am I really frustrated with that person, or the situation, or is there another part that I need to take a look at? Is there some other significance to that?" The result is that the emotional aspects are re-attached to the earlier repressed signifiers' and this reorganizes the symbolic meaning system. This process will reconfigure the emotional aspect from one set of signifiers to another set of signifiers.

<div align="center">Doubts and Misgivings</div>

I included a question in the semi-structured interview guideline with the intention to elicit feedback on any critical perspectives the participants may have had on the group relations learning: "Do you have any doubts or misgivings about the group relations work?" I asked this question to the ten participants during their individual interviews, and the participants responded with relatively little doubt or misgivings about the learning. None of the ten participants mentioned any particular misgivings about the group relations conferences and courses. However, a few other issues were addressed.

First, two participants felt that it would benefit members who entered group relations conferences for the first time to have some preparation before the group relations conference and a debriefing afterwards. This suggestion was specifically directed towards the three-day long group relations conferences (e.g., *EDLD 585 Leadership for Change*), and not towards the semester long courses, which the two participants said had a sufficient introduction and enough reflections throughout the semester. One of these two participants suggested that members should be given enough information to be comfortable, but not too much, because a part of the learning is to handle one's own anxiety. She said that there is a fine line between explaining to new conference members what is going to happen and telling them too much. This participant

had the experience of preparing her own staff before the conference by using simple role-play, and had the impression that this gave her staff a better learning experience.

A number of the participants mentioned that some students did not seem to receive the learning. For example, one participant had the impression that at times, some participants who challenged themselves stopped and shut down when they reached the point where they really would learn. She did not know why this happened. A second participant felt that some members were so engaged and excited about the course that other members may have been put off. A third participant said that the beginning of the course seemed to be a critical period where anxiety was at its highest and some people may have been put off early on in the course. Another two participants said that not all people really understood what group relations is about and supposed there is not much one can do with that. I had the impression that these general comments from the participants were not presented as a doubt of the method. There seemed to be a general acceptance among the participants that some members will resist the opportunity to learn and/or not learn group relations fully. It is important also to ask whether their low level of critical stance may be related to the fact that the participants knew that I was a student engaged in the program; in addition, perhaps they would not have been part of this study if they had been overly critical of the program.

Data Collection on the Research Methodology

Dr. Teresa Monroe (Terri) was a full-time faculty member who had experience directing group relations work, who interviewed me during the research process in order to help me to collect data on how the research methodology influenced the participants and me as the researcher. Terri interviewed me for 30 minutes on three separate

occasions where I discussed how the research was progressing. The interviews focused

on how participants reacted to the research methodology and how I facilitated it. The

first interview followed after the individual transcript domain analysis (1st small group

meeting), the second interview came after the common small group categories analysis

(2nd small group meeting), and the third after the common large group categories analysis

(large group meeting); (see Chapter 3, Tables 3, 4, and 5 for a sequence of all tasks

including these interviews). These interviews helped me to step back and reflect on the

process while I still was gathering data.

First Interview

I described to Terri my sense that the coding was a tedious task for some

participants and there was also some resistance from the participants concerning the

coding process. The energy in the group declined when we did the coding review work

compared to when the group engaged in free dialogue. I therefore moved the group into

domain coding for only short periods of time and adapted to the situation as the process

developed. It seemed to Terri that the coding is important and useful, but it was also

important that the technical process of coding did not prevent me from getting the data

that I really wanted. Terri suggested that what I really wanted was to free the participants

from having their experience frozen (in the transcript) by the one paragraph they had

spoken. Terri suggested that I continue to elicit data and get them to amplify it. She

believed that this knowledge is not generally available to people right away; they might

often experience an aspect of shame in the way that they feel inarticulate about what they

are trying to get at. Because of this, it might be difficult for participants to use exactly

the words they used in the interview to narrate their specific group relations practices.

When participants are reading over the transcript for the second or third time, they can have a better idea of what they were trying to articulate at that point. Terri suggested therefore having flexible boundaries concerning the coding. Terri also thought that the most important process happens with me during the coding process, and that my purpose is not to train the participants to be better coders. Terri thought that I would develop a better understanding of the participants and their applied group relations work by facilitating the coding process for the participants. She also thought that I would learn from the process, understand them better, and I would develop as a better researcher during this process.

I used the coding work and transcripts as a starting platform for conversations with the participants. The coding work had an initial catalyzing effect. The participants elaborated on their statements in the group meetings most of the time without being fixated on the transcript. There were a few exceptions where certain coding instances in the transcripts were discussed and contrasted with great detail but only for short periods of time. This led to the modification of the coding matrix described earlier in this chapter. The final result was developed through the externalization dialogues where the participants articulated or re-articulated the interventions. As the participants recalled the interventions from their real life, they received help from the other participants, to name and signify these practices through dialogue.

Second Interview

My initial review of the data gave me the impression that the teachers followed a precise group relations practice and their articulation was close to the group relations jargon while the administrators and the consultants in my study seemed to deviate more

from the group relations norms. They took pieces from group relations learning and used them in appropriate areas in their consultancy. Terri said that to market and sell consulting services is hard work and group relations language does not translate easily. Therefore, it might be very difficult at times to convince a prospective client to hire you. Terry recalls that when she did consultant work, she had to spend much more time with the clients to figure out what they really wanted. Terri said the consultants might be caught in the therapy with client, and at the same time they need to sell their services. She said that the client has the fantasy that the hired consultant will give the answer because the consultant is supposed to be the real expert. The consultant has to manage to ensure that he or she does not get pulled in to fix the problem for the client. This situation differs for teachers because they have already been hired for the whole semester and they have the luxury to create the container, while consultants do not have the opportunity to control the context this way. Terri expressed great sympathy for the consultants, stating that she in her own past consulting work could not use the group relations approach in the same way as she could as a teacher.

Our discussion validated my impression of the difference between teachers and consultants. It made me reflect upon teachers who have a fixed salary and a job security can for these reasons act more independently and have more control than consultants. However, this topic was not further developed in this study since the consultants did not continue to the small and large group meetings. This dialogue made me also reflect that I had to sell this research project to the participants, and to ask them to do the coding work was not easy to sell, while a teacher in a semester long course could possibly have demanded this coding work from the students.

Third Interview

The hypothesis I presented for the participants was that in different interventions, the participant was placing less importance on themselves in order to provide available space in the center of group so other members with less authority could step in and take responsibility. I gave examples from the transcripts where I suggested that the individual participants were de-authorizing themselves in order to authorize others. I addressed the interventions discussed earlier in this chapter, particularly interventions 3, 4, 6, and 7. Based on the descriptions of their interventions, I expected that the participants were consciously moving the group towards more egalitarian structure. This was natural for me to assume because of my social background in egalitarian social systems in Scandinavia. I then asked the participants whether their interventions were developing a more egalitarian structure, one with less hierarchy and with less reference to authority. I expected them to agree that they were adapting a more egalitarian leadership approach, with reduced hierarchy and with less reference to authority. However, I was surprised to find that the participants denied that they were developing a more egalitarian structure and instead claimed to retain their authority but just make the boundaries more flexible. I repeated the question twice to validate my perception and the participants maintained their position.

I described to Terri that at this point, the dialogue between the participants and I had changed form. The participants increasingly took the role of being the ones who knew the answers and the cohesion among them seemed strong. They appeared to be more certain of their answers and with more authority, implying that it was unnecessary to discuss the topic further. This change ended our discussion. I realized at this point

that I was the only person in the room with an inquisitive mode on this topic. Once I gained an understanding of the participants' position, I chose not to further discuss the topic with the participants, because volunteering my opinion and inviting further discussion of this topic would almost put me in the position of a participant as well. I did not discuss the topic further in order to maintain my role as a researcher.

Terri commented, interestingly, that I enacted the experience of de-authorizing myself in the "here-and-now" while we were discussing whether the participants were de-authorizing themselves in the interventions (there-and-then). What was happening in the meeting with the participants as a large group meeting in the here-and-now mirrored the interventions we were discussing. Terri said that in order for a person to say openly that he or she is de-authorizing himself or herself requires a level of unashamed conscience. To ask if someone has lost their authority can trigger a defensive response. Terri found these to be important and key reflections of this research methodology. As a researcher in this particular moment of the meeting, I found myself in an engaged position and was no longer in a relatively unaffected neutral research position, as I have felt I had been in up to this point. The research data received in this engaged position might be different from data gathered from a "neutral researcher" position.

I did not bring this up in the interview, but if authority in organizations decentralizes tasks and responsibilities without giving up some of its authority, the opposing interests between managers and employees might remain repressed, particularly for employees/workers who are hourly wage earners. As an alternative, one could define two types of decentralization, one type where authority gives up some authority, and another type where authority retains all authority. The former type of decentralization

would be most realistic if employees/workers are organized, so they have some actual power in order to counter the management power, and the latter form of decentralization will most likely cover-up opposing interest in the system.

At this point, my dialogue with Terri explored the meaning of the term egalitarianism and what it means to have egalitarian values. Terri said we do not really know how we collectively govern in an egalitarian way and we do not have a model that describes egalitarian governance and what such system looks like. Terri said that *to decide* means also to kill the options of others. She explained that groups eventually have to come to a decision and this is larger than the personal characteristics of the members in the group. I continued the conversation by describing to Terri how egalitarianism has operated in my country and in Scandinavia in general. The process that led to the egalitarian social structure in Scandinavia might be different from what one would expect. As an example, I mentioned that some Labor Party and trade union leaders were known to have quite an authoritarian leadership style and a rather forceful approach to implementing egalitarianism into the society so that the social structure contained less of a class difference. The process was not soft or particularly consensus oriented. This means that it is not necessary to prefer or even possible to have an egalitarian consensus oriented approach in order to implement egalitarianism. I said that egalitarianism does not mean that the people inside an egalitarian social system have an egalitarian consensus oriented and soft approach towards leadership and communication. On the contrary, egalitarianism has very much to do with outcome, where the desired outcome is reduced economic difference between the classes. I explained that here, we enter into a dilemma between process and content. Leadership today is so dominantly focused on process,

strategy, and management, that content is ignored. The process to achieve egalitarianism through emancipatory egalitarian struggles, brought forward by trade unions and social movements during the last century, has been quite hard (non-violent and violent) and militant at times with actual power containing the real threat of withholding labor. It is dubious whether a softer dialogue-based and consensus-oriented approach will or can lead to an egalitarian society.

Terri responded by saying that we do not call that exactly egalitarian. The word egalitarianism is used to refer to an inclusive process where all can participate in the decision making process. She said that my explanation of the term egalitarianism helped her to gain insight into the kind of messiness concerning its different conceptual meanings. Terri said that it is hard to capture, and that if I, in our meeting, hadn't clarified at this point, she would not have understood what this meaning-making difference might have been. She found our dialogue to be helpful and suggested that this data was important and an important finding in my methodology. Terri said if I had used a different methodology, where I just had used my own meaning-making system, none of this would reveal itself, and my written analysis would be completely different. Terri said this brings human interactions to life.

After the interview I reflected on the problem and developed the perspective that our symbolic non-understanding should be taken into consideration in a research methodology. When I later reviewed my dialogue with Terri, I identified the word egalitarianism as a master signifier, because Terri and I associated "egalitarianism" to different types of metonymic signifier chains with different (concepts or signifieds) from two different socio-normative symbolic fields. I associated egalitarianism with

metonymic chains such as "trade unions," "workers' rights," "less class difference," "class antagonism," while Terri associated egalitarianism with chains such as "inclusive decision-making process" and "collective governance." Later, I also derived the perspective that the words spoken in a group will largely determine the discourse type that will emerge among the group members and that will possibly determine the roles members might take up. A discourse theory is therefore useful in order to understand how unconscious roles emerge in groups. I saw the need for having an interpretive lens and the need for a psychoanalytic discourse theory that includes the unconscious aspect. This influenced me to integrate Lacan's theory of signification, a theory that would provide such a lens.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate how students have applied

experiential learning in group relations classes and conferences in their professional and

personal lives, and to investigate the usefulness of the *Relational Research Method*, a

model tailored to investigate practices of group relations beyond the classroom and

conference environment.

The study was initiated because there has been little research on how students

apply the learning that has taken place in the USD model or in other Tavistock-inspired

courses and conferences. It is likely that the interventions that students later used in their

private and/or professional lives are in many ways different from those carried out in the

USD classroom "laboratory." The research method used in this study gave the

participants the opportunity to externalize their personal tacit knowledge in a

collaborative process. Lacan's theory of signification and theory of the four discourses

provided an understanding of how speech tacitly structures chains of signifiers that

impact the receiver in different ways. Lacan's theories provide a platform from which

one can analyze the participants' application of group relations learning in real life.

The research questions for this study were as follows: (a) How has participation in

group relations courses influenced the participants? (b) How, if at all, have the

participants adapted and applied insights and techniques from the courses in real life

contexts? (c) How does the Relational Research Method affect participants'

understanding of their application of the experiential learning outside the classroom? I

will first discuss the most important empirical findings of this research project, and then I will discuss the theoretical implications in a wider and broader context, and finally I will draw conclusions and recommendations. I will first start with the empirical findings.

<div align="center">Empirical Findings</div>

In this section, I summarize the empirical findings of my study with respect to the individual research questions. First, I discuss how group relations and case-in point courses influenced participants, and then how participants adapted and applied insights and techniques from the courses in real life contexts. I conclude with a discussion of how the methodology of this study affected participants' understanding of their applications of the experiential learning outside the classroom. The following three subsections respond to each of the individual research questions.

The Influence of USD Group Relations Learning on Participants

The first question I asked at the outset of my study was, "How has participation in group relations courses influenced the participants?" I now present the answers to this question from my research. The participants reported that the impact of USD group relations learning on them was life changing or very important, and that they used the learning on a daily basis. First, they reported that group relations learning normalized their feelings of anxiety in group situations, and allowed them to accept not being in control of group dynamics. Second, the learning better equipped them to see how groups might influence them to take up certain roles, and how, conversely, they might propose certain roles to others. Third, the participants said that the experiential learning was indispensable to social interaction in their personal lives. Fourth, feedback about themselves from others made them observe their own role-taking tendencies. Fifth, the

participants integrated previous learning from other courses and teachings with the group

relations experiential learning and found this useful. Finally, a number of participants

reported that anxiety and frustration were crucial components for their learning. The

participants' overall self-perceptions of their own experiential learning confirm that

significant and invaluable learning was achieved.

Participants' Applied Techniques in Real Life Contexts

The second research question was, "How, if at all, have the participants adapted

and applied insights and techniques from the courses in real life contexts?" The first

impact of the learning on participants' real life application is linked to the fact that the

USD Approach trains the participants to use plain language to express psychoanalytic

concepts. This is arguably a return to Freud's use of language whereby ordinary words

articulate psychoanalytic meanings. None of the participants are trained psychoanalysts,

but by learning how to use plain language to express psychoanalytic concepts, they find

these ideas relevant to their lives. This shows the similarity between Freud and USD

Approach use of language and application in real life. The use of plain language gives

the participants the ease and practicality to apply their learning in different real life

situations, to a wide range of topics, and with a broad range of people. The influence of

language might be the most important impact on the participants. This could be the

reason 9 out of 10 participants used the learning both in private and professional settings.

Since the participants were able to articulate the learning in everyday language, it could

be used in private and professional life. Freud wanted to express psychoanalytic concepts

with ordinary words any person could understand and relate to one's personal life. The

study's data shows therefore that USD group relations learning impacts participants in

such a way that they develop the ability in group relations situations to use ordinary language to express psychoanalytic concepts, and this is in accordance with Freud's intentions. This provides extended answers to two of the research questions that guided my study. To the first research question, "How has participation in group relations courses influenced the participants?" I conclude that the courses have influenced the participants' language. The participants use language with a psychoanalytic approach by using ordinary words. They are therefore using language similar to Freud's use of language. This impact of the USD group relations learning on the participants' real life application responds to the second research question, "How, if at all, have the participants adapted and applied insights and techniques from the courses in real life contexts?" The participants are using this ordinary language actively in their interventions in their real life application. In the section "Theoretical Implications" further below I will describe how USD group relations is similar and how it relates to Freud's original theory and practice. Freud's work is important in order to understand the theoretical implications and results of this study, and I will therefore describe the difficulties with the translations of Freud and I will look at some aspects of the original work of Freud.

The second impact of group relations learning on participants' is that the learning directs them to focus attention on the conflict between the ego and the drives. This may be because training in group relations helps participants develop the capacity for drive sublimation, where participants sublimate drives into mental activities directed to a specific purpose (Lacan 1992). An example would be understanding the role one is taking up in groups in real life situations. This makes group relations unique compared to less experiential approaches to teaching about leadership.

Few leadership programs experientially address the conflict between the ego and the drives. The competing psychological movements of behaviorism (Skinner, 1974) and humanistic psychology (Rogers 1959) are similar from the Freudian perspective because they both treat the ego or the person/character as an independent entity. In contrast, the USD Approach focuses on the fact that the drives put the ego out of balance, necessitating a mental and emotional response. In its focus on conflict, the USD group relations practice has an affinity with Freud and the Frankfurt School.

However, the USD approach is not fully compatible with aspects of the Frankfurt School. USD practice does not make a theoretical distinction between therapeutic adjustments and theoretical analysis. Therefore, the participants are perhaps less conscious of this distinction than they otherwise would be. The signifier analysis showed a larger number of signifiers associated to the secondary antagonisms than to those related to the central antagonism. Analysis of the signifying chains showed that there was a tendency to displace the central antagonism onto signifying chains that express identity-chains or condense it to signifying chains that express poverty-chains. The therapeutic adjustments (associated with secondary antagonisms) are therefore somewhat more dominant than the theoretical analysis. I reason that this effect is caused by the socio-normative symbolic order, the Other, and that the training did not influence this in particular. This lack of theoretical distinction between therapy and theory is why the USD Approach does not fit fully into the category of Freudian psychoanalysis and the Frankfurt School. Group relations and case-in-point theory does not distinguish drive sublimation in areas where issues are related to secondary antagonisms (i.e., race or gender antagonisms) from drive sublimation that relates to the central antagonism (i.e.,

unemployment, poverty, wealth accumulation). Therefore, drives that emanate from the central antagonism might be displaced and treated as drives associated to the secondary antagonism, and therapeutic adjustment is promoted while ignoring the social structure. This is linked to earlier theoretical discussion that concluded that the class dimension is arguably largely removed as a single concept, meaning wealth differences between the classes, from Humanities and Social Sciences in general and is repressed in the Other, in language itself.

The third impact of the learning is that it facilitates the use of different discourse types. The data indicated that participants use tacit knowledge to activate the most appropriate discourse type dependent on the situation. The results confirm Polanyi's (1966) concept of focal knowledge and Lacan's (2007) theory of the four discourses. The data indicated that the most experienced participants tended to shift among the four discourses more often than the less experienced participants. According to Lacan, it is optimum that the analyst should shift among all four discourses during the analytic sessions. The participants' use of the analytic discourse is most likely due to the impact of the USD group relations experiential learning, and that the participants mix this discourse with other communications styles.

The Impact of Relational Research Method on Participants

The third research question I asked at the beginning of the study was, "How does the Relational Research Method affect participants' understanding of their application of the experiential learning outside the classroom?" The Relational Research Method affected the participants' understanding of their application of the learning outside classroom settings by letting the participants become influenced by each other through

reading each other's transcripts and through the dialogues in group meetings. The method allows participants to connect with others that have attended similar courses and identify with participants and the way they adapt the learning in their real life. When the participants communicated interventions with other participants who were doing something similar or comparable, they could see their own application more clearly, and recognize the difference from their own application. Such realizations created engagement and enthusiasm among the participants when the applications were similar, but with a slightly different insight or technique. If a participant identified with the work of another participant, one effect might be that the first participant might be inspired by the insights and techniques of the other. This identification impacted and motivated participants.

The Relational Qualitative Research methodology facilitates the opportunity for externalizing tacit knowledge through a tacit-to-tacit and tacit-to-explicit knowledge conversion thus making implicit understanding more explicit. In other words, by externalizing their tacit knowledge, they can become more conscious, aware, and more reality-oriented about their own application. The research process inspires the participants to become more self-aware and reflective about their own real life applications.

Group Relations Turns Toward Therapeutic Orientation

Group relations conferences provide a unique environment where the processing of unconscious group relations may lead to a deeper understanding of personal and social issues. Group relations reveals aspects of unconscious group processes, which are not normally seen. My findings indicate, however, that group relations suffers from its own

blind spot. I argue that this is because it has turned toward a therapeutic orientation and with that a focus on secondary antagonisms and away from the analytic.

There are several plausible reasons that might explain this shift. The first might be the impact of mainstream media and public discourse in the Western world, which is overloaded with identity signifiers. The signifier frequency analysis in this study supports this interpretation as well as the observation that group relations mirrors what is occurring in the macrocosm. Participants import mainstream language into group relations settings, but there are not enough conceptual tools in the group relations' toolbox to handle this. In addition, it might be easier for some participants in group relations conferences to speak in a group relations setting about their identities rather than their families' wealth, as this topic may contain an aspect of shame.

As already discussed, the Neo-Freudian and Post-Freudian movements broke with Freud by emphasizing the therapeutic aspects of moving away from the analytic. In addition, popular psychology advocates a therapeutic orientation as exemplified in the mindfulness movement in the present day. Needless to say, the corporate management culture embraces the mindfulness philosophy since it deflects attention away from the antagonistic structures within the corporation itself such as the relationship between management/owners and labor. Considering these pressures from the outside world, I believe that workers using the group relations/case-in-point method need to maintain their analytic attitude towards social structures.

Theoretical Implications

In this section I will work through the theoretical implications of the findings of this study. First I will compare participants' use of language with Freud's use of

language as a psychoanalytic tool. Then I will go through the development of the most important psychoanalytic movements of the last century since Freud's time, and identify the position that the empirical findings of this study have in relation to those psychoanalytic movements.

English translations were aimed to locate Freud exclusively within the scientific framework of medicine. In order to get Freud's theory accepted perhaps it was seen as necessary to integrate it with the field of medicine (Bailly, 2009). The translators gave the impression that Freud spoke through impenetrable theoretical concepts, that he used a distant impersonal language, and that he was more certain and assertive in his arguments than he really was (Bettelheim, 1982). I argue that we have to see USD learning in this light to understand what USD learning is opposing.

Freud wanted to express unconscious processes by using ordinary words in speech. The study's data shows therefore that USD group relations learning impacts participants in such a way that they develop the ability in group relations situations to use ordinary language to express psychoanalytic concepts, and this is in accordance with Freud's intentions. This influenced the participants' language, the real life application, and the adapted and applied insights and techniques from the courses in real life contexts. The participants are using ordinary language actively in their interventions in their real life. I will, in the next section, go though the theoretical implications in detail and make the argument to study Freud theory to strengthen group relations theory.

The group relations training have influenced the participants' language where they use ordinary words to express psychoanalytic concepts and complex group events. The group relations training has influenced participants to use ordinary language actively in

their interventions in real life application, similar to Freud's ordinary use of language. This answers the first and second research questions. I argue that the theoretical implications is that Freud's theory and work should be studied in its original language as an additional theoretical and practical foundation.

Discussing Participants' use of Language

In order to understand the impact of USD group relations experiential learning on the participants, and how they use this learning in their real life, it is necessary to study the language they use in their real life application of their group relations learning. I will argue the importance of understanding the problems with the English translations of Freud's psychoanalytic theory and their related impact in order to fully understand the impact of the USD Approach's teaching methodology on participants' use of language and also their applied techniques. I will discuss the impact of group relations learning on the participants through the lens of the translation of Freud's original work. In this and the following section, I will explain some of the main problems with the English translation of the Freudian system with regard to style and meaning.

From the beginning, Freud used language and speech as a tool in his clinical work, and he wanted the psychoanalytic concepts that he had developed to be expressed through ordinary language so that people unfamiliar with psychoanalysis could understand and relate to their meaning. The purpose of psychoanalysis for Freud was to make the unknown known and to help the patient express hidden connections so that these connections become accessible. Freud said that psychoanalysis should be understandable to the patients, who in many cases are intelligent but not always highly educated. Freud avoided technical terms whenever he could because he understood that

people would look at complex scientific words as referring to a person with a very different psyche from their own (Bettelheim 1982). I will demonstrate that my participants also use language in this non-technical way.

Freud referred to himself in the first person as "I." He did not remove himself from the texts to achieve scientific neutrality, and, at times he expressed hesitation and uncertainty in his writing. This hesitation made it easier to follow Freud's explanations, and it also made questioning more acceptable. Freud used an ordinary, commonsense style and language. Freud turned to Greek and Latin only when common words seemed incapable of expressing what he wanted to convey (Bettelheim 1982). However, Freud's translators aiming to demonstrate scientific objectivity substituted the third person for Freud's first person references and removed his tentative tone that left space for doubt and questioning (Bettelheim 1982).

In the psychoanalytic sessions, Freud advised analysts to put aside their feelings and not show the patient love, empathy, sympathy or warmth. The purpose of the clinical sessions was to create and maintain an analytic situation for the patient. Too much empathy could prevent the patient from making the unknown known and seeing the relevance of the psychoanalytic concepts in his or her own life (Bailly, 2009). The USD Approach uses Freud's technique of expressing psychoanalytic concepts in ordinary language while minimizing the feelings controlling or dominating the analytic process, so one can relate the learning and complex group processes to everyday life, although participants do not always adhere to this.

Comparing USD Approach's and Freud's use of Concepts

Through the study of Freud's original use of language one may examine the roots of psychoanalysis and gain an understanding of the uniqueness and importance of group relations learning. The USD Approach has evolved a language that is distinct from other leadership programs and other psychoanalytically oriented training programs, and this language is a key to the study of its impact on participants. However, there are some psychoanalytically oriented group relations programs that might have comparable and similar language at play as the USD approach (e.g., A. K. Rice Institute).

To name two of his most principal psychoanalytic concepts, Freud used two German words that are among the very first words a child uses when beginning to speak, "I" (ich) and "it" (es). He selected the noun form of these pronouns, "the I" (*das ich*) and "the it" (*das es*). Freud chose these ordinary terms to enable readers to easily relate the concepts to their own lives. The word "I" is one of the most personal and frequent words utilized in speech, and Freud knew that by using "the I," it would be impossible to avoid referring to oneself and one's own experiences. Freud's primary purpose for psychoanalysis was to investigate the relation of "the I" with "the it" (the drives) in order to make the unknown known. Freud's third principal concept, "the over-I" (*das über-ich*), is the combination of two ordinary German words, *über*, and *ich*, and intuitively implies that "the over-I" represents a higher idealization that is growing out of "the I." Freud was aware that drives manifest themselves in everyday language; for example, when a person says, "I can't help it" or "I could barely handle it," the drives surface as "the it" and place pressure on "the I." The meaning of "the it" obtains its clearest expression when it appears in language as an impulse or drive, pressuring "the I" (Lacan

1991; Bettelheim 1984; Gay 1989; Mills 2004; Bailly, 2009). English translators have, over time, made these Freudian concepts unrecognizable and distant. The first translator of Freud's work, Abraham Brill, replaced *das ich* ("the I") with the Latin *ego*, and by doing this, the term was deprived of the emotional and personal meaning of the simple "I." The substitution of *das ich* into an almost meaningless technical term like ego prevents the emergence of personal associations (Bailly, 2009; Bettelheim 1982). Later, when the publisher Leonard Woolf and the psychoanalysts and translators James and Alex Strachey were about to write the standard translation of Freud's *Das Ich und das Es*, they had already realized this misleading aspect from earlier translations. Woolf wanted a more straightforward "I" and "it," and James and Alex Strachey agreed with him. In spite of this those who wished to have "technical terms" for the new field of psychoanalysis in order to make it scientific influenced them to use *the ego* and *the id* instead (Bailly, 2009).

Over time, the meaning of ego became very different from the meaning of *das ich*. The new directions of Ego Psychology affixed definitions and qualities that drew heavily on Behaviorism, a theory distant and completely opposed to Freud's. However, the USD group relations participants, by using common language and shunning scientific terms, remain closer to Freud than his English translators do.

The id in contrast to "the it," is a term that is detached from everyday use in language and thus became more misleading because *the id*, or *drive*, has been confused with "instinct" in the English translation. This occurred despite the fact that Freud had clearly made a distinction between *Trieb* (drive) and *Instinkte* (instinct) (Lacan, 2006; Rose 2004). In contrast to drives, instincts are pre-birth, automatic responses that can't

be learned, changed or sublimated. Freud did not believe that human beings' behaviors were controlled and determined by instincts. If this were the case, our instinctual behaviors would be beyond the influence of psychoanalysis (Bailly, 2009).

It is not only the translation of the Freudian principal concepts of the psyche and the *ego-id-superego* that misleads the reader. There has been a history of mistranslations that have made the original Freudian system unrecognizable (Bailly, 2009; Bettelheim, 1982; Rose 2004; Underwoord, 2004). This matters because it gives the misleading impression of Freud's theory used in therapy sessions, particularly the focus on the therapeutic sessions at the expense of analytic orientation. Although Freud only used Greek words when he couldn't convey his intended meaning through ordinary German words, translators substituted Greek terms for some of his plain German words (Bettelheim 1982). For example, Freud used *Besetzung*, a word that is understood by Germans to mean a person who attaches psychic energy to an idea, a concept, or another person. Freud's original word *Besetzung* was translated to the Greek term *cathexis*, instead of for example to the simpler, "charged with energy" (Bettelheim, 1982). In other instances the translators did choose relatively ordinary (nontechnical) words, but the words had a significantly different or wider meaning than the original word, and they did not correspond with the German word that contains an everyday intuitive meaning. For example, *abwehr* was translated as "defense," although it means "parrying" or "warding off." Another Freudian principal concept, *verdrängung,* has been most often translated as repression, whereas Freud (1961) himself explained that it means to "rebuff," "repulse," or "keep a distance." A more faithful translation of *verdrängung* would be "repulsion."

These are a few examples of a whole range of concepts that have been incorrectly translated (Bettelheim 1982).

In most of these cases, there were perfectly adequate words that could have been used to translate Freud's words into English, and if the translators had used these words, psychoanalysis could have become more accessible to lay people. The English translations were aimed to locate Freud exclusively within the scientific framework of medicine in order to get his theory accepted (Bailly, 2009). The translators gave the impression that Freud spoke through impenetrable theoretical concepts, that he used a distant impersonal language, and that he was more certain and assertive in his arguments than he really was (Bettelheim 1982). I argue that we have to see USD learning in this light to understand how its use of language.

In summary, there are three levels of change imposed on the Freudian system in the English-speaking world due to the inaccuracy of the German-to-English translation. The first is the change in Freud's style of writing, second is the mistranslation of a range of concepts, and third, as a secondary effect, is a misunderstanding of Freud's concepts based on the English mistranslation. For example, assuming that drives are instincts consequently leads to the notion that the unconscious consists of biological elements (Lacan, 2006).

I will now use this understanding of Freud's use of language and speech to compare it with the USD group relations and participants' use of language.

Comparing Participants' and Freud's use of Language

I argue that the USD Approach represents a return to Freud because it uses ordinary language to express analytic concepts. For example, in the phrase, "I was able

to sit with it" participants refer to their ability to sublimate impulses of "the it" and thereby verbalize energy from the drive (e.g., impulses and urges) into the signifying chain. Sublimation re-directs socially unacceptable impulses and urges into speech and actions that follow socially acceptable norms and values (Freud, 1989). When, for example, a person says, "I decided to visit a friend," it is perfectly clear that the ego has full control, but when the person says, "I couldn't help it," or "I just had to do it," it is not clear that "the I" is entirely in control of itself because "the I" has to resist, to hold back, or to contain "the it." This is why USD group relations jargon has expressions like "holding (it) back," "being pulled by the group," "sit with it," "doing the work (on it)," and "work on my piece of it," and "what is your piece of it?" These are everyday phrases that are used to get in contact with the unconscious group process so that any person can access it. The task is to make "the it" known, and to figure out how "the it" unconsciously impacts "the I." Using a signifying chain like "to hold back" and "work on it," has considerable impact on the students that accept the existence of "the it." This makes psychoanalytic concepts relevant to everyday life and accessible to practically oriented participants who do not know the theory of psychoanalysis. This was precisely what Freud wanted; that is to say, to express unconscious processes by using ordinary words in speech. The study's data show therefore that USD group relations learning impacts participants in such a way that they develop the ability in group relations situations to use ordinary language to express psychoanalytic concepts, and this is in accordance with Freud's intentions.

This stands in opposition to the Neo-Freudian movement (revisionism) that emphasizes a strong ego (Jacoby, 1997). To summarize this section, the translation of

Freudian concepts has resulted in a loss of the core meaning of the Freudian system

(Bettelheim 1982; Rose 2004; Underwood 2004), but group relations training to some

extent restores this loss. The USD group relations trains students to use language and

speech as Freud used it in both his writings and clinical practice.

The USD Approach's Position in the History of Psychoanalysis

Neo-Freudian Revisionism. In order to understand how the socio-symbolic order

impacts the participants, I will look at the development of the various psychoanalytic

movements since Freud's time. The comparison between psychoanalytic movements is

particularly important in order to understand the USD Approach's influence on the

participants and their applied practices. This will give a wider picture of the participants'

applied practices.

The Neo-Freudian and Ego Psychology psychoanalytic movements over time

abandoned and opposed the critical core of Freudian theory. The first major attempt at

opposing Freud's theory came when Alfred Adler departed from Freud in 1911. Adler

broke with Freud because he wanted to change psychoanalytic theory and give

psychoanalysis a more humane and liberal view. He wanted to emphasize adjustment

and education, and in doing so underscored social consciousness and rejected Freud's

position that repression shapes the foundation of consciousness (Adler, 1964). The Neo-

Freudian movement was made up of prominent European psychoanalysts, such as Alfred

Adler, Erik Erikson, Karen Horney, Erich Fromm, and others, all of whom had fled the

Nazi regime in the thirties, settled in the United States and joined American psychologists

such as Harry Sullivan, Clara Thompson, and Abram Kardiner. The Neo-Freudians built

on Adler's work and made numerous revisions to the Freudian concepts. They saw

Freud's theory as advocating inherent biological instincts because they confused Freud's

term *drives* (trieb) with *instinct* (instinkt), and therefore reached the faulty conclusion that

inherent biological instincts dominate the individual's psyche (Lacan 2006; Penney

2006). Their misunderstanding of the concept of Freudian drive led them to oppose

Freud's view of humanity and took upon themselves the role of defending a more

positive view of humanity, in which individuals have creative potential, and of

advocating a healthy, conscious mind in the defense of individuals and individualism.

The Neo-Freudians claimed that Freud did not consider humans' ability to adjust to the

social environment, nor that individuals are creative beings who can overcome personal

limitations. The Neo-Freudians reasoned that therapeutic accomplishments depend on

the extent to which the patient is adjusted to society. The most important concepts in the

Neo-Freudian school were *self-sociability*, *self-assertion*, and *creativeness*. Later an

existential-and humanist-oriented psychoanalysis movement was developed by leading

members, such as Gordon Allport, Viktor Frankl, Abraham Maslow, and Carl Rogers,

and they too rejected the critical core of Freudian theory that dealt with the antagonism

between the individual and society and the conflict between ego and drives (Jacoby,

1997).

Ego psychology became the dominant psychoanalytic approach in the United

States from the 1940s through the 1960s. Initially, it was established by European

psychoanalysts, such as Heinz Hartmann, Ernst Kris, Rudolph Loewenstein, and others,

who like the Neo-Freudians, fled from the Nazis in the thirties and taught the next

generation of American psychoanalysts. Sigmund Freud's daughter Anna Freud became

a proponent of ego psychology in London during and after the Second World War. Other

significant developers of ego psychology include Margaret Mahler and Edith Jacobson. Ego psychology is rooted in Freud's id-ego-superego structural concept of the psyche, and focuses on the ego's adjustment to reality, management of aggression and strengthening of the ego (Wallerstein, 2002). This movement has several similarities with the Neo-Freudian movement in its revision of Freud's theory, for example, focusing on the ego rather than the id, and focusing on the individual's adjustment to society instead of analyzing the ego's conflict with drives. Ego psychology was viewed by many as contradictory to Freud's own views, emerging as a conformist version of psychoanalysis (Jacoby, 1997; Penney 2006). Lacan (2006) opposed this movement and criticized it for focusing too much on the ego when it should direct its attention towards the unconscious, and for that reason he advocated a return to Freud's radical theory of the unconscious. Before I compare Freud's perspective on the ego and the drives with the USD Approach and participants' applied practices, I will discuss the countermovement to Ego-Psychology and Neo-Freudian movements, namely the Frankfurt School and its Anti-Revisionism.

Frankfurt School's Anti-Revisionism. Freud criticized Adler (1964) for moving towards a commonsense psychology by undermining the importance of the conflict between the ego and drives. Freud refuted the idea that the tension between the ego and drives should be weakened and deliberately renounced the use of conformist psychology because he viewed conformity as responsible for the illnesses to be treated. Freud's response to Adler laid the groundwork for later criticism of Neo-Freudians by the Critical Theory and Frankfurt School, especially by the scholars Max Horkenheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse (Jacoby, 1997). The Frankfurt School advocated the

importance of developing a theoretical platform that is faithful to Freud, and it criticized the ongoing psychoanalytic revisions of Freudian theory carried out by Neo-Freudians and ego psychologists. It viewed the suffering subject as a symptom of the inherent inadequacies in the socio-economic structure itself (Penney, 2006). This was overlooked by the Neo-Freudian and Ego Psychology movements, which indirectly assumed that society is guiltless and that the individual is operating in a neutral, harmonious society where one's innovative potentials can develop without painful sublimation, and where the ego can develop control over the drives (Jacoby, 1997). The Frankfurt School claims that Neo-Freudians advocate therapy, positivism, and love for those who have access to therapy, but these few who have access to therapy are exceptions that only confirm Neo-Freudians' obliviousness towards those who are not included, mainly those who cannot afford therapy. The Frankfurt School argues that in the Adlerian world, the antagonism in society is ignored and therefore it masks the Freudian discovery: the antagonistic conflict between the ego and the drives.

Žižek (2005) emphasized that the revisionist Neo-Freudians shifted Freud's emphasis from the libidinal conflict between the ego and id, towards moral and cultural conflicts inside the ego itself. The move from Freud's original psychoanalysis is therefore a move from nature's impact on consciousness, towards conscious processing and social understanding of culture. The revisionists moved the conflict between the ego and drives such as coercive subordination to social norms and facing dangerous threats from nature, into moral and social conflicts within the ego like moral awareness about racism or gender discrimination (conflict of culture). Notice that the coercive subordination to a dominant group that characterizes neo-liberal societies is a conflict of

nature because it involves the physical threat of extinction. This shift of attention towards the conflict between the ego and drives towards moral conflict inside the ego redirects the attention from the central antagonism (e.g., economic-class conflict) to moral and emotional secondary conflicts inside the ego (e.g., racism, sexism, and intolerance). In the next section, I will discuss the much wider impact of the Neo-Freudian movement because it relates to a wider spectrum of change in Academia, moving their attention from concentrated economical class struggle towards composite concepts of inequality of social class, gender, and race, and composite concept of class and status. And it is important to understand the pervasiveness of this since it has an impact on the participants' applied practices as well.

Removal of the class structure from Humanities and Social Sciences. The antagonistic relation between the individual and society was largely removed from psychoanalytic theory after Freud's time. This reduction of the importance and presence of class antagonism was not unique to psychoanalysis (Jacoby, 1997). Likewise, in the more specialized fields of Organizational Development (OD) (Margulies and Raia 1972), particularly the direction of the Human Relations movement (Mayo, 1949), the antagonistic labor-management relations was not included. Mayo took the same approach as Adler did; he focused on the humanistic aspect of humans, omitting the social structure, and by doing this contributed to making individuals defenseless against the dominant group.

Since the Hawthorne experiment at Western Electric in 1930, industrial sociologists and psychologists turned to study the subjective conditions of workers and small groups. Mayo (1949), who was a central figure in this movement, wanted to focus

on the human aspects and criticized Taylor (1911) and Scientific Management for not including workers' motivation, engagement, and employee satisfaction, at the workplace. By focusing on the workers' subjective condition at the workplace, Mayo and the Human Relations movement set aside the antagonistic labor-management relations. This shift from *Classical Scientific Management* (Taylor, 1911) to the *Human Relations movement* (Mayo, 1949) deflected political attention related to the antagonistic labor-management relations towards emotional and interpersonal dynamics, or in other words towards a schema where workers' enthusiasm, motivation and development were the focus of attention rather than their exploitation. From the 1930s, industrial sociologists investigated workers' motivation and attitude, and in the late 1940s and 1950s Human Relations experts promoted sensitivity groups and T-groups (Lewin, 1951; Rogers, 1970). T-groups were used in industry in the U.S. particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, and became to some extent a forerunner of contemporary teamwork, corporate culture, and Organizational Development. One of the original ideas of the T-groups was to train participants in interpersonal skills and communication in order to develop successful leaders who would bring about social change with a special focus on racial integration in local communities. However, the attention towards societal and community structures was lost as attention was directed towards interpersonal events unfolding among trainer and group members (Jacoby, 1997).

Removing the labor-management antagonism and directing the focus to immediate interpersonal relationships, empathy, and workers' subjective conditions, has resulted over time in organizations whose members have lost the understanding of exploitative capital-labor relations and have become psychologically defenseless against

the dominance of the managerial and capital class. In other words, the soft, humanistic approach has paved the way for corporate dominance over the workers.

I now focus on the development of group relations theory and indicate how this field has related to the antagonism between the individual and the social structure. Le Bon (1896), one of the first important theoreticians of group psychology, built much of his theory of crowd behavior from the French Revolution. His view of the mob shaped to a great extent the future of group psychology and group relations. In contrast to Le Bon's claims, the historian George Rude (1964, 1988) found that the masses in the French Revolution, up to 1793 (before the Jacobin Reign of Terror), did not act like unpredictable savages but had specific purposes, ideals and objectives as the platform from which they acted. The majority of the people were predominantly working poor (*sans-culottes*), and they favored popular democracy with economic equality. Most importantly, the lower classes wanted affordable bread through regulation of financial speculation on bread prices. The aggression of these particular crowds was for the most part not irrational as Le Bon asserted, but rational. The masses did not give in to charismatic leadership figures who wanted to use the crowds for their own political gains. Rude (1959) based his investigation on the police archives in Paris, which contained thoroughly documented events of the French Revolution.

Le Bon belonged to the French bourgeoisie, and we may question whether he was distant from and unconsciously fearful of the lower classes, or whether he could not picture himself in their desperate life conditions as the working poor. Such hypotheses might be the reason a class perspective is omitted from his work.

Le Bon's (1896) work influenced McDougall (1920), Freud (1921), Bion (1961) and others who developed group psychology and group relations theory. Le Bon did not pay sufficient attention to the antagonistic, unorganized, rational masses. Freud included the class perspective in *Civilization and its Discontent* (1989), but this was never included in later theorizations of group relations and unconscious group processes. Emery and Trist (1960) writing from the Socio-Technical School perspective incorporated the workers' perspective in the 1950s and 1960s in England, but their work was separated from group relations by the Rice-Trist split at the Tavistock Institute in 1962 (Fraher 2004).

Based on the signifier analysis of this study and the theoretical discussions up to this point, I conclude that the central antagonism is repressed from the fields of Organizational Development and Group Relations, and also largely absent from mainstream academia. It seems a problem of academia in general rather any particular field within academia, and within society as well since it is repressed in common language itself, in the Other. This is a problem and challenge for the future of leadership programs, because, as I see it, the central antagonism must be surfaced, or else leadership cannot address the social structure of society.

Practical Implications

Central Antagonism in Group Relations Real Life Application

In order to show the link between the central antagonism and group relations real life applications, I refer to interventions 7 and 8. Intervention 7 is about a teacher who, with the help of neighbors, organizes a patrol in order to bring safety to her neighborhood. Although she takes the initiative, she later resists pressure from the

neighbors to take the lead in this matter. She says that she does not know how to organize patrols, and then waits until other neighbors step forward in order to take ownership of the task. Her dominant mode of communication as discussed in Chapter 4 is analytic. The insight from group relations experiential learning has influenced her to be analytic with herself and in relations with immediate neighbors. However, it is less certain whether she is analytic towards the social structure underlying the problem, the high level of crime in the neighborhood. The intervention is therapeutic because it adjusts the neighborhood to the larger social structure (high crime – low security) that is damaging the neighborhood, solving the security issue for this neighborhood but leaving the large issue untouched. This shift from an analytic process in the first step to a therapeutic process in the second helps us to see the inherent connection between the central antagonism and group relations applications in real life. If the participant had the insight and power to address the underlying causes of the problem rooted in the social structure, the process would continue to be analytical.

In intervention 8, the assistant teacher in a law school class uses various modes of communication (University, Hysteric, Analytic) in order to bring up the problem of school choice and school reform and to discuss law students' assumptions about society. She discusses the implicit assumption about school reform that it gives poor children the right to choose a school. She points out that the master signifier "school choice" conceals the fact that it is the family's real estate purchasing power that determines whether a child has an actual school choice or not. Poor children cannot attend the best schools since the best schools are located in rich neighborhoods where the real estate prices are high, and therefore poor children's parents cannot afford to live there. In this way, she applies her

group relations learning to surface the central antagonism inherent in society and politicizes some of the students. Intervention 8 takes an analytic approach towards the social structure, in contrast with intervention 7 that takes a therapeutic approach towards the social structure.

Central Antagonism in Group Relations Conference

The concept of the central antagonism forms the conceptual bridge between group relations and the underlying function of capitalism, where accumulated profit is dependent on the antagonistic class relationship between capital and labor. This central antagonistic relationship can be repressed or surfaced in group relations processes. Here I will give a fictitious example and then explain the links between the central antagonism and group relations experiential learning.

This fictitious example focuses on two participants from different races and classes. The first participant is a middle-upper class white woman, whose family unit has its income through property ownership. She works part time in her favorite profession as an interior designer, as a way to satisfy her achievement and self-esteem needs as opposed to economic needs. She is concerned with self-development, and her motivation to attend a group relations conference is to become more attuned to her emotions. She arrives to the conference after her daily workout routine at a gym and feels fresh and ready for new learnings at the conference.

The second participant is a black woman whose family's income derives from minimum wage labor and who has no significant accumulated wealth. She works night shifts at an elder care facility as a certified nurse assistant. She has a second job as a cashier in a grocery store. She has very limited cash reserves and no health insurance,

both of which cause her continuous anxiety. She is somewhat ashamed of her poor economic situation. Although the conference fee is quite affordable for most of the participants, it is a significant amount of money for her. Nevertheless, she has decided to attend the conference hoping that the course will pay off by helping her build up her resume so that she may become a low-level manager at the grocery store. She arrives at the conference tired and has a hard time concentrating on the tasks.

During the conference, the topic of racism comes up because some participants have experienced racist attitudes at their workplace. The white woman joins the discussion and says everyone should work with their own emotions and not judge others based on their skin color. She says it is important to have a respectful dialogue with others in order to appreciate cultural and ethnic differences. She adds that she has been working with her own emotions in that regard and that she has improved her awareness concerning her non-judgmental attitudes. She comments that she feels good about the progress she has made. In response, the black woman says that she does not feel that the white woman is authentic and that she feels no connection with her. The white woman does not understand why the black woman rejects her.

During the group discussion about racism, the black woman feels relieved when others confirm her previous experiences and beliefs about racism in this academic setting. Since she had no conceptual links between her wage labor and capital owners, the signifiers "racism," "prejudice," "white," provide a meaningful concept-mage (signified) for her named problems. Consequently, she feels more aligned with other black people at the conference. However, the discussion about racism impedes participants' apprehension of the interdependency between the white woman and black woman. The

white woman is, in principle, indirectly dependent on the black woman's low-wage labor. Experiential learning could allow the central antagonism to surface and be seen. In this fictitious example, which illustrates the findings of this study, we see how it is more likely to be displaced.

Conclusion

There is little known about how USD group relations particpants apply group relations learning over time in their personal and professional lives. Because the USD classroom is a "laboratory" and not an actual work context, it is likely that the interventions, the types of articulations addressing others, that students later use in their private and/or professional lives outside classroom learning are different from those articulations carried out in the classroom "laboratory." This research on real life practice (outside classroom learning) is important because it can support future participants' transition from the classroom training to real life applications.

An important finding of this study is that the group relations/case-in-point learning had significantly changed the way the participants understood themselves and others, and how they behaved in personal and professional settings. The participants described their learning as life changing. I will highlight a few (out of many) learning outcomes that seem to be of importance. The participants reported that they had learned to normalize group anxiety (e.g., to normalize feelings of being uncomfortable in groups), and to observe role taking tendencies by themselves and others in groups. Particularly important was the learned ability to resist being overtaken by the urge to immediately do something about one's own anxiety and act upon it in a stressful chaotic group situation, but rather use the anxiety to analyze and reflect upon the group situation. The

participants could de-dramatize and normalize the feeling of being uncomfortable or having anxiety. The observation of their own anxiety made them better prepared to see how groups might influence them to take up certain roles, and how, conversely, they might propose certain roles to others. Anxiety and frustration were crucial components for their learning. Overall, the learning impacted their social lives, social identities, and changed how they functioned in their professional lives. These significant changes explain why they considered the learning to be life changing. The findings of this study support the effectiveness of this experiential methodology for teaching about leadership.

The data in this study show that participants use different communication styles in different contexts in their interventions directed at their recipients. The participants not only use the analytic communication mode, which is the dominant group relations mode of communication, but they also use other modes of communication: the university mode, the master mode, and the hysteric mode of communication. This indicates that participants use the learning differently in specific contexts, and the group relations classroom is one context among many others.

I directed the participants to compare their interventions among themselves, and this was an opportunity for the participants to uncover differences in the mode of addressing the other in each particular intervention. Early in the study, I hypothesized that participants could become more explicitly aware of how they apply the group relations learning in real life context by comparing their own interventions with those interventions of the other participants in a research group. However, the research result gave only partial evidence for this. Despite the fact that the participants' produced useful and skilled knowledge in the externalization dialogues, the socialization process did not

enable the participants to produce a conceptual and structural and explicit understanding of the different discourse types that the participants were tacitly using.

I could see these structural communication differences among the interventions by using the theory of Lacan's four discourses. This confirmed an important psychoanalytic perspective that the word-name (signifier) precedes the concept-meaning (signified) (Lacan, 2007). This made it evident that humans are relatively dependent on already pre-made differentiated concepts and the naming of them by others in order to see conceptual differences. Most of what humans can conceptualize must have been pre-defined for them by others, who are representatives (e.g., authors, teachers, leaders) of the symbolic order. It is therefore very difficult for the participants and me, as the researcher, to construct something new and independent that is not yet conceptualized and named by others, and that cannot be conceptualized by combining already pre-existing concepts accessible in language. Because of this I concluded that it was important to take a balanced view on the strengths and the limitations of group externalization processes.

The discovery that the participants were not consciously aware of discourse differences would not have been possible without the two-step research process. The first step consisted of comparing and discussing the eight interventions. The second step consisted of my individual analysis of the eight interventions using the theoretical framework of the four discourses. There was tacit knowledge on two levels. First, the tacit knowledge that was externalized by the group members using and combining their available symbolic conceptual references in the externalization dialogues; this tacit knowledge was relatively easy to access. Second, there was a deeper structural form of tacit knowledge that could not be externalized without using theory that is most likely

unknown to the participants (e.g., linguistic grammar like rules and structures like the four discourses).

The signifier frequency analysis indicated that the symbolic order already contained a linguistic grammar-like structure that surfaced the secondary antagonisms (i.e., race or gender antagonisms) and repressed the central antagonisms (i.e., unemployment, poverty, wealth accumulation). The secondary antagonisms were dominant in the language, and the symbolic order that structured the language tended to omit class struggle. The result shows that the distinction between the central and secondary struggles is not made fully explicit even though the participants through their interventions could indirectly address the central antagonism. The training in group relations helps the participants to develop mental activities that are directed to handling their own antagonisms (e.g., conflict between the ego and the drives), yet despite this, the central antagonism was repressed from their language.

<center>Limitations of the Study</center>

The USD Approach (San Diego model) has much in common with case-in-point and group relations teaching at other universities (Monroe, 2004). Therefore, one might extent this study result to the small numbers of institutions that incorporate group relations in ways that are similar to the San Diego model (USD Approach) of experiential learning. However, the sample size was small so one should be cautious when generalizing within the population that has undergone this learning. This study used in-depth interviews and a coding process that provided "thick" descriptions and not "thinner" and broader descriptions, and this might not have provided enough "broadness" to the study.

Another limitation is that the group is bounded by the participants' culture. This study's methodology makes use of a consensus-oriented decision-making process and people might compromise their experiences and develop "group think." It might not be that the group average of opinions is the most correct result, because not all opinions are equally good. Tinley (1997) argues that the consensus oriented approach that this method makes use of is a limitation since it does not promote synergy but rather normative decision-making. This limitation must be taken into consideration as well as that the team of coders might have developed group norms that omit other alternative understanding of their own experiences. However, since the coders have worked substantially to individually develop their own understanding of their own experiences, they might not just agree for the sake of agreeing during the following group sessions. Therefore, convenient group norms are less likely to have developed among the participants of this study.

Recommendations for Future Research

I will first propose three recommendations for future research into applications for group relations. Then I will locate my conclusions in the context of other scholarship investigating the effects of case-in-point methodology on real life applications. The first one is to gather research data by forming groups of participants as employed in this study. A data gathering process using group processes produces richer data than regular interviews, because to be engaged in dialogues with people with similar experience from similar context likely leads redundancy of experiences to externalization of tacit knowledge that is applied but not expressed (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). In doing so, it is important to form groups with participants who have at least 4-5 years of applied

experience in similar types of work contexts. These participants would have most likely incorporated and internalized deep tacit, unconscious group relations knowledge. The size of the group could be from 2-5, and the optimal size would be 3-4 participants. The participants' speech (or discussion, or dialogue) should be taped without necessarily transcribing it, which would make the study less time consuming. However, transcriptions are needed if signifier analysis is to be carried out. This research method will contribute to our understanding of how participants use language and speech in their real life application of the group relations and case-in-point learning. It will also contribute to our understating of how central antagonism is surfaced or displaced in language and thereby indicate to what extend the method addresses social structure and not only immediate group processes. The method will contribute to this because it is designed to produce rich and detailed descriptions of participants' use of language through interviews and group meetings, and it includes Lacanian signifying analysis of the communication discourses. There are two features of this method that stands out that might lead to greater result. The first is the group processes that bring out detailed description where part of it might be tacit concerning interventions in real life. The second part analyzes the speech that is used to activate these interventions and the speech that uses psychoanalytic framework.

The second recommendation for future research is to retrospectively reestablish psychoanalytic theory as a theoretical foundation necessary to analyze the data that is gathered through the group process. In order to form a more resilient theoretical basis for group relations work, additional and pivotal psychoanalytic theories should to a larger extent be incorporated, such as Lacanian theory, particularly the theory of signification

and the four discourses, as well as Freudian theory, especially when it concerns group psychology (*Group Psychology and The Analysis of The Ego*), Sociology (*Civilization and its Discontents*), and the relationship between the ego and the id (*The Ego and The Id*). In addition, re-reading Bion and other group relations' theorists through the above-mentioned theoretical concepts of Freud and Lacan could place Bion's theory and group relations theory on a stronger foundation, better prepared to analyze the data generated from the group processes. I recommend here to go back to the original roots of psychoanalytic theory. This gives the possibility of analyzing participants' interventions and speech in using psychoanalytic framework. For this, Lacanian discourse theory might be the best foundation since it distinguishes between therapeutic analytic aspects of interventions, and explicates whether the interventions are related to the central or secondary antagonisms.

The third recommendation is that researchers focus on participants' applied interventions in real life in to analyze whether they have been engaged in discussions associated with the central antagonism, and if so, how, and to what extent, they have been engaged. Group relations and case-in-point theory do not distinguish clearly mental work in areas where issues are related to secondary antagonisms (i.e., race or gender antagonisms) from mental work that relates to the central antagonism (i.e., unemployment, poverty, wealth accumulation). It should be further investigated how participants deal with this distinction in their real life practices, and how, if at all, engagement with secondary antagonisms relates to and leads towards engagement with the central antagonism. I will now locate my conclusions and recommendations in the

context of the scholarship of Sharon Daloz Parks, investigating the effects of case-in-point methodology.

Significance of the Study in the Context of Previous Works

Sharon Daloz Parks (2005) investigated the long-term effects of the case-in-point teaching approach developed by Heifetz (1994) and his colleagues at Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Over a period of five years, Parks interviewed fifteen people (participants) in leadership positions who had participated as students in a case-in-point course three to ten years earlier, which makes her study similar to mine with regard to the long term impact on real life application. Parks also interviewed for each participant a supervisor or a coworker who had worked together with and observed the participant in the work context. The participants represented a variety of roles in private and public organizations. Parks's findings show several central, long-term learning outcomes similar to the findings of my study. I will discuss the most important findings and relate my own research to that of Parks's research.

The first important finding is that Parks, through the interviews, concluded that all of the fifteen participants with only one exception had been significantly impacted by the case-in-point course in positive ways in the sense that they used the learning in their real life. The high percentage of participants reporting a substantial impact on their real life practices by the course is similar to the findings of my study. Considering this, one should take into account that in Parks's and my study, the selection of the participants is not random. Participants, who are willing to engage in a research like this, might have a more positive experience of the case-in-course than participants who decline to join the research.

Parks's study also found that several participants said that it was significant that they learned to distinguish role from self. For example, in Parks's study, a woman who was head of a U.S. federal agency said it had been crucial for her to learn to distinguish role from self because she saw that it is essential to know that in most cases what is going on in the system is not about her personally, but about the role she was given and the issue she represented. She realized that the capacity to separate role from self is a fundamental part of understanding the social system of one is a part. In Parks's study and my study, several participants emphasized a similar positive learning-outcome concerning separating role from self.

Another major finding is that several of the participants in Parks's study emphasized the importance of understanding, in the face of conflict and anxiety, the temptation to deflect focus from the real issues and to displace responsibility. The concept of work avoidance activity gives a conceptual understanding of apparently chaotic behaviors as a distinct pattern that otherwise would not have made sense and meaning. This displacement of focus can take various forms, such as condemning authority, finding somebody to blame, inventing a distraction or finding a technical fix to the problem. Several of the participants in Parks's study reported that in their practice in real life they had learned how to "give the work back to the group," to counter the anticipated work avoidances. In my study, interventions 6, 7, and 8, when the participants wanted to move the group towards a shared purpose, they used various techniques to give the work back to the group. Therefore, this is a very important finding in Parks's study and in mine as well, and it is a strength of the case-in-point course that the method teaches this to the students so well.

Parks's (2005) research showed another important competency, based on the participants' feedback; the participants had learned to spot patterns among factions that occur within a social system, and they were aware that to arrange the communication among those factions was a critical competency. The participants demonstrated awareness that some factions might feel the threat of being excluded from the process and disengage with the issues that matter to them by engaging in work avoidance activities described above. Some of the participants in Parks's study, and in my study, did experience in different ways that there is usually a faction that opposes the perspective of any other faction. Among these factions there might be dependencies like partnerships and alliances, and other types of forces.

The participants in Parks's and my study do not in their language express an explicit distinction between the central and secondary antagonisms. However, I ask, can the central antagonisms be prioritized as a more dominant factor than the secondary antagonisms? I suggest that to include this distinction is one difference between how I analyzed my data in contrast to how Parks analyzed her data. I believe it will be hard to achieve large-scale social change without having explicit awareness of the central antagonism. Central antagonism is a wider concept than class struggle. In free-market capitalist society, the central antagonism is manifested as class struggle, the struggle between those who have their income through property ownership and those who have their income through selling their labor. In the future, the case-in-point teaching, if it is developed further, can offer access to the new language that can distinguish and prioritize between the central antagonism and secondary antagonisms. For example, one could look at whether an experiential course could train participants to see factions and their

interdependencies in such a way that one identifies the social structure of the central

antagonism within the chaos and complexity of often opposing interest groups. Many

complex topics must be investigated with regard to this; for example, the work could

include looking at the complex interdependencies and alliances to create unity for a

common egalitarian emancipatory struggle. One could do research on how the

participants' engagement with the secondary antagonisms, could, if at all, later lead to

participants engaging with the central antagonism, or would they stay on the level of the

secondary antagonisms. Furthermore, future research should try to gather more specific

data about the relationship between the therapeutic approach (immediate relationship

among factions) and the analytic approach (e.g., economical structure and accumulation

of wealth) in order to surface the central antagonism and achieve social change.

Case-in-Point and the use of Language

Parks's research data shows that the participants regularly and tacitly used the

jargon and metaphors drawn directly from the case-in-point course developed by Heifetz

and his colleagues. Even participants who completed the case-in-point course nine or ten

years before naturally used explicit language from the course. Parks asserted that the

reason for this might be that the case-in-point metaphorical language is accessible to most

people, with minimal or no interpretation, with metaphors like "getting on the balcony,"

"the hidden issue," and "giving the work back to the group." Parks concluded that these

short phrases and metaphors can be understood with minimal explanation when the

meaning is anchored to the metaphor, to a fixed point. On the other hand, Parks also

argued that some of the metaphoric short phrases, such as "personal tuning," "using

yourself as a barometer," "orchestrating the conflict," require more interpretation to be

fully understood, but there is still stability because they are also made up of metaphoric concepts. Based on her research results, Parks argued that when Heifetz and his colleagues introduce a new concept, they capture it with a visual image, a kind of metaphoric short phrase that is an efficient way of naming what is going on, and this enables the participant to conceptualize and undertake a mapping of the complexity of the group processes. The metaphor simplifies the concept to an image, providing a cognitive anchor for the concept. Parks said that when the metaphor is used again and again without embarrassment—repeated in multiple contexts throughout the case-in-point course in various situations like large groups, small groups, and questionnaires—key concepts have a higher probability of becoming profoundly imprinted into the central part of the learner's imagination. This enables a more complex understanding of reality, which becomes integrated, with a larger repertoire of possible meanings of a group situation. For example, the concept of "work avoidance activity" gives a conceptual understanding of apparently chaotic behaviors as a distinct pattern that otherwise would not have made sense and meaning. The metaphoric short phrases aid the participants in the process of interpreting and naming their own and others' experience.

Interestingly, Parks observed that as participants made their way into their professional work that the new metaphoric language seems to endure because it meets little competition. Parks concluded that there is not sufficient language in mainstream discourse to grasp the aspects of what is required for understanding unconscious group processes. To have a language that is anchored by effective and stable metaphors makes the participants more able to relate to their own experiences, which in turn makes them become more confident and competent in their experiences because they are less likely to

become overwhelmed or victims of circumstance and group pressures. In my study,

Paula did not use the case-in-point jargon much because she had an alternative language

for group processes through her work as a theatre rehearsal instructor. Paula did not need

the metaphoric jargon to the same extent as the other participants in my study. The other

participants in my study, like the participants in Parks's study, relied heavily on the case-

in-point jargon in their language and speech because they needed it since they did not

have an alternative language. However, a difference between Parks's and my results is

that participants in my study seem to use a more simplified version of the metaphoric

short-phrases. The systemic process-related jargon that were identified in my data (as

described in chapter 4) that were metaphoric were: work (mental) (659), whole (136),

hold (133), bring (119), and balcony (19). These seem to be simplified metaphoric words

that have been developed over time with an especially high focus on doing the mental

work. This might have developed by the case-in-point instructors and participants over

time. The reason for this might be that the simplified metaphoric phrases can be more

acceptable in real life application. My impression is also that this simplification brings

the jargon closer to Freud's original use of language that was close to ordinary speech.

Parks's study confirms my study's conclusion that it is important to study

language and its impact on the use of experiential learning in real life. My study

confirms Parks's conclusion that case-in-point inspired ordinary language using short

phrases and metaphors is essential for the participants' application in real life. Parks's

study confirms the importance of language to have names for complex group events.

Parks did not link her result to the psychoanalytic theory of Lacan and the linguistic

theory of Jakobson and Halle (1956) as I do in this study, but nevertheless Parks's study

confirms the Lacanian psychoanalytic perspective that the word-name, the signifier, precedes the concept-image, the signified (Lacan, 2007). This validates Parks's statement that a metaphoric short phrase enables the participant to conceptualize and undertake a mapping of the complexity of the group processes. We need the name before we can understand the meaning. Parks claimed that the metaphoric language is stable over time and this concurs with Lacan who asserted that the metaphoric process fixates and anchors the signifier to the signified, while in metonymy the signifier is highly unstable and can slide from one meaning to another depending upon its position to other signifiers (Jakobson & Halle, 1956; Lacan, 2007).

Group relations theory, for example as described in "The Group-as-a-Whole" by Wells (1985) seems to have a lower number of metaphors (e.g., group-as-mother) and a higher number of technical psychoanalytic terms (e.g., projective identification). Therefore, one can argue that Tavistock-inspired group relations tend to use sentences with technical terms through metonymy (combination), while case-in-point tends to be metaphoric (substitution) through condensation to simplified images. A technical language using metonymy, and not metaphor, might have the drawback that it takes a longer time for people to develop understanding and the language might seem unpractical and distant from life. The disadvantage with metaphoric language occurs when one does not get beyond the images attached to the metaphors; this can limit the understanding at a certain point because metaphors might not have high accuracy as and technical language might have. It is important to take into account that the master signifiers (e.g., diversity, leadership, change) tend to take an opposite role to that of the metaphors. Instead of a meaning that is fixed by being expressed by metaphor, master signifiers have very broad

non-fixated and non-stable meanings. The master signifier can hold opposed meanings and concepts to such an extent that it becomes deprived of all meaning.

Given this previous research on the effects of case-in-point methodology, I recommend that future research should look at how language among participants distinguishes and prioritizes between the central antagonism and secondary antagonisms. More specifically, investigate whether participants see factions and their interdependencies in such a way that they can identify the social structure of the central and secondary antagonism within the complexity of opposing interest groups and factions. The research should more specifically include a focus on what roles metaphoric language, technical language, and ordinary language are used by participants' applied interventions in real life in order to surface or displace the central antagonism. An increased focus on language, particularly the use of metaphors, will give a better understanding of the experiential method and provide a stronger theoretical foundation.

REFERENCES

Adler, A. (1964). *The practice and theory of individual psychology* (15th ed.). London: Routledge.

Badiou, A. (2001). *Ethics: An essay on the understanding of evil*. London: Verso.

Bailly, L. (2009). *Lacan*. Oxford, UK: Oneworld Publications.

Bettelheim, B. (1982). *Freud and man's soul*. New York: A. A. Knopf.

Bion, W. R. (1955). Language and the schizophrenic. In M. Klein, P. Heimann, & R. Money-Kyrle (Eds.), *New directions in psychoanalysis* (pp. 220-239). London: Tavistock.

Bion, W. R. (1961). *Experiences in groups and other papers*. London: Routledge.

Bion, W. R. (1962a). A theory of thinking. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 43,* 306-310.

Bion, W. R. (1962b). *Learning from experience*. London: Heinemann.

Bion, W. R. (1963). *Elements of psychoanalysis*. London: Heinemann.

Bion, W. R. (1970). *Attention and interpretation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Bolweg, J. F. (1976). *Job design and industrial democracy*. Leiden, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bowen, M. (1985). *Family therapy in clinical practice*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Bracher, M. (1993). *Lacan, discourse, and social change: A psychoanalytic cultural criticism*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Browder, E. (1930). Some experiences in organizing the negro workers. *The Communist,* January, 35-41. Retrieved June 20, 2013, from http://www.unz.org/Pub/Communist-1930jan

Brown, S. R. (1980). *Political subjectivity: Applications of Q methodology in political science*. New Haven, CN: Yale University.

Brown, W. (1995). *States of injury: Power and freedom in late modernity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Brown, W. (2008). *Regulating aversion: Tolerance in the age of identity and empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cartwright, D. (2010). *Containing states of mind. Exploring Bion's container model in psychoanalytic psychotherapy*. New York: Routledge.

Colman, A. D., & Bexton, W. H. (Eds.). (1975). *Group relations reader 1*. Jupiter, FL: A. K. Rice Institute.

Colman, A. D., &. Geller, M. H. (Eds.). (1985). *Group relations reader 2*. Jupiter, FL: A. K. Rice Institute.

Conley, D. (2010). *Being black, living in the red: Race, wealth, and social policy in America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Cook-Greuter, S. R. (2003). Ego development: Nine levels of increasing embrace. Retrieved November 10, 2007, from http://www.cook-greuter.com

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cytrynbaum, S., & Belkin, M. (2004). Gender and authority in group relations conferences: Challenges, insights, and implications. In S. Cytrynbaum & D. A. Noumair (Eds.), *Group relations reader 3* (pp. 443-456). Jupiter, FL: A. K. Rice Institute.

Cytrynbaum, S., & Hallberg, M. (1993). Gender and authority in group relations conferences: So what have we learned in fifteen year of research? In S. Cytrynbaum & S. A. Lee (Eds.), *Transformations in global and organizational systems: Changing boundaries in the 90's. Proceedings of the tenth annual scientific meeting of the A. K. Rice Institute* (pp. 63-73). Washington, DC: A. K. Rice Institute.

Cytrynbaum, S., & Noumair, D. A. (Eds.). (2004). *Group relations reader 3*. Jupiter, FL: A. K. Rice Institute.

Devenney, M. (2007). Žižek's passion for the real: The Real of terror, the terror of the Real. In P. Bowman & R. Stamp (Eds.), *The truth of Žižek* (pp. 45-60). London: Continuum.

Dierolf, H. (2009). *Adult learning and school leadership: Application and learning from a group relations conference*. Doctoral dissertation, Univerity of San Diego. Retrieved January 10, 2011, from http://proquest.umi.com

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1935). *Black reconstruction*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Eicher, M. (2007). *Consensus organizing: Building communities of mutual self-interest*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Emery, F. E., & Thorsrud, E. (1969). *Form and content in industrial democracy*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Emery, F. E., & Thorsrud, E. (1976). *Democracy at work*. Leiden, Netherlands: Nijhoff.

Emery, F. E., & Trist, E. L. (1960). Socio-technical systems. In C.W. Churchman & M. Verhulst (Eds.), *Management sciences – models and techniques*, (Vol. 2, pp. 83-97). London: Pergamon Press.

Eriksen, C. W., & Kuethe, J. L. (1956). Avoidance conditioning of verbal behavior without awareness: A paradigm of repression. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 53*, 204-209.

Errichetti, A. M. (1992). *The meaning of the Tavistock conference experience*. Doctoral dissertation, Temple University. Retrieved February 14, 2009, from http://proquest.umi.com

Evans, D. (2003). *An introductory dictionary of Lacanian psychoanalysis*. London: Routledge.

Fink, B. (1997). *The Lacanian subject: Between language and jouissance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fraher, A. L. (2004). *A history of group study and psychodynamic organizations*. London: Free Association Books.

Freud, S. (1913). *The interpretation of dreams*. New York: MacMillan.

Freud, S. (1921). *Group psychology and the analysis of the ego*. London: Hogart.

Freud, S. (1961). The unconscious. In J. Strachey (Ed. and Trans.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vol. 14, pp. 161-215). London: Hogarth Press.

Freud, S. (1989). *Civilization and its discontents*. London: Norton.

Freud, S. (2010). *The future of an illusion*. Blacksburg, VA: Wilder Publications.

Gay, P. (1989). *Freud: A life for our time*. New York: Norton.

Gergen, K. (1994). *Toward transformation in social knowledge* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Getz, C., & Gelb S. (2007). An integral approach to the teaching of leadership studies at the University of San Diego School of Leadership and Education Sciences. *Integral Leadership Review*, 7(1). Retrieved February 16, 2009, from http://www.integralleadershipreview.com

Giroux, H. A. (2013). *America's education deficit and war on youth*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Gunder, M., & Hillier, J. (2009). *Planning in ten words or less: A Lacanian entanglement with spatial planning*. Farnham, VT: Ashgate.

Heifetz, R.A (1994). *Leadership without easy answers*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Henslin, J. M. (2013). *Essentials of sociology: A down-to-earth approach* (11th ed.). New York: Pearson.

Hill, P. (1999). *Lacan for beginners*. Hanover, Netherlands: For beginners LLC.

Hill, C. E., Nutt-Williams, E., Heaton, K., Thompson, B. J., & Rhodes, R. R. (1996). Therapist retrospective recall of impasses in long-term psychotherapy: A qualitative analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 43*, 207-217.

Hill, C. E., Thompson, B. J., & Williams, E. N. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 25*, 517-572.

Homer, S. (2001). It's the political economy, stupid! On Žižek's Marxism. *Radical Philosophy, 108*, 7-16.

Homer, S. (2004). *Jacques Lacan*. New York. Routledge.

Hughes, M., & Kroegler, C. J. (2013). *Sociology: The core* (11th ed.). London: McGraw-Hill.

Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Jacoby, R. (1997). *Social amnesia: A critique of contemporary psychology*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Jakobson, R., & Halle M. (1956). *Fundamentals of language*. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton.

Jordan, A. (2008). The governance of sustainable development: Taking stocks and looking forwards. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, 26*, 17-33.

Kegan, R. (1982). *The evolving self: Problem and process in human development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kegan, R. (1994). *In over our heads: The mental demands of modern life.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Klein, M. (1946). Notes on some schizoid mechanisms. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 27*, 99-110.

Kopp, W. (2011). *A chance to make history: What works and what doesn't in providing an excellent education for all.* New York: Public Affairs.

Krugman, P. (2007). *The conscience of a liberal.* New York: Norton.

Lacan, J. (1991). *Freud's papers on technique. The seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book 1.* London: Norton.

Lacan, J. (1992). *The ethics of psychoanalysis. The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book 7.* London: Norton.

Lacan, J. (1998). *The four fundamental concepts of psychoanalysis. The seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book 2.* London: Norton.

Lacan, J. (1999). *On feminine sexuality, the limits of love and knowledge. The seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book 20.* New York: Norton.

Lacan, J. (2006). *Écrits.* New York: Norton.

Lacan, J. (2007). *The other side of psychoanalysis. The seminar of Jacque Lacan: Book 17.* London: Norton.

Laclau, E. (1996). *Emancipation(s).* New York: Verso.

Laclau, E. (2000a). Identity and hegemony: the role of universality in the constitution of political logics. In J. Butler, E. Laclau, & S. Žižek (Eds.), *Contingency, hegemony, universality: Contemporary dialogues on the Left* (pp. 44-89). New York: Verso.

Laclau, E. (2000b). Structure, history, and the political. In J. Butler, E. Laclau, & S. Žižek (Eds.), *Contingency, hegemony, universality: Contemporary dialogues on the Left* (pp. 182-212). New York: Verso.

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy.* London: Verso.

Le Bon, G. (1896). *The crowd: A study of the popular mind*. New York: Macmillan.

Lewin, K. (1951). *Field theory in social science: Selected theoretical papers*. D. Cartwright (Ed.). New York: Harper.

Lipgar, R. M., Bair, J. P., & Fitchtner, M. (2004). Integrating research with group relations conferences: Challenges, insights, and implications. In S. Cytrynbaum & D. A. Noumair (Eds.), *Group relations reader 3* (pp. 417-442). Jupiter, FL: A. K. Rice Institute.

Locke, J. (1854). *Philosophical works: With a preliminary essay and notes* (Vol. 1). London: Henry G. Bohn.

Loevinger, J. (1976). *Ego development*. San Franscisco: Jossey-Bass.

Loevinger, J., & Wessler, E. (1970). *Measuring ego development, Vol. 1: Construction and use of a sentence completion test*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Macionis, J. J. (2014). *Sociology* (15th ed.). New York: Pearson.

Margulies, N., & Raia, A. P. (1971). *Organizational development: Values, process, and technology*. New Nork: McGraw-Hill.

Martynowych, P. J. (2006). Revisiting self-analytic groups. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University. Retrieved February 14, 2009, from http://proquest.umi.com

Marx, K. (1990). *Capital* (Vol. 1). London: Penguin.

Mayo, E. (1949). *Hawthorne and the Western Electric Company. The social problems of an industrial civiliz*ation. London: Routledge.

McCallum, D. C. (2008). *Exploring the implications of a hidden diversity in group relations conference learning: A developmental perspective*. Doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University. Retrieved February 16, 2009, from http://proquest.umi.com

McDougall, W. (1920). *The group mind*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

McMillan, C. (2012). *Žižek and communist strategy: On the disavowed foundations of global capitalism*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.

Meisel, S. I. (1980). Tavistock working conference attendance: Self-reported effects in the work setting. Doctoral dissertation, Temple University. Retrieved February 16, 2009, from http://proquest.umi.com

Menninger, R. W. (1975). The impact of group relations conferences on organizational growth. In A. D. Colman & W. H. Bexton (Eds.), *Group relations reader 1* (pp. 265-280). Jupiter, FL: A. K. Rice Institute.

Merriam, S. B. (Ed.). (2002). *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (11ᵗʰ ed.). (2009). [Kindle DX version]. Retrieved from amazon.com

Miller, E. J., & Rice, A. K. (1967). *Systems and organization*. London: Tavistock Publications Limited.

Mills, J. (2004). Clarifications on trieb: Freud's theory of motivation reinstated. *Psychoanalytic Psychology, 21*(4), 673-677.

Moncayo, R. (2008). *Evolving Lacanian perspectives for clinical psychoanalysis: On narcissism, sexuation, and the phases of analysis in contemporary culture*. London: Karnac Books.

Monroe, T. M. (2004). Key concepts that inform group relations work. San Diego: University of San Diego, Leadership Institute.

Nonaka, I., & Takeuchi, H. (1995): *The knowledge creating company*. York: Oxford University Press.

Parks, S. D. (2005). *Leadership can be taught*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Penney, J. (2006). *The world of perversion: Psychoanalysis and the impossible absolute of desire*. New York: State University of New York Press, Albany.

Polanyi, M. (1966). *The tacit dimension*. London: Routledge.

Ravitch, D. (2010). *The death and life of the great American school system: How testing and choice are undermining education*. New York: Basic Books.

Ravitch, D. (2013). *Reign of error: The hoax of the privatization movement and the danger to America's public schools*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Rice, A. K. (1965). *Learning for leadership*. London: Tavistock Publishing Limited.

Robinson, A., & Tormey, S. (2005). A ticklish subject? Žižek and the future of left radicalism. *Thesis Eleven, 80*, 94-107.

Roediger, D. R. (2007). *The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class*. London: Verso.

Rogers, C. (1959). A theory of therapy, personality and interpersonal relationships as developed in the client-centered framework. In S. Koch (Ed.), *Psychology: A study of a science: Formulations of the person and the social context* (Vol. 3, pp. 184-256). New York: McGraw Hill.

Rogers C. (1970). *On encounter groups.* New York: Harper & Row.

Rose, J. (2004). Introduction. In S. Freud, *Mass psychology and other writings* (pp. vii-xlii). London. Penguin.

Rudé, G. (1964). *The crowd in history: A study of popular disturbances in France and England.* New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Rudé, G. (1988). *The French revolution.* New York: Grove Press.

Sartre, J. P. (1937). *The transcendence of the ego: An existentialist theory of consciousness.* New York: Hill and Wang.

Scott, J. (1996). *Stratification and power: Structures of class, status, and command.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Setnes, O. K. (2008). The impact of group relations experiential learning on real life practices: A relational qualitative analysis of leadership learning. Unpublished paper.

Shapiro, T. (2004). *The hidden cost of being African American: How wealth perpetuates inequality.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Sharpe, M. (2004). *Slavoj Žižek: A little piece of the real.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Sharpe, M., & Boucher, G. (2010). *Žižek and politics: A critical introduction.* Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press.

Silver, J. S. (2001). *A constructive developmental approach to Tavistock group relations conference learning: A narrative study.* Doctoral dissertation, Fielding Graduate Institute. Retrieved February 16, 2009, from http://proquest.umi.com

Skinner, B. F. (1974). *About behaviorism.* New York: Random House.

Stiglitz, J. E. (2012). *The price of inequality: How today's divided society endangers our future.* New York: Norton.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedure and techniques.* (2nd ed.) Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Symington, J., & Symington, N. (1996). *The clinical thinking of Wilfred Bion.* London: Routledge.

Taylor, F. W. (1911). *The principles of Scientific Management*. New York: Harper.

Thorsrud, E., & Emery, F.E. (1964). *Industrielt demokrati*. [Industrial democracy] Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

Thorsrud, E., & Emery, F.E. (1970). *Mot en ny bedriftsorganisasjon*. [Towards a new business organization] Oslo, Norway: Tanum.

Tinley, H. E. A. (1997). Synergistic analysis of structured essays: A large sample, discovery-oriented, qualitative research approach. *The Counseling Psychologist, 25*, 573-585.

Torbert, W. (2004). *Action inquiry. The secret of timely and transforming leadership*. San Francisco: Berrett-Kohler Publisher.

Trist, E. L, Emery, F. E., & Murray, H. (Eds.). (1997). *The social engagement of social Science, Vol. 3: The socio-ecological perspective*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Trist, E. L., & Murray, H. (Eds.). (1990). *The social engagement of social science, Vol. 1: The socio-psychological perspective*. London: Free Association Press.

Trist, E. L., & Murray, H. (Eds.). (1993). *The social engagement of social science, Vol. 2: The socio-technical perspective*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Underwood, J. A. (2004). Translator's preface. In S. Freud, *Mass psychology and other writings* (pp. xliii – xlv). London: Penguin.

Verhaeghe, P. (2001). *Beyond gender: From subject to drive*. New York: Other Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society. The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wallerstein, R. S. (2002). The growth and transformation of American ego psychology. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 50*(1), 135-169.

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Wells, L Jr. (1985). The group-as-a-whole perspective and its theoretical roots. In A. D. Colman &. M. H. Geller, (Eds.), *Group relations reader 2* (pp. 109-126). Jupiter, FL: A. K. Rice Institute.

Wolff, E. N. (2012). The asset price meltdown and the wealth of the middle class. New York: New York University. Retrieved November 10, 2013, from http://www.nyu.edu/about/news-publications/news/2013/05/13

Žižek, S. (1989). *The sublime object of ideology*. London: Verso.

Žižek, S. (1999). *The ticklish subject: The absent centre of political ontology*. London. Verso.

Žižek, S. (2000a). Class struggle or postmodernism? Yes, please! In J. Butler, E. Laclau & S. Žižek (Eds.), *Contingency, hegemony, universality: Contemporary dialogues on the Left* (pp. 91-135). New York: Verso

Žižek, S. (2000b). Holding the place. In J. Butler, E. Laclau & S. Žižek (Eds.), *Contingency, hegemony, universality: Contemporary dialogues on the Left* (pp. 308-329). New York, NY: Verso.

Žižek, S. (2005). *The metastases of enjoyment: Six essays on woman and causality*. New York: Verso.

Žižek, S. (2006). *The parallax view*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Žižek, S. (2012). *Less than nothing: Hegel and the shadow of dialectical materialism*. London: Verso.

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

Qualitative Interview Guide (60-minutes)

A. First part of the interview (broad and open-ended questions, Analytic mode of communication, 20 minutes).

   1. What significance, and in what ways, has the group relations experience played in your life?

   2. Can you describe anything you do in your life that is based upon the group relations learning? Describe some concrete examples.

   3. Do you have doubts/misgivings about the group relations work?

B. Second part of the interview (narrow and context-specific questions, Hysteric mode of communication, 40 minutes).

   1. How do you apply the experiential learning with your family and/or friends?

   2. How do you apply it at your work?

   3. What are the main obstacles/challenges applying concepts from the courses?

   4. Behavioral descriptions

      a. Can you explain what actions you took in a particular situation, what kind of activities were taking place during and after the action(s) that intended to change the situation?

      b. Can you give an example of one the behaviors to the people involved, what they did, and what they said? What did you do? What did you say?

      c. Did you make use of any specific tools like "diagrams", drawings, concepts, and/or special terms/words that are related to the experiential learning courses?

   5. Thoughts/emotions descriptions

      a. How did you feel or think before you chose to take action? What was your rationale? How did the feeing and the rationale influence you to take actions?

      b. Was there any inner aspect of your mental life that was helpful, or not helpful in that specific situation?

APPENDIX B

Participant's Pledge of Confidentiality

Participant's Pledge of Confidentiality

I will be participating in the dissertation research project entitled: The Impact of Group

Relations Experiential Learning on Real Life Practices

I will be analyzing and coding my own and other participants' transcripts. I agree to maintain their confidentiality. I also agree to maintain the confidentiality to all participants that are part of the study. By signing this agreement, I pledge to keep all information strictly confidential. I understand that to violate this agreement would constitute a serious and unethical violation of the participants' right to privacy.

_____   _____

Signature of Research Participant   Date

_____   _____

Signature of Principal Investigator   Date

APPENDIX C

Transcriber's Pledge of Confidentiality

Transcriber's Pledge of Confidentiality

I will be participating in the dissertation research project entitled: The Impact of Group Relations Experiential Learning on Real Life Practices

I will be transcribing audio-recorded interviews into text. I will not know the names of the informants, but if I should recognize information that enables me to identify any of the participants, I agree to maintain their confidentiality. By signing this agreement, I pledge to keep all information strictly confidential. I will not discuss the information I transcribe with any person for any reason. I understand that to violate this agreement would constitute a serious and unethical infringement on the informant's right to privacy.

_____   _____

Signature of Transcriptionist   Date

_____

Name of Transcriptionist **(Printed)**

_____   _____

Signature of Principle Investigator   Date

APPENDIX D

Instruction Sheet for Individual Transcript Domain Analysis

.

Instruction Sheet for Individual Transcript Domain Analysis

Material:
Participant is given: (1) interview transcript of participant in electronic format, (2) interview transcripts of other participants, and (3) coding instruction sheet (this sheet).

Research questions:
4.) How has participation in group relations/case-in-point courses and conferences influenced the participants?
5.) How, if at all, have the participants adapted insights and techniques from the courses and conferences and used them in real life contexts?

Initial Domain List:
(c0) concrete problem/challenge/task   (g1) general change in thinking/emotions
(c1) concrete thinking/emotions   (g2) general change in practice (applied technique)
(c2) concrete intervention/action   (a1) group relations term
(c3) concrete result of intervention   (a2) doubt/misgivings
     (a3) conference/course experience

Three coding tasks:
Task 1: Mark text in the transcript that are related to the two research questions listed above.
Task 2: Identify core ideas from the marked relevant and important text.
Task 3: Place the core ideas under the corresponding domain.

The three coding tasks mentioned above are described in detail below. Carry out these tasks while you go through the transcripts. First code the other participant's transcripts, then code your transcript.

Task 1: Mark Relevant Text
Mark all text that is considered important and relevant to the interview questions.
Text that remains unmarked is considered for the moment as irrelevant or not important.
You can write comments to the other participant and researcher.

Task 2: Identify Core Ideas under the domains and research questions
Create the core ideas from the marked texts that are related to the two research questions.
A core idea is one or two sentences summarizing the corresponding marked text. We want the core ideas to remain as close as possible to the participants perspective of the experience. The key words used in a core idea should come directly from the marked texts in the transcript and not from interpretation.

Task 3: Place the core ideas under the domains.
The core idea should be placed under a domain and research question. Modify the domains if necessary to fit the core ideas. You can also add domains if needed.

APPENDIX E

Signifier Frequency Data Result

Frequency of Group Relations Terms (a1) Coded by Participants

Below is the list of the signifiers (word-names) that were identified and marked in the transcripts by each coder as typical group relations/case-in-point jargon (a1). The numbers in parentheses shows the frequency of signifiers. Those signifiers (or short signifying chains) that are not followed by parentheses were marked only once in the transcripts.

The Teachers' Group (Kate, Sam, and Paula):

Kate's transcript coded by researcher, 44 (29):
Silence, intention (3), holding, container, space, offering, bring to this role, invitation, anxiety (2), holding environment, hold (2), bring to, roles, holding steady, balcony (4), class as-a-whole, authority (2), purpose, move, mobilizing, allies (5), authorization (3), attention, holding the group, hijacked (2), mobilize, hold the group, protect the group, go to a place of.

Kate's transcript coded by Kate, 22 (20):
How is the silence being used, holding purpose or intention, what's my purpose, creating a holding environment, holding environment, (can this group) hold me, joining, what roles you bring, being able to hold all of yourself, holding steady, anxiety, Heifetz version of group relations, balcony perspective (2), class-as-a-whole, participant observer, mobilizing that student, authority, the group is doing this, authorization (2), formal authority.

Kate's transcript coded by Sam, 13 (12):
Silence, purpose, creating a holding environment, holding (2), setting my intention, holding environment, joining, roles, as-a-whole, offline, authorization, formal authority.
Kate's transcript coded by Paula, 10 (10):
Role, bounded, to take up, holding environment, container, joining, holding steady, balcony, allies, authorization.

Sam's transcript coded by researcher, 38 (25):
Surfacing, purpose (3), work (3), to meet, courageous, mental model, attention, the learning, on behalf of, sit with it, helpful, promotes, serve, absorb it, represent (3), space, allowed, protected, allies (2), here-and-now (3), unfolds, holding (3), dual task (3), causalities, holding the role.

Sam's transcript coded by Kate, 18 (17):
Purpose, give the work back to the student, give it back to them, mental model, sit with it, I have allies, here-and-now, representative (2), holding of the dual task, holding the here-and-now , temporary organization, purpose, I try to scaffold, contain, holding environment, hold parts of the system, holding the role.

Sam's transcript coded by Sam, 6 (6):
Valence, here-and-now, temporary organization, overall purpose, contain, holding environment.

Sam's transcript coded by Paula, 2 (2):
Environment has been held, Tavistock.

Paula's transcript coded by Researcher, 15 (14):
Ally, mobilize, realized, resonance, unauthorized, roles, to take leadership, authorized, group, task, balcony, safe, to move (2), allowed.

Paula's transcript coded by Kate, 3 (3):
Ally, take up this, authorized authority.

Paula's transcript coded by Sam, 6 (6):
Resonate, mobilize, resonance, unauthorized work, authorized, balcony.

Paula's transcript coded by Paula, 0 (0):
Zero instances of a1.

The Educational Administrators' Group (Teresa and Hanna):

Teresa's transcript coded by Researcher, 30 (16):
Authority (8), power (3), experience (2), voice (2), intention, exercising leadership (3), different level, experience, honor, voice, honoring, paired, adaptation (2), the whole, part, dishonor.

Teresa's transcript coded by Teresa, 28 (14):
Allowing them to work with, power (4), authority (7), putting it out there, work with, voice (4), put something out there, intention, exercising leadership (3), experimenting, unconscious, read what's going on in the room, join, work.

Hanna's transcript coded by researcher, 81 (27):
System (3), boundaries (3), work (4), represent (7), data (3), attention (10), hypothesis (3), data collection (2), authority (8), role (10), task, practice, the-whole-class, pull (3), joining (4), splitting, here-and-now (3), exercise leadership (2), formal authority, realize, transformation, practice, in the moment (3), vulnerable, insight, voice (2), space.

Hanna's transcript coded by Teresa 107 (35):
System (4), exercising leadership (2), boundaries (6), connect (3), flow, system, work (4), time boundaries, present, represent (8), authority (12), hypothesis (3), dynamic, group, power (7), roles (5), BART, task, group dynamic (2), joining (6), group relations, splitting, purpose, hold (8), role (11), here and now (3), take up (2), formal authority, take them up, in the moment (3), data, within the moment, use, voice, heard.