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Introduction

Performance art, a discrete genre within the broader performing arts, makes an important and unique contribution to arts practice in many ways, including its aims, execution, and interaction with the audience. Although the genre has developed significantly and grown in prominence in the past few decades, particularly with the advent of electronic communication, neither the intricacies of the performative moment nor the dynamics of this network have been researched to any extent. This paper aims to examine perceptions of altruism and utopia within in the global performance art network and the practice itself – does a vision of utopia appear within the performative moment? The global performance art network is central to linking performance artists together and facilitating the generation and continuation of this inspirational art medium. The paper unfolds firstly with a brief introduction to performance art, altruism and utopia as understood within the context of this study. Next, the methodology and findings of this pilot study are presented, along with theoretical and practical implications. This paper concludes with this studies limitations and an outline of future research.

Performance Art

Performance art is a unique genre within the broader artistic domain of the performing arts, emerging from various traditions and cultural movements to become an identifiable genre. Performance art emerged around 1960, with some of its foundations to be found in the work of the actionists [painters/theatre makers], as well as in the cultural movements of Futurism, Dada, Happenings and Fluxus (Goldberg, 1979, 1998). Although these foundations made contributions to the form of Performance Art, they did not define it. While performance artists draw upon historical arts practitioners and practices for inspiration, the genre tends to push the boundaries of our experience by moving beyond a regular canvass or an identifiable stage designed for a particular purpose. Traditionally, performance infers the imaginary, the pretend, or surreal. Performance art however is performance that essentially seeks to strip away any façade, with many artists looking to the real and the ritualistic for sources of meaning, connection and the raising of important questions (Goldberg, 1998). While offering new perspectives, performance art has continued to evade definition and institutionalisation for decades (Wheeler, 2003). However, a conceptualisation of performance art may be: real bodies, real action, in real time.

Performance artists do not wish to pretend, but instead choose real actions. For example, an actor may pretend to bleed; a performance artist will literally bleed (Ayers & Abramović, 2010). Another feature of performance art is the blurring of boundaries between the "artist" and the "audience." Performances may occur in the street and performers may interact with the audience in very mundane and ordinary ways. However, the experience can be quite moving, even extraordinary, with this opting for the real moment of meeting, the ephemeral contact, allowing space for transformation (Frangione, 2007; Heathfield, 2004; MacLennan, 2004).

Developing this sense of connection requires a certain personal openness and sense of generosity, which forms the basis of my proposal that performance art embodies a sense of the altruistic. Performance art is a very loose term, and the work may come from a variety of impetuses, including political comment, satire, self-exploration, etc. However, performance art may also set out to pose questions, convey ideas, to shine a light on a particular topic with the goal of some form of insight, shift or transformation for both the performer and the audience (MacLennan, 2004).

Performance art practices today are in some ways similar to the practices that took place forty years ago, with many of the symbols, materials, and intentions still in high circulation. One major change, however, is that of technology, with artists utilizing the possibilities new technology brings to various degrees: some artists choosing to remain low-tech and seeming to accept technology begrudgingly, with others surging forward and using technology as the primary medium and location for their work. In the 90s with the proliferation of the Internet, performances could go 'live' with artists utilizing freeware broadcast their works. Now in 2010, artists are using Skype and vimeo to communicate their messages. Some artists also began making personal websites and uploading documentation images and video streaming on their sites, so their performances can be viewed at the viewer's leisure. Digital archives are becoming more and more popular. This represents a great innovation in that geographically isolated performance artists living in many parts of the world can now present and promote their works online. Examples of presentation are artists such as Colm Clarke who was involved in an event called "exist-ence" that I curated in January 2010, where the online freeware, a program called "Ustream" was used to send live images of his performance in Belfast, Ireland to the venue in Brisbane (Cunningham, 2010). Examples of promotion are the countless event pages on facebook and myspace and other social networking sites set up by artists. Artists see

each other's work and relationships can be built without having to rely on local contacts. Although performance art has a priority on the live exchange, there continues to be much talk of documentation so that events are not lost into the ether, but maintain some trace of what occurred (Wheeler, 2003, p. 497). Some examples of online archives include NEW MOVES INTERNATIONAL (International, 2010), Performalogica (Performancelogia, 2010), Indonesian Art Digital Archives (Archive, 2010) and Agor8 (McBride, 2010). In the last two decades, globalisation of the form has allowed transitivity between artists. In view of these changes, the heart of performance art remains steadfast in the present, perpetually concerned with interpersonal engagement and transaction. One driving factor that may enhance the interpersonal engagement within performance art may be the artist's perception of altruism.

Altruism

Altruism is a multifaceted term used in a variety of fields from biology, psychology, sociology, economics, and political sciences. As such, it tends to lack a single encompassing definition. According to Emile Durkeheim, altruism is a fundamental basis of social life (Durkheim, 1933, p. 228). Altruism as defined by sociobiologist Wilson, as behaviour that is damaging to the self carried out to benefit others (Wilson, 1975, p. 578). Economist Margolis states that a defining feature of altruistic behaviour is that the individual would be better served to ignore the impact of his/her choices on the welfare of others (Margolis, 1982, p. 15). In the social dilemma literature, altruists are defined as individuals who put more emphasis on the outcomes for others rather than their own when making strategic choices (Piliavin & Charng, 1990, p. 29). While psychologists note that altruistic behaviour must be made voluntarily and intentionally for the betterment of another, while having no expectation for reciprocity or reward (Bar-Tal, 1985-1986, p. 5).

Notably, altruism has been a topic for consideration for centuries, as demonstrated by Aristotle's claim that,

> "Every art and every inquiry, and similarly every action and pursuit, is thought to aim at some good; and for this reason the good has rightly been declared to be that at which all things aim" (Aristotle, 2000 {1892}).

Another precursor to modern considerations of altruism was offered by Adam Smith, who in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* suggested that

> "How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it" (Smith, 2004 {1759}).

From these texts, altruism has been conceptualized as a fundamental quality of humankind. Nonetheless, for many years, it was considered unintelligible to propose that "true" or "pure" altruistic actions could be offered from a self-less base (Margolis, 1982; Piliavin & Charng, 1990; Wilson, 1975). Instead, it was believed that all activities that had appeared to be motivated by a desire to meet someone else's needs could be traced back to have some egoistic or selfish motive underlying it (Piliavin & Charng, 1990). This conception has since experienced a paradigm shift to a view where "true altruism – acting with the goal of benefiting another – does exist and is part of human nature"

Altruism has been included as an intrinsic element of this study as I consider that performance art practice may contain an element of the altruistic, as individuals opt to make work often at personal, physical, and financial cost to themselves. Although the artist may find pleasure in the performance, there is often an emphasis on the impact of their work on others, rather than themselves; the performance offered as a gift. Furthermore, it is worthwhile to question whether altruism may be an underpinning personal perspective wrapped up in the individual artist's personal and social identity and thus their notions of utopia.

Utopia : A brief history

The concept of utopia has been with mankind throughout the centuries. Almost every society has their own story of the beginning of time, often an idealised memory of some perfect era where humanity's needs were met and harmony flowed freely between human kind and their environment. This notion can be found in Hindu epics, Chinese Taoism, the Dreamtime of the Australian Aborigines, the pagan Golden Age and the Judeo-Christian Paradise or Garden of Eden. Within secular western traditions, this notion has been propelled by writers such as Plato in his *Republic (Plato, 1955 {360BC})* and Virgil's *Arcadia* to name a few examples (Kumar, 1991, p. 4; Morris & Kross, 2004).

The term "utopia" was coined by Sir Thomas More and it was the land of Utopia that he wrote about in his novel entitled simply "Utopia" (More, 2003 {1516}). The word itself is a pun in its phonetic makeup of three Greek terms: *eu,* meaning good; *ou,* no, non or not; and *topos,* meaning place; the result is a mixture of good place/no place (Kumar, 1991, p. 1; Sargisson, 2007). The negative side, "no place' has remains within contemporary consciousness; even a dictionary such as the *New shorter Oxford English Dictionary* defines utopia as:

> The title of a book by Sir Thomas More [1477-1535-. 1] [a] An imaginary or hypothetical place or state of things considered to be perfect; a condition of ideal [esp. social] perfection. [b] An imaginary or distant country. 2] An impossibly ideal scheme, esp. for social improvement.

Definitions such as these suggest that utopia is the state of perfection, which may be unattainable and many scholars deem to be "dangerous" (Levitas, 2007, p. 50; Popper, 1962; Sargisson, 2007, p. 30). It is in this mode where utopia presents its alter ego, dystopia or anti-utopia; the inversion of utopia, where one's dreams of the future are realized in their most hideous and nefarious form (Popper, 1962; Sargisson, 2007; Walsh, 1962, p. 14). When utopia

takes this form, it becomes an oppressive, didactic roadmap to concrete ends (Levitas, 2007). This fear of a dream of perfection turning to nightmare occurs most frequently when the dream becomes static, when ideas develop into dogma (Sargisson, 2007). Fortunately, utopia is not static according to prominent writers in the area (Levitas, 2001; Reis, 2001; Sargisson, 2007).

Utopia is conveyed as a transformation; scholars describe utopianism as "social dreaming" (Sargent, 1967, p. 3, 1994) and a "Not Yet" mentality (Bloch, 1986), of striving towards a better way of being (Levitas, 1990). In addition, utopia is never just a dream as some writers have indicated in statements such as [utopia] "always has one foot in reality" (Kumar, 1991, p. 2). H.G. Wells recalls the tension between the possibility and actuality of utopia (Kumar, 1991, p. 3). Utopias are entrenched in the culture and time in which they have emerged. Utopia within 20th and 21st century discourse is explored in a range of arenas, from anthropology, political science, and the humanities.

Utopia as method

Within these disciplines, utopia is experienced in a variety of ways, from literature, social theory, art, music architecture and medicine (Bloch, 1986; Sargisson, 2007, p. 26). Although each of these areas of endeavour approach utopia from a different perspective, one element remains constant: the characteristic of a conscious willingness for social change and transformation (Levitas, 2001; Williams, 1980). It has been written that utopia is "not a social state, it is a state of mind" (Hertzler, 1922, p. 314; Mannheim, 1960). It is from this point of consciousness that utopia ceases to be seen as pure concept and moves to being a method (Levitas, 2007, p. 51). In this sense, what becomes important "is not *what* we imagine, but *that* we image" and in doing so push out the bounds of our imagination (Jameson, 1977; Levitas, 2007). As we imagine the world as it might be, in our individual and/or collective utopias, the act of the dream in turn may catalyse individual and/or collective change (Levitas, 2001). To

the influential writer and poet Carl Sandburg this would be elementary and obviously essential for the development of human kind as "Nothing happens unless first a dream" (Sandburg, 1922).

This act of thinking of utopia; the imagining of the world as it may be in another space in another time does not arise without difficulty (Reis, 2001). According to the German idealists, we, as "knowing subject[s]" must first learn about the world we currently are in (Reis, 2001; Schopenhauer, 1966). This is achieved, as we perceive the world we live in within a specific space and specific time based on our own knowing mind; our world is created continuously through the vagary of references, lenses, perspectives and memories we each hold (Mannheim, 1960, p. 58; Reis, 2001, p. 46). It is with this conscious mind that we co-create, either consciously or unconsciously, our world via the "mirror effect" of the inner and outer states of being (Ferguson, 2003). As we only can imagine what we know, then utopia is a collection or pastiche of elements that currently exist represented in a new way, so utopia is here now (Reis, 2001). Frederic Jameson said the purpose of utopia "…is not to bring into focus the future that is coming to be, but rather to make us conscious precisely of the horizons or outer limits of what can be thought and imagine in our present" (Dolan, 2005; Jameson, 1977; Wegner, 1988, p. 61). There are many volumes on the epistemology of knowledge, but such discussions lie outside the scope of this article. I acknowledge this literature as I am asking whether utopia can exist within the performative moment, and to answer that, one must look at the relationship between utopia and time.

Utopia in time

So, it appears that we live in the then and the now, while looking towards what may be. Mannheim speaks of utopia being "incongruous with" our perceived reality; rather it "transcends" our perceived reality (Mannheim, 1960; Reis, 2001, p. 46). If our perception is our reality, our hope is Utopia. One may then wonder if utopia may ever be realised, or if it remains in the ever-present future. When is utopia "now", and is it possible to live in utopia? Schopenhauer claimed that when individuals perceive the world a certain way, this perception becomes manifest within the world (Reis, 2001, p. 50; Schopenhauer, 1966). These perceptions are lived in the live moment; or as Bloch indicates, during the "darkness of the lived moment" [Dunkel des gelebten Augenblick] (Bloch, 1986, pp. 290-300).

Schopenhauer discussed the notion of time as being the "eternal present" or "*Nuc Stans*," stating, 'There is only one present, and this always exists: for it is the sole form of the actual existence" (Schopenhauer, 1966, p. 480). As utopia is a "state of mind" existing in time, and our perception of reality is made known in the present live moment, and as there is only the present, then it must be possible for utopia to be lived now in real time (Hertzler, 1922, p. 314; Schopenhauer, 1966, p. 480) And where might we experience such a utopia in real time? In Art? Both Herbert Marcuse and Ernst Bloch "see art as an arena in which an alternative world can be expressed – not in a didactic, descriptive way as in traditional 'utopian' literature, but through the communication of an alternative experience " (Bloch, 1986; Dolan, 2005, p. 7; Levitas, 1990, p. 148; Marcuse, 1955).

Utopia in art

In 1989 there was an exhibition of 81 paintings made by eighty women who lived on "Utopia."

Utopia is "an Aboriginal free-hold property" situated approximately 240 kilometres north-east of

Alice Springs in the Northern Territory, Australia, and is the territorial lands of the Anmatyerre

and Alyawarre people (Brody, 1989; Museum, 2010; Store, 2010). The area was called

"Utopia" by German settlers in the 1920's (Museum, 2010). These paintings depict the utopian

stories of the Aboriginal "Dreamtime". An ancient people making art about utopia, in a place

called "utopia" by settlers from around the world [predominately British]. These outsiders

performed such great atrocities in and upon this land and to these people throughout the

history of the colonization Australia which is far from utopian. I mention this story for both its

irony, and its tenuous links from utopia to art and back again. Throughout the history of art,

artists have been presenting their ideas of utopia through the medium of their practice; from the

dystopias of Picasso's Guernica and the Wachawski brother's *Matrix* trilogy to the utopian

writers of William Morris, the Bauhaus architects and designers and more. Utopia in all its

forms is present.

Within performance, scholars argue that it is the live exchange that may best provide a space

for experiencing a shared notion of what is possible, to explore humanities potential and to

attempt to share "fleeting intimations of a better world" (Dolan, 2005, p. 2) Dolan describes

these moments of transaction as "utopian performatives" as

> "small but profound moments in which performance calls the attention of the audience
> in a way that lifts everyone slightly above the present, into a hopeful felling of what the
> world might be like if every moment of our lives were as emotionally voluminous,
> generous, aesthetically striking, and intersubjectively intense" (Dolan, 2005).

When speaking of the present moment in art, seminal performance artist, Marina Abramović

says,

> "The present is the time-frame that we never address, because we are always reflecting on what happened and then projecting what is going to happen...I think it is in credibly important that the nature of performance is about the present, the here and now" (Abramović, Ulrich Obrist, & Orrell, 2010).

Both of these texts are emphasising elements are important to the performance art genre; that of the here and now, a sincere exchange and offering a keyhole view into the potential of humanity. Due to the importance of the present, liveness, and openness within performance art it makes this discrete field a fertile one in which to investigate the realities and perceptions of utopias.

Utopia in performance art

Many performance artists choose to have a direct relationship with their audience, thereby turning observers into participants in the action. In my experience, developing this sense of connection requires a certain personal openness and generosity. Artists choose to make these connections in various ways. One method, Berghuis writes, is physical, "…in order to civilize the mind, one must first make savage the body…" artists making their bodies vulnerable to make a connection with an audience (Berghuis, 2006). Other performers such Marcus Coates in his *Journey to the Lower World* (Coates, 2005) choose to work as pseudo-shaman; others with methods may be a pursuit of metaphysical transformation as a method of connection with the audience, as Nicola Frangione stated "…utopia is real rather than abstract; what is more, real utopia is the mainstay of the 'extra-action' of the performer, as traveller of first an inner world and than an outer one…" (Frangione, 2007, p. 84).

Performance art and Utopia thus share the same preoccupation, that of transformation. It is at the moment of exchange, the transaction, as Elvira Santamara Torres once told me, these "ephemeral diamonds" which drives many performers, as I discovered in the ensuing study.

Study

A sample of over 70 potential interviewees were selected and contacted using convenience and quota sampling to provide a qualified cross-section of the network (Neuman, 1997, pp. 204-222). These artists and curators are located around the globe and at varied stages of their careers, ranging from less than 10 years in the network to greater than 30 years. Ultimately, this group will be represented in the sample in my future research. Within the pilot study reported here, 13 participants were interviewed. This sample is hence by no means an indicator of the network at large.

The pilot study aimed to gain insight into the performance art network and contribute to the development of the parameters of the wider study. In order to frame the question of whether performers do perceive utopia and altruism within their practice, I conducted series of semi-structured interviews that form a pilot study for the research (Fontana & Frey, 2001, p. 660). Interviews had a duration of approximately one hour, during which I asked a series of questions that allowed artists to expand upon their personal drive to create performance art, their perception and operation of the network, their experiences within the network, their perceptions of underlying values within themselves, their work and the network, and finally their perceptions of altruism and utopia (Riege, 2008). Three interviews took place in person and the remainder took place by mediated means, including phone, video phone and Skype, which appropriately links with the nature of the global network. All interviews were recorded after interviewees gave their consent, and later transcribed. The transcripts have been subjected to initial coding and preliminary thematic analysis. Ultimately this process will be reflected upon and further developed analytically.

The semi-structured interviewing technique was utilized as it allowed me to pursue lines of questioning particular to each individual. Individuals who had been practicing for longer periods of time very quickly cut to the core of their work, and discuss their ontological and methodological impulses. However, artists with less experience in the field, often younger artists, did not go into such detail. It would be at this point that I would ask them about utopia or altruism in their work. At no stage did I go into detailed definitions of altruism or utopia, but left the question open to be interpreted however the interviewee thought best related to them and their work. It is interesting to note that when I asked if such values were important [if I asked about altruism, or gifting], a number of individuals were surprised that I needed to voice such a thing, the question seemed redundant, and it appeared that as an artist myself, I should know better than to ask such obvious questions.

Before outlining my initial findings, I will briefly introduce the participants. Interviewee #1, female, 32, Europe, seven years in the field; Interviewee #2, female, 30, Australia, seven years in the field; Interviewee #3, male, 24, Europe two years in the field; Interviewee #4, female 43, Europe, eleven years in the field; Interviewee #5, female, 24 Mexico six years in the field; Interviewee #6 female, 27, Europe, six years in the field; Interviewee #7, female, 27, Europe, four years in the field; Interviewee #8, female, age not disclosed, Europe, twenty-two years in the field; Interviewee #9, female, 55, Australia, thirty-five years in the field; Interviewee #10, female, 27 Australia, three years in the field; Interviewee #11, male 30, Europe, eight years in the field; Interviewee #12, male, 56, North America, thirty-eight years in the field; Interviewee #13, male, 65, Europe, forty-four years in the field.

Findings

From the thirteen interviews undertaken, three main themes emerged, which will be discussed in turn: 1) the importance of the "live moment", 2) the notion of an "exchange" , "transaction" or "gifting" occurring within that live moment, and 3) the performers' personal utopia enacted within that live moment.

1) The importance of the "live moment"

"Liveness" was integral to interviewees' definitions of performance art. Interviewee #1 said that performance art is "very much about the liveness of it, the live encounter between the performer and audience…it's a meeting between the performer and the audience in a live setting…I like to engage in a sort of two-way communication. Not only perform for them but to engage them in the conversation or actions with me somehow…" Interviewee #6 spoke regarding the liveness of the audience being interesting "I don't know how they are going to respond." Interviewee #4 defined performance as an art from where "the body is the instrument and the performer is the creator and it has to be in the moment." Interviewee #13 also talked about not being an artist at all, and not even performing, but rather, it is a "communication" between him and whoever chose to watch and engage with him.

The live moment was also important when discovering why these individuals made the work in the first place. When asked why they made their work and what maintains their interest in making work, interviewees talked about a desire, an urgency to do so. Interviewee #1 described it as "a very, very strong drive to keep making work. It's almost addictive…What I see is a search, I'm looking for something. I don't know exactly what it is but I'm looking for something and I just can't stop doing that…" while Interviewee #3 said they make work "Because it's the voice I have" and Interviewee #4 "It is something I can do". Others say they

needed to search for something, or there is something they wanted to share in the moment of performance [interviewee #5 and 11]. Interviewee #12 said that the primary reason for his sustained interest in performance art was its ability to be "transcendent."

> "Somebody does something and you can't describe it in the abstract. Somebody does something and... everything you thought you knew about art and human beings and the world and the cosmos is slightly shifted and that, it seems to me, is the best that you can ask of any kind of art and of almost any experience. And that's what keeps me coming back." [interviewee #12]

Every participant mentioned the importance of the live moment, and this moment then becomes the location or the site for the exchange within the performance itself.

2) The notion of an "exchange" , "transaction" or "gifting" occurring within that live moment

The element of the exchange or transaction appeared in many of the interviewees' definitions of performance art. When asked to respond to the notion of performance being a potential meeting between the performer and the audience acting as a site for transaction and transformation, Interviewee #5 responded by saying "that is sort of the point of performance, to put parenthesis around the moment and be able to share that with whoever is there."' Interviewee #7 mentioned that this exchange could relate "to every piece of good art…there and then you can transact your feelings…it's like a conversation…a place to have a conversation." Both Interviewee #11 and #13 also referred to their work as being a dialogue, a "conversation." Interviewee #9 said that that was "a given" that the work was a gift "pardon the pun".

Interviewee #5 also spoke about physical exchanges in performance saying that, "A lot of relational art projects, or performance art projects go in that direction, giving things out, or giving a service to the public in some way without really expecting anything back...in some circumstances it can be altruistic in that way, but it depends more about the public than the artist." These ideas were also realized in the work of Interviewee #11, as in many of his works, there is a literal offering of a gift within or as a result of performative work. Interviewee #11 talked about his work being more of a dialogue with the public. His prefers to work in public spaces rather than in a gallery or theatre setting, and also talked about an interest in everyday things. Many of his works he mentioned included cooking in public and offering the food to the general public as part of the performance. Interviewee #1 talked about "the sharing of the moment" while Interviewee #3 mentioned the desire to "give, share myself with society".

Interviewee #13 spoke of the notion of *Die Gabe*. I had never heard of this term before, and asked him to extrapolate. *Die Gabe* was defined as a something more than a gift. *Die Gabe* is something that "changed my life...Now I am a completely different person" [interviewee #13]. It was also mentioned that the reciprocity within *Die Gabe* is not direct but general. The offering can be to anyone, but once you have received *Die Gabe*, you must then give it back to someone else [interviewee #13].

Interestingly, when interviewees were asked directly if they thought performance art was altruistic, the responses were mixed. Interviewee #1 thought that although altruism might be a goal of many artists it is not always the reality. Interviewee #2 said directly that performance art is altruistic and others that it can be altruistic in the sense that gifting occurs where the performer offers the audience something without expecting anything back in return. Interviewee

#7 said "well I would hope so…a lot of the time, the performances are quite uncomfortable, and even though you do get kind of an adrenaline rush before any kind of live performance, I feel like…if someone doesn't get something out of it, what's the point!." Both Interviewee #7, 8 and 10 discussed altruism as occurring within the work itself, but this was not the case in every work, it depended on the intentions of the artist. Interviewee #9 said that of course it was altruistic. And Interviewee #11 said that it is not altruistic in the sense that it purposefully goes about to help people who needs help; it does not make food for people who have cannot afford food, but of course the work is made and put out into the world with the hope that it will help somebody.

Participants were also asked about the network, and it became evident that this notion of generosity and altruistic intention within the practice extends out into the global performance art network. Participants talked about how they generally experienced the network to be friendly, supportive, and open. Interviewee #1 described the network as a "family" while Interviewee #8 talked about artists having a great "love" for each other. A sense of "goodwill" was reference to occur, especially when working internationally as "everything is done on goodwill basically, because nobody has got any money" [Interviewee #2]. Interviewee #8 also discussed the necessity of this type of community as performance art is "not functioning within the market place, it functions within a community collective experience.…It's not enough to be a performance artist doing work in a gallery on your own…we need each other." Participants said they experienced some form of hierarchy, but this usually stems from a deep respect of individuals who have been operating within the field for long periods of time. However, the majority of these seemingly elevated individuals do not relate to other community members as if they are of a different status. Interviewee #13 talked about there being multiple networks, some of which were hierarchical, but others who purposefully set out to be non-hierarchical.

These non-hierarchical networks are those that he was interested in and purposefully opted out of the hierarchical networks as that way of working does not align with his world view. The network was described as being more "egalitarian" [Interviewee #8]. There was a closeness and camaraderie mentioned between artists. Interviewee #1 said that "it doesn't matter really where you are or where you're from because there are some core things we share. And we work very often on ingredients of our lives as well, which makes it [personal relationships] even kind of stronger." Interviewee #12 talked about the "cosiness" of the community and the "familial" which he enjoyed as being part of an international community of performance artists. Interviewee #2 [quoting seminal artist Guillermo Gomez-Pena], described the network as a "strange tribe" with fundamental similarities and moral codes found to underpin individuals' world views. Interviewee #8 proposed that the performance art network might be altruistic saying, "Maybe the type of person who is attracted into performance art is generally a person who really desires to communicate with others in a very urgent way. Why would you do performance art unless you really wanted to communicate with people with your whole self. You tend to like people; you're a people person." There is a flip side to this warm and fuzziness as Interviewees #9, 11 and 12 stipulated there being cliques, and a disjointed quality to the network. Further exploration of the networks operational dynamics is required: however this lies outside the scope of this study.

Although this pilot study only began to scratch the surface, this sense of transaction and exchange with altruistic incentives tended to begin with the individual, moves out into the work where the exchange occurs and further gravitates to the artists interactions with each other within the network.

3) The performer's personal utopia was enacted within that live moment.

When asked about their personal utopia, some could not extrapolate greatly on their perspectives of utopia as they; "hadn't really thought about it" [Interviewee #5] while another said that they do not have a personal utopia [Interviewee #4]. Interviewee #3 thought that utopia might be "a discourse that works between borders" but that it "can never be achieved because it is such a subjective thing" [Interviewee #3]. Interviewee #2 said "I'm trying to create utopia…I really believe in people and I think that's something that we can evolve with, people's belief in other people…I basically want to evolve people's love of people." Other interviewees mentioned elements such as "generosity" [Interviewee #1] and "freedom of speech...freedom of action"[Interviewee #5] were mentioned. Interviewee #7 said, "It would be great if we could all treat the world better…It would be nice if we were all treated equally…I'm just talking about how we can make the world a better place…"

When presented with the statement "The performative moment between artist and audient may act as a microcosm of the performer's personal utopia," the majority responded in agreement that this takes place in performance in varying degrees. Interviewee #5 said …"every piece of work made by artists aims for that image of utopia… not just in performance, but in all works of art." Interviewee #1 replied, "…in the performance situation, there's this encounter and the sharing of the moment. And I like when audience members interfere in my performances and things. So it's like they're giving me something that I deeply love, hopefully I'm giving them something..." Interviewee #8 said that it may occur, but it does not within her work, even though she is "a very idealistic person" wanting to make the "world a better place" and that although she doesn't have a "utopian vision," a picture of how the world should be, there was a strong "motivating desire to make the world a better place." Many interviewees mentioned that

these notions of utopia were not concrete ideas to be pushed upon the audience, but rather a more open, fluid and questioning discourse, asking how we can better exist.

When Interviewee #13 was asked about utopia, he said he wasn't interested in utopia, in the impossible. However when he spoke about *Die Gabe,* he spoke of this as being the ability to show the possibilities, what is possible in the here and now, what is possible at the moment of the encounter, where *Die Gabe* can take place. *Die Gabe,* being a live moment, a gift, and exchange that transforms, appears to align with the definition of both performance art and utopia used within the study. This notion of utopia being able to be experienced and realized within a performative moment, was affirmed throughout the interviewees' responses and thus reaffirms the utopia literature; utopia as a state of mind, utopia as a method of experiencing and bettering our existence.

Together, the three themes of liveness, exchange, and a lived utopia highlight central values that were expressed by each of the interviewees, albeit with various terminology. These will be further extrapolated within the following conclusions.

Limitations and Future research

Within this study, the focus has been on "performance art." However, it has been found that in some countries "performance art" as a descriptor of the practice may be used interchangeably with alternatives such as, "Performance," "Action Art" [in Spanish speaking countries] and "Live Art" [in the United Kingdom]. Within this study "Action Art," "Live Art," and "Performance" are recognized as "Performance Art." Further research is required to identify more detailed definitions, differences, and nuances between this set of terminology.

In addition, both utopia and altruism were difficult topics to explore due to their individual interpretations and definitions. As such, varieties of responses to the terms appeared and in some cases misunderstandings as these terms hold various cultural weights. In future research, it may useful to offer some theoretical definitions of these terms in order to provide a framework before asking participants for their perceptions.

The implication of the technology on these notions of utopia and altruism within the performative act was also beyond the scope of this study. The way the technology and the virtual body has affected the viewer's relationships with work does however pose interesting questions for future research. It was found that the dynamics of the network may also have some impact on the artists' perception of altruism and utopia, however; again, such explorations were beyond the scope of this study.

Although this study began with my experience of the work and the network, being myself an artist, I was conscious and careful throughout the interview process to leave all questions open I did not set out to prove myself right, but rather find out what other artists were experiencing. Therefore, I endeavoured to pursue lines of questioning the interviewee offered rather than attempting to confirm my suspicions. Although the findings did show that there is a sense of altruism and utopia within the performative act, this pilot study has shown that perhaps this is not the best line of exploration to take. Perhaps a greater search into notions of *Die Gabe* of the "gift" and of the "encounter" is better, as these are terms that the artists themselves were using more readily. Further study into *Die Gabe* would be useful. However, at this time, these texts are in German [a language I do not speak] and no English translation is yet available.

This study is also limited as it consisted of only 13 volunteer participants. This willingness to offer their time to the study with no personal reward may indicate that these individuals hold a greater propensity for altruistic ideals. Although some participants work as both artists and curators, eight of the thirteen participants had been involved in performance art for less than ten years; as such the results of this study are biased. Further research is required engaging a larger participant pool in order to provide more definite results on this subject. Ultimately, the research will provide further insights into the performance art genre and the values therein, and contribute to both the performance art, and utopian literatures.

Conclusions

This preliminary data indicates that, in performance art, the artist drags their dreams into reality; the performative moment, being a living moment, allows for a visioning of the world, as it could possibly exist - utopia thus experienced. Together, the three themes of the live, the transaction, and vision of utopia within the performative moment highlight central values expressed by each of the interviewees. Each of these themes relates back to the theories mentioned: An altruistic offering of a version of utopia was experienced within the live moment in real time within an performative context (Hertzler, 1922; Schopenhauer, 1966).

These preliminary findings are valuable as they are a step towards finding greater insight into the wider cultural value of the genre. From the theory, it was found that it is possible to realise utopia within the live moment, and that true altruistic acts are possible. The results of this pilot study indicate that the concepts of utopia and altruism are linked to the performance art genre, its people, and practice. In addition, trajectory of the three themes confirm that notions of

altruism and utopia begin with individual artist, are then enacted within the performative moment, and extended further, out into the global performance art network. Thus the performative moment between the performance artist and audient acts as both a microcosm of the performer's personal utopia and a location of transaction and transformation. This appears to be most hopeful. Utopia can be experienced, live, now, and will continue to evolve, be shared, and experienced within the context of performance art.

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a Positive Approach to Totality: Musical Image-Workers in Liverpool

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Abstract

This paper develops a novel interpretation of experience-based

entrepreneurship and management from an encounter with the things that

Edith Penrose (1959) said about the growth of firms. It presents epistemology

invoked from that encounter with Penrose through which the paper suggests

learning-oriented entrepreneurship studies and other scholars interested in

experience-based learning might approach the 'subject'. That theory work will

be talked through with the help of two stories about some friends of mine,

aPAtT, who are a band of musical entrepreneurs from Liverpool in North

West England. The way aPAtT are developing a musical single for release

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and the development of aPAtT's own record label, Post Music, will be used as

phenomenal attractors that help think through the kind of experience-based

learning processes that Penrose described. Some phenomenological made

up terms will help make out the intent of the paper, phrases like 'images of

being-in-business' which formalises Penrose's evocation of reality being an

image in a person's mind and her associated epistemological concerns.

Identifying a kind of 'pedagogical attentiveness' at (or as) the hearts of being-

in-business and experience-based learning processes and the kind of image-

work processes that aPAtT express then leads to a questioning of the notion

of independence associated with musical entrepreneurship and the assumed

tension thought to exist in the lives of musical entrepreneurs between

commercial interest and musical creativity. The paper suggests that aPAtT

expresses a novel way of thinking about the notion of 'independence' in

musical entrepreneurship that challenges traditional images of musical

entrepreneurship as either performed by isolated individuals and business

entities or resulting from 'social authorship' and equilibrium inducing forces in

markets and industries. aPAtT's images express a kind of management that

is everyday and experience based- they actively subtract from and make

questioning replies to the wider context of musical entrepreneurship, like a curiosity for the commerce of others and for the shared sociocultural milieu and a will to bring ideas and images into being. That description sits uncomfortably between notions of isolation and social authorship. Daydreaming, the paper then turns to invite other researchers to accept Penrose's invitation to research entrepreneurial learning as experience-based image-work and for researchers to imagine themselves what they can do with the epistemology and image-work the paper describes.

Introduction

The history of musical entrepreneurship is muddied with notions of 'independence' and different tensions thought to exist in the lives of musical entrepreneurs that are understood very little. Fox Film Corporation was one of the first 'Independents' back in the 20th Century and from around the late 1970s there has been an 'Independent' movement in UK music and the wider Creative Industries explicitly labelled 'Independent'. It is uncertain what that was back then and what it became over time: was anything really

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independent of anything else and if so how did it emerge, did it then evolve into something else, did it disappear, might it have eaten itself up because cultural traditions associated with music were unable to be reasonably harmonized in people's lives, what is the significance of popularization and commercialization of those notions and the subsequent 'everydayness' of those terms- what was and is 'Independence' in musical entrepreneurship? However people can experience it, that so-called 'Independent' movement seemingly contrasted against the more global 'mainstream' record business found on the capturing of sound in the phonograph and the subsequent potential to sell products to audiences. The aesthetic value developed by 'independent' musicians and 'independent' music can be seen to be directly related to the more mainstream industry (Stratton 1982) and, more often than not, the industrial procedures undertaken by the Independent movement back then and today seem strikingly similar to those formalized by the more mainstream characters. In some senses, then, the commerce of the Independent movement only makes sense when understood in relation to the wider industrial milieu of musical entrepreneurship. They don't seem to make much sense apart- independence is always relative to something, even if the

case is one of ignorance or negation. Still, though, the notion of

independence remains tweaked very little, and its currency is so everyday

that, today, people talk about an Independent Film industry and they talk

about independent film makers, actors and actresses and others in the same

way they talk about independent musical entrepreneurs, label owners and

shop staff. The significance of this 'Independent' sector in the creative

industries has also been recently worked on by Charles Leadbeater and Kate

Oakley (1999). They suggest 'Independents' in the creative industries make a

substantial contribution in the UK economy but remain an area of cultural and

economic production that scholars and policy makers know very little about.

Independent musical entrepreneurship is even less visible. If, though,

'independence' is what it is commonly thought to be (autonomous

production), then there might not be any reason to consider what policies

could support independent entrepreneurs: they are isolated from that stuff. So

understanding 'independence' as it is commonly imagined and experienced,

sometimes perhaps also as a feeling or an attitude to experience, seems to

perplex an interest in it. Maybe the popularity of this notion of isolation and

independent production in the creative industries today, in part, could be

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explained in respect to romanticised notions of the artist as an isolated actor

seemingly able to operate by talent alone (although it did emerge and

potentially embody whatever Neo-Liberal and individualist ideology might be).

It seems that it is valuable to audiences and producers alike if people are able

to work in isolation, through their talent alone (of course, on the side of

'producers', it means retaining more remuneration). On the side of audiences,

it seems to express something more mystical- a kind of essence of creativity

needing to be released. People are drawn to this romance. Television today

doesn't clear things up either. The talent show 'Britain's Got Talent', for

instance, affirms this notion of independent talent being able to ascend to the

heavens of media success solo. Musical entrepreneurs, actors, comedians

and other 'performers' get up on stage for 2 minutes (if they're lucky) and

perform their piece to the onlooking board of judges (with varying degrees of

what people would call musical and commercial talent and ability). The role of

Simon Cowell and the play of wider industrial and economic milieu can be

ignored if the title of the show alone is considered, as if it is 'performer's'

talent alone that got them there, or the direct contrast must be the case: that

those foolish enough to be duped by Cowell and his cohorts are jigged

around in the mechanics of industry, being cajoled into chasing false dreams or thrown about by the economy's equilibrium inducing forces at a time when the traditional image of the music industry is collapsing or in a state of flux. If 'Britain's Got Talent' does work as a metaphor for one extreme case of what might have become of the notion of 'independence' in musical entrepreneurship, then those willing to perform on 'Britain's Got Talent' or those known as 'Independent' musical entrepreneurs might appear to stand precariously somewhere between total independence and isolation on the one side, as if their talent alone can save them and situatedness doesn't matter, and social authorship, determinism and equilibrium inducing forces on the other, as if imagination doesn't really matter. There is not much talk of any kind of movement within and between musical entrepreneurs and the wider context- between the isolated 'subject' and the situatedness that some suggest can determine entrepreneur's actions. The experience of musical entrepreneurship as an embedded and active 'subject', as a result of that, is probably fondled a lot less than it should. Another interesting observation to make is that the 'talent' of those on 'Britain's Got Talent' is contrasted against the commercial interests of Simon Cowell *et al* for whom the bottom line is

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always 'Will it sell?', 'Will it make it to number one or number ten?'. The history of musical entrepreneurship, in a similar way, is potentially partitioned into camps expressing more interest in musical creativity and those expressing more interest in making money or taking other's. At times, it works to think of the music industry as divided, as others have (e.g. Stratton 1982; Hesmondalgh 1999), between the 'Independents' and the 'mainstream' record business. The Independent movement is potentially a product of that assumed tension in the history of musical entrepreneurship. It might have developed aesthetic value as people considered those involved against the wider record business, as they considered what musical products they could and could not obtain, and questioned the interests and values assumed to be expressed by the kind of musical products available and the kind of industrial and market-based procedures both sites performed. At the same time, musical entrepreneurs seized hold of interstices cast off by larger firms imagined novel opportunities. But, the old romanticist image of the isolated ('Independent') genius, living in poverty somewhere in France or Italy, without much care for what other artists are producing and not having much regard (or even knowledge of) acquired techniques and intellectual abilities, still

mystifies the emergence of the Independent movement and how 'independents' operate. Wendy Fonarrow (2006), for instance, suggests that Indie culture and ritual became one of asceticism and well chosen consumption and production choices and performances. People involved in Indie music (as it all became an aesthetic, rather than just a way of thinking about work and jobs in the music industry) were not supposed to display wealth or express any kind of ego or interest outside of the music scene. Money- as long as people do not explicitly express a will to make it - then they 'pass' as legitimate musical entrepreneurs (of course, in Britain, Indie music has the reputation of being middle-class and of Indie enthusiasts being able to act that way). Similarly, in the experiences of musical entrepreneurs there is an assumed tension thought to exist between musical creativity and commercial interest. Musical entrepreneurs have to make money and still they have to generate aesthetic value. Like the independent movement, they too must operate in the midsts of industry and, whether they like it or not, what they get up to is relational to that wider milieu- known as part of a wider industrial and market reality. If that assumed tension thought to exist between commercial interest and musical creativity is then cascaded, the presupposed

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tension thought to exist between musical people (entrepreneurs) and management forms (i.e. signing up to an established label and all that might incur) also fits. Management and entrepreneurship, like commerce and creativity, express terms that, in a way, feel far too abstracted from experience and formalized, as all words and acts are. Musical entrepreneurs have to make money and that means management, but not necessarily performing specialised 'roles' of management. It might just be being curious about ways of operating, having knowledge of oneself and others in the local and wider milieu for entrepreneurship and being willing to work on ways of bringing musical imagination into being. So it starts to become necessary to understand how it is musical entrepreneurs learn and how they develop aesthetic and other forms of value in what they do. A turn to the experience of musical entrepreneurship as socially situated might begin to understand where that value comes from, where ideas and images from come- and even what might have become of the notion of independence- which, if anything, is a feeling or an attitude to relational characteristics of experience that are always there, but changing. Embedding actors like that and being interested in experience based 'movement' and 'change', assumed tensions thought to

exist in musical entrepreneur's lives can be understood as experiential processes in which any tautness dissolves away. There is, then, a need to turn back to musical entrepreneurship in the hope of understanding, firstly, the kind of things that are significant in musical entrepreneur's experience, in what ways people operate in the thickness of that embedded experience, and, secondly, how their attitudes, feelings and memories of that experience might be expressed. Particular modes of operating can help express this theoretical way of thinking and can express processes of change, attentiveness to characteristics of experience, and imagination. Historically, it seems that the traditional notion of independence expresses some of the distaste for the wider music business that was shouted about by the earlier punks and post-punks. Today, with 'Britain's Got Talent' potentially selling stolen dreams to adolescents and the chance to ascend to stardom by independent talent alone and the unclear nature of what 'Independence' means in terms of different ways of operating and sociocultural values-people's feelings, memories and attitudes to relational characteristics of experience, how they operate amongst them, and the term 'independence' itself is likely to be very different and expressed in very different ways.

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This paper now forwards an epistemological position through which it disrupts the traditional notion of musical entrepreneurship as expressing actors and business entities that are isolated from their local social context. It tries to develop some understanding of the kind of phenomena that musical entrepreneurs might depend upon, in experience, for imagining novel ways of making a living. Considering the kind of phenomena that make up those images, it then suggests that appreciating musical entrepreneurship to involve a kind of 'pedagogical attentiveness' to different characteristics of experience may help in understanding in a more general sense what musical entrepreneurs depend upon in experience-based learning processes. The paper suggests that temporal and relational experience are the most explicit of those characteristics of experience expressed through musical entrepreneurship, as a kind of (socially situated) experience-based management and entrepreneurial imagination. Based on a specific epistemology that formalizes the the significance of temporal and relational experience, the paper moves on to describe and interpret two 'image work' processes in the descriptions of aPAtT: 'image re-presentation' and 'image-

management'. It suggests that entrepreneurship often expresses a process of transforming commonplace phenomena in terms of people's own person experience and that image re-presentation such as that requires images to be brought into being through people re-presenting common ways of operating. Two images of what aPAtT, a Positive Approach to Totality, get up to, who are a band of musical entrepreneurs from Liverpool in North West England, help express that theory through metaphor, as their real life experience chimes against the ideas and images forwarded in this paper.

Edith Penrose, Images-of-being-in-business and Learning

To test the validity of the traditional notion of independence and begin constructing epistemology by which to appreciate musical entrepreneurship as being enacted by socially embedded actors, the paper now turns to briefly describe a phenomenologically inspired encounter with the ideas of Edith Penrose (1959/1995). Back in 1959, Penrose claimed that entrepreneurs' actions are determined by the mental image they have of their own

experience of being-in-business (1995: 5, 42). She thought these images to

represent the particular experience of the person or group of people in the

world of business. Each person or group of people has a different image-

made up of a different history of being related to others and sharing common

phenomena in particular ways – and that history enables people to

understand things (i.e. resources, services, cultural signifiers) they encounter

in unique ways. The expression of that image of being-in-business is the

unique 'services' a person or group of people is able to produce from a

common set of resources. Images become productive opportunities because

they are socially embedded, arresting images. These images people develop

over time and through which they make sense of the wider world of business

can be termed 'images of being-in-business'.

Images of being-in-business are constituted by phenomena that are

significant in entrepreneurs' experience. Entrepreneurs coordinate different

phenomena commonly encountered and understand them in terms of their

own experience of being-in-business. At the broadest level in the context of

musical entrepreneurship, the things that constitute images of being-in-

business can be things like, local, industrial and market-based relations- such as stereotyped genres of music and different ways of releasing or distributing it. Or they could be more personal- such as the different resources, services and experiences people develop over time. The point is that images are constituted by commonplace phenomena that are comprehended by the entrepreneur in terms of their own experience of being-in-business over time, in terms of their own characteristics- and these properties emerge through the encounter. This way of thinking about images and the way in which people experience commonplace phenomena in unique ways can be pulled back and tied to something more sturdy, an epistemological position. JC Spender (1996a; 1996b; 1998) is one scholar that worked around this neck of the woods in Organizational Learning oriented work and he suggested that theorists might move away from positivist oriented analyses often assuming static and isolate entities- those assuming that knowledge can exist 'out there', as objects or 'assets', without the experience and situatedness of people really mattering. Spender (1996b) went on to affirm that all knowledge is 'knowledge in use' and that no such entitative kinds of knowledge exist: knowledge is a 'process' rather than a 'thing'. That chimes with what Penrose

suggested about 'knowledge' never being a case of isolate 'assets' with static qualities and that 'reality' is really an experience-based mental image (1995:42). For Penrose, it would then only be in images, as people encounter commonplace phenomena in terms of their own experience- images of things based on their own history - that properties emerge and knowledge is developed.

That is pretty much how Penrose (1959) described 'learning processes' developed through the kind of 'internal processes' she claimed spur growth. She describes a kind if swaying movement enduring between the things that constitute people's personal memories, resources and services and the things that constitute the world of business they encounter. Difference or 'disequilibrium' is imagined between the material perception of the different phenomena people encounter and their comprehension of them in terms of their own experience- it works as a metaphor for being-in-business. So people consider things like resources, services and experience they have already been developing over time in relation to things like local industrial and market based relations, as images: there are not any entitative sites of

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knowledge or any real materiality: instead a kind of swaying movement between experience and materiality. Resources, services and opportunities, are comprehended relationally and in terms of people's temporal experience, like a 'pedagogical attentiveness' to the uncertainty and possibility of perceptions of oneself as being-in-business.

This re-description of learning is based around knowing one's being-in-business as a historical image and then being able to imagine a new image of being-in-business. The creation of opportunities and wealth strategies depends on this certain kind of 'pedagogical attentiveness': allowing oneself to be drawn and to consider oneself within the local social context. That attentiveness also involves a will to imagine- the product of these learning processes being the creation of novel images as people recognise potential, virtual, difference between the material existence of things they encounter in business and their experience-based comprehension of them. Attentiveness is, in this way, is both managing and entrepreneuring- ' image work' that endures in experience.

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These disequilibrium oriented learning processes surface two broad constituent parts of people's images of being-in-business. These are people's relationality and people's temporality. People express attentiveness, most explicitly, to temporal and relational characteristics of experience. They express those two aspects of pedagogical attentiveness as the resources, services and experience that people develop over time enable them to comprehend different relations they experience in the business environment. Memory allows people to imagine things differently- to imagine novel 'services'. 'History matters' (Penrose 1959:xiii) because it is the history of being-in-business that enables people to develop and re-present images of experience. Understood in those terms, history and memory reshape and redescribe matter: it is people's temporal experience that enables them to comprehend and then imagine the numerous relations they encounter differently.

That swaying movement between history, memory and the materiality of present experience suggested by Penrose operates as epistemology, epistemology of entrepreneurial action. Like epistemology has already been

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surfaced by JC Spender (1996b; 1998) in his attempt to develop an

'inherently dynamic' knowledge-based approach to firm growth based around

pluralistic epistemology. As with Penrose, Spender also suggests that

knowledge and different material forms only really exist when they enter

experience, as they are used by people in terms of their own experience and

situatedness. Spender (1996b, 1998), though, was more interested in a

triadic representation of learning processes, suggesting that a movement

(which he called a dialectic) endures between organizational, collective, and

personal memory modes of knowledge. He was interested in historical

phenomena and the play of memory in things, but he does not put that

concern into such terms as temporal and relational experience per se. If the

play between the two really does need tying back to something a little more

sturdy, this notion of a kind of 'movement' enduring between experience and

materiality can be tacked onto process philosopher Henri Bergson (2002).

One of the things that really fascinated Bergson was people's experience of

time and, in his ontology of duration (2002), Bergson suggests that the past

overflows into the moment, like a gradually expanding rubber balloon, and

continually enables perception and imagination. For him, "there is no

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perception which is not full of memories (2002:27)" and reality, based on that, is experienced in terms of 'movement' and 'change'. That too affirms that the perceptions, divisions and other intellectual procedures performed by positivists often stymie a real appreciation of experience if given too free a reign and allowed to dominate human inquiry. Bergson suggested that there is no real division or separation in experience and that the human predilection for cutting, calculating, separating and manufacturing objects, are really expressions of a practical mind straining to operate functionally. He suggests that formal constructs and strategies that help in practical manoeuvres are often overly concentrated upon and allowed to stymie an experience of flow, undivided change and movement not separated by anything other than people's attention (2002). In a similar sense, Penrose's concentration on the significance of history expresses a like fascination with temporal experience and material presence, for, as images have been described here, they entail a certain kind of uncertainty and possibility, manifest as people encounter materiality with their own experience. Without forgetting, it too must be noted that Penrose 'cultivated her own garden' (Penrose 1959:10), often in stark contrast to other theorists active during her era who favoured equilibrium,

invasive and abstractive oriented analyses and were dislocated from the

"flesh and blood" (Penrose 1959:12) of the firm. She too knew entrepreneurial

experience to be undivided and, instead, to be a world of plurality often too

mystical for equilibrium oriented analyses predicated on productivist and

functionalist concerns to deal with reasonably.

Image Work

Epistemology developed from Penrose calls up two 'image-work'

processes that are of interest. The first is the move from the commonplace

images and appearances people see in the world to how they are really

experienced. People, initially, know these common forms through sharing the

world with others, in time. How people then make sense of them in their own

unique ways can be thought of as a process of re-presentation. Bergson said

something very similar. He suggested that, as people encounter materiality

(i.e. relations and phenomena of different kinds), they re-present that material

presence in terms of their own temporal experience, in terms of their own

duration. The second process concerns how the re-presented image will

managed into being in a social, business context. This is a process of image-

management. Both processes express the epistemological interest: they evoke some images-of-being-in-business, express temporal and relational characteristics of experience as a kind of pedagogical attentiveness, and display image-work processes.

To outline the 'image work' processes the paper is interested in, Michel de Certeau's (1984) ideas of 'strategies' and 'tactics' chime with the interest in temporal and relational experience and the interest in acts of re-presentation. 'Strategies' help in understanding this image-work because for Certeau the term 'strategy' represents the material appearance of things: commonplace and easily recognisable by people and not having any connection to people's real experience. Experienced as inherited resources or 'equipment', strategies are established ways of operating people encounter as already instated in the business world. They represent a specific kind of historical and commonplace knowledge of ways of operating. So, in places like Liverpool, musical entrepreneurs might share images of popular music much in the same way they share time and space (the city) with ways of operating already embodied in the spatial fabric.

'Tactics', on the other hand, for Certeau are the lived out reality of things. Tactics are how strategies are actually experienced. They are re-presented images of strategies. More significant in light of Penrose, though, tactics are also the manifestations of people's temporal experience. So, as they encounter things like strategies, places and other phenomena, people re-present them tactically in terms of their own experience of being-in-business. Like Penrose, at this juncture Certeau *et al* (1998:137) felt a 'pedagogical relation' exists in experience between common forms people inherit or encounter and their lived out reality in people's lives through which these change processes develop. For both Penrose and Certeau, temporal experience enables people to imagine and to act- they share that epistemological concern.

a Positive Approach to Totality

The paper now turns to aPAtT to help make sense of the processes of image-re-presentation and image-management in terms of temporal and

relational characteristics of images of being-in-business: in terms of an attentiveness to experience. "So what is aPAtT?" aPAtT is a non-entitative band of musical entrepreneurs from Liverpool in the North West of England. It sometimes operates as a band, sometimes as a larger 40-piece ensemble called The aPAtT Orchestra. Usually, though, it is made up of 5 people- Steve (General Midi), Josie (Dorothy Wave), Ben (Field Marshall Stack), Jon (Master Fader) and Andy (The Count In). Steve and Ben have been working together together as aPAtT since 1998, when they left the other bands they were in to do the things they weren't able to. Since then, the line-up has changed, but the current members have known each other for about 6 years.

What aPAtT get up probably makes more sense when considered against what aPAtT means- the words that Ben and Steve scribbled on the first C90 cassette they released back in 1998: a Positive Approach to Totality. It means aPAtT produce a range of musical products that are in themselves often peculiar and against the grain of normal musical entrepreneurship. They regularly release musical singles (through their own or another label, or for free download), have released 2 albums and are working on their 3rd,

develop video projects, manufacture and release merchandise, work with people and organisations from all over the UK, and perform widely. They have just played in Lille as part of a European tour and will be going back in October 2010 to help in a workshop for young musical entrepreneurs. They have been album of the week on top British radio stations and have worked with the BBC in Liverpool and are a favourite band of some local musicians. They also have a strong web-presence and they develop their own web-based mediums to communicate between friends involved in similar things and audiences. Much of this is undertaken 'independently'- without direct support from larger established organisations – but, in other ways, occurs 'dependently'- as aPAtT reproduce and re-present common images of musical entrepreneurship and bring novel ones into being that express their attentiveness to their (and our) experience of musical entrepreneurship.

aPAtT's songs contain snippets from conversations, textured recordings taken from different places and recorded through different mediums, samples from classical composers and reproductions of pop song beat patterns. Their music can range from death metal to jazzy riffs (in the same song), to a

poppy reproduction of Prince or an exact 'replica' of a trance track from 1994.

They say they want to "archive" their experience musically and through

practice and they want to engage with the forms and practices of others,

those of history and of the wider context of the music business, through doing

it themselves. Like us, they call these modes of practice "learning" or

"archiving" and that notion of what it is like to learn characterises their ethos

of musical production as much as their name does. Hence, aPAtT can't

simply be categorized as doing this or that- they are involved with all different

types of projects and they feel that part of the art and value of what they do is

learning and being "comfortable with being uncomfortable".

a Positive Approach to Totality also means that aPAtT have an interest in

imitating, juxtaposing and questioning common forms of musical

entrepreneurship and popular music. Much of their work involves taking a

mode of musical entrepreneurship or a form of popular music and re-enacting

the images they perceive to be associated with it, in terms of their own

experience. They claim this mode of practice is far from 'experimental'- they

reproduce commonplace things at times and always undertake sensible

management to bring things into being (and that term 'experimental' seems to really only express the dominance of positivistic epistemology even in fields of non-scientific production). As aPAtT then re-present, juxtapose and imitate common forms of popular music and musical entrepreneurship, they implicitly reference a tradition in independent musical production that endures from the likes of CRASS, This Heat and Pere Ubu from the 70s and 80s and the likes of Bill Drummond and the K-Foundation from the 90s. Operating in relation to others like this, aPAtT's work involves different forms of everyday knowledge and image-work: expressed as an attentiveness to their own and to other's experience of being-in-business, as novel forms of entrepreneurship and management based in everyday experience.

The Ruse Track

An example of this questioning mode of operation in which aPAtT re-present and imitate common forms is the development of a musical single that aPAtT call the 'ruse track'. It is a re-presentation of some common forms of popular music in Britain and an imitation of some common strategies of musical entrepreneurship people associate with the specific form of popular

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music. aPAtT have developed a collection of tracks that purposively imitate and play with common images of popular music and musical entrepreneurship. The muse of this particular act of re-presentation is popular British indie band, Snow Patrol, whose emerging popularity was legitimized in the media in respect to a common narrative of independent production then being associated with the increasing numbers of musical entrepreneurs utilising web-based information communication mediums. The single aPAtT have produced and the video being made express how aPAtT perceive and feel about that particular kind of music. aPAtT imitate the image they perceive in order to open lines of questioning as to why they and others do what they do.

As a re-presentation of a common form of popular music, the ruse track imitates the usual structure and sound that people expect in order to pass as a legitimate musical product. Chord harmonies aPAtT associate with that music are imitated. The actual sound of the track is crisp and well-produced-the feel of 'over-production' by a mainstream record label. The normal 3 and a half minute duration is there, a beginning, a chorus line and an end, and the

usual make-up of instruments too. Everything that they think the particular image (or 'ideal type') of popular music contains and which they think the market expects. Reproducing all they think matters camouflages the ruse for the surroundings aPAtT perceive. That also means it is not actually the members of aPAtT who play the public role of the band. For the image to really work, aPAtT want a lead singer with high cheekbones for public appearances. He might wear bracelets, will probably have messy hair and will definitely be good looking.

The song is also about the lead singer. The lyrics spout the commonplace story of the young aspiring musician who is still in music college and struggling with everyday life. He produces the track for a college music tech. project and, somehow, manages to get it picked up by BBC Radio One and get the single is released. The rub really comes with the image of the music video that will accompany the release of the single. aPAtT imagine re-creating this hyperbolic image of the lead singer atop a snow-peaked mountain, helicopter circling above and filming as he proclaims his passion and desire for making music for the world.

To re-present the strategy of releasing singles, aPAtT have to operate tactically. This means they have to negotiate other strategies in terms of the resources, services and experience they have developed over time. So, to record the single, aPAtT used all their own equipment- instruments and studio equipment they have developed over the years. Today, Steve has a desk full of new and expensive post-production facilities at his disposal that he uses readily. It was also recorded at a venue they already had access to so there was no need to hire a recording studio. And the video is being made by a friend who they have worked with in the past and who they like working with, which saves money and means they can trust him. Between the tactics, aPAtT negotiate issues of restricted resources and services in light of the strategy they are re-presenting.

The release of the single also includes some imaginative tactics. Although Steve and Ben think they can thread the singles release on the end of a pop genealogy of big business bands, they have to imagine how they could lever the resources, services and experience they already have. That's if the track

is likely to get played on BBC Radio One, which is Britain's largest radio station, and if they are to bypass the bar room deals expected to be made between pluggers. Getting played on Radio One is a must: it is a mode of operating aPAtT and the market is likely to associate with the image of popular music being re-presented. To then get round the concentration of influence around well-established institutions and record labels, aPAtT turn to friends they already know. Somebody Jon knows well now works at BBC Radio One and they expect he might be a "back door" into the institution. They suspect he might feel guilty for working at BBC Radio One and so might help them. So they contact him. But they restrict the information he has access to in order to avoid any chance of him being a "shitbag" about it.

The lyrics also play a part in helping the track to pass as a legitimate musical product. The whole image they are re-presenting is based around the story (or legend) of the aspirational musician, trapped in an ordinary life. The lyrics go that the teenage lead signer wants to escape college and become the popular musician that he feels he is. This is his first attempted release. The story helps because it reduces the background imagery people need to see

and hear and that means that aPAtT can more easily operate as the puppeteers jigging the false band.

aPAtT make sure the other modes of musical entrepreneurship associated with the particular form of popular music are imitated too. "There will be all the usual shit" that people expect, Steve says. At the moment, Myspace, Facebook and other web-based mediums that create a background story and imitate the normative image are being put in place. Doing so helps the image pass as a legitimate musical product and opens more possibilities.

The Post Music Record Label

Another project aPAtT have been working on is the development of their own record label, Post Music. This entity is organised amongst friends with similar interests and capabilities. A strategy itself, the label also, tactically, performs some of the strategies most record labels operate by: recording different musical products, organising pressing and distribution contracts, the release of musical products and development of other merchandise, the development of web-based manifestations of the label, the

organisation of live performances and so on. Post Music performs and re-presents most of the strategies larger traditional labels do in an aPAtT way- in terms of their small size, reduced resources and services, the gesture they want to make, and the fact that they are based in a particular locality and have developed modes of operation.

The development of the Post Music record label is a similar story of image-re-presentation and image-management to the ruse track. It too follows a general strategy-to-tactic itinerary. It is common knowledge throughout music making communities that record labels release musical products and provide different services to musicians. The history of music making is also based around a concentration of influence around record labels in terms of what kinds of music get released and what bands get supported. Being-in-business, aPAtT are well aware of this historical background to being in the music business.

To establish their own label means aPAtT have "more room". They have to rely less on established organisations, even those they have previously

worked successfully with, and, instead, learn themselves. Doing things like

that is part of the value of the whole aPAtT project- they take the totality on in

a positive way. The label was established between them and a close friend,

Jake, who they have known for a long time. They can share resources and

services. Post Music releases aPAtT's products and the products of bands

and musicians that they already know and like working with. All musical

products associated with the label originate from the Liverpool environs and

there is a strong community spirit. It operates like a kind of home, network or

community centre for them and friends they like to work with.

Like the ruse track, Post Music also re-presented other modes of practice

associated with record labels. They host a website, postmusicclub.co.uk,

which connects all the various fronts associated with all the bands. It enables

communication both between those involved and audiences (on matters

associated and not necessarily associated with Post Music) in an online

forum. Musical products are available for priced and free downloads regularly

too, and live performances are announced to audiences and uploaded for

people to watch. The site also offers support to other musicians and technical

information advice and there are even invitations to come and work for aPAtT

on an intern basis or to volunteer in 'street teams'. Like the background

imagery for the Ruse Track- all the usual stuff people expect and that is

proven to work is there and aPAtT play with as much as they can.

The way that aPAtT firstly re-present the, historical, image of the strategy to

develop a record label expresses a set of tactics- i.e. how they use it, what

they use it for, the gesture they make with it and how they develop novel

images into being. They re-present the strategy they perceive in terms of their

own experience of being-in-business over time and how they feel about that

type of musical entrepreneurship. More directly than that, though, the record

label is only possible on the back of a promo-video aPAtT are concurrently

producing. The promo-video contains those bands who work with the label

performing at a local derelict cinema that aPAtT had access to. It was filmed

quickly amongst friends in a lo-fi, low-budget style. The importance of the

promo-video is that it establishes the label as a productive entity. aPAtT will

send it down to Southern Record Distribution which is a large independent

record distributor in Britain. As a tactical combination, the promo-video

markets different musical products to distribution companies and, once the

video is officially released through Post Music, aPAtT will receive

remuneration. The promo-video is also part of a wider itinerary aPAtT have

put in place so that, between the projects that they are currently involved with,

they combine sources of finance and can develop the Post Music label.

Discussion

Both of those stories about aPAtT express a strategy-to-tactic plot

which helps make sense of these processes of image-re-presentation and

image-management that endure from Penrose. For Penrose,

entrepreneurship and management are based in experience. They are one

and the same: entrepreneurship is imagination-based and management is

knowledge and hands-based. The first story is explicitly an example of these

processes of image-re-presentation and image-management. The ruse track

literally imitates a common form of popular music and does try to re-present

the commonplace images of musical entrepreneurship. That's the aesthetic

value. And aPAtT did then make a series of decisions as to how they might

tactically undertake bringing that image into being, in a business sense. The

buying audience then might experience a kind of juxtaposing of images, as commonplace images they know already clash against the faces of aPAtT. An image might coalesce in audience member's minds of some top musician, played out in terms of aPAtT's own experience and the gesture they want to make. It might question them- perhaps asking who and what this band is and why they are playing about with images of top musicians already commonly known. One of the questions might be something like "Why are they doing this at all? Is it not common practice in pop music to have one person write the songs and another person or group of people perform the songs and play the public role of the artist?"

In a different, perhaps less questioning way, the development of the Post Music record label re-produces some of the common ways of operating that aPAtT and their friends perceive. They operate those tactically in accordance to the resources and services they have and how they like to work. The commonplace strategies lead to an overflow of image re-presenting tactics: aPAtT were attentive to that history shared amongst people, their own personal temporal experience, and to current environmental conditions as

they perceived them. And then the label is also part of a tactical combination, an 'itinerary' (Certeau 1984), that manages the re-presented image into being. Far from experimental, the way aPAtT bring the re-presented images into being is not random nor fatalistic, but appears to be 'purposive' (Holt and Chia 2009): to intervene into the drabness they perceive in the images they question, juxtapose,   and re-present (or misrepresent). The ruse track engages with historical and shared images and does so because aPAtT have some kind of problem with Snow Patrol and they think the audience might appreciate that too. It lifts away some of the mysticism wafting around industrial and market-based procedures in musical entrepreneurship-specifically, that there are practices which betray some of the ideas audiences might hold regarding how music should be produced, practices which overstep some wider ethics of musical production. In much the same way, how and with whom aPAtT develop the record label gestures to us: it expresses some kind of desire, some possibility and some potential distaste or dissatisfaction for other images of musical entrepreneurship. The mechanics of how the ruse track and the record label both then emerged as productive opportunities and were made to work in a novel business context-

in the swing between the common form and the experience-based re-presentation - then expresses how Penrose described image-work and her suggested epistemological position.

aPAtT only have that knowledge and are able to bring things into being successfully through being-in-business over time and experiencing the things that other people do. Management, here, is that pedagogical attentiveness to temporal-relational experience: an attentiveness toward a shared history and stock of commonplace phenomena, which then allowed aPAtT to imagine how things could be different- how they can initiate a series of questions as to why they do what they do, and how they might make things operate in a novel business context. Expressive of a pedagogical attentiveness to temporal-relational experience in a double sense, aPAtT then imagine bringing the two strategies into being, tactically, in terms of their own experience of being-in-business over time. Personal memories and personal stocks of resources and services in the locality are brought to bear on the common, historical images- the two strategies. Because aPAtT already know people and know how to do things, as beings attentive to their duration, their own experience of time, they

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can envision the ruse track and the label as images and manage them into being. So even though they operate in a world of strategies and even though they have reduced resources, aPAtT are able to develop the imagined label and re-present the strategy through a clever combination and play on history. They dive into their shared experience with us: what Bergson (2002) would call being 'intuitive'- as if aPAtT are attentive to their shared experience with us and the possibility of reaching back and developing something novel, at the same time familiar and strange, and fabricate a way to disrupt or develop tradition in some novel way. Without having that historical background of being-in-business aPAtT would neither be able to re-present the commonplace images, and nor would they be able to manage them into being, in terms of their own temporal-relational experience. They depend on that embedded experience in order to imagine and to operate. Because they do, the re-presentation is more potent, valid and meaningful as a (wealth generating) gesture that questions modes of musical entrepreneurship.

In-dependence or ~~In~~dependence

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Interpreting these experience-based processes questions the notion of independence and the assumed tension thought to exist in musical entrepreneurs' lives between commercial interest and musical creativity. The history of musical entrepreneurship involves this tradition (e.g. Stratton 1982; Strachan 2001; Holbrook 2005) which assumes the lives of musical entrepreneurs to be torn between commercial interest and musical creativity. The tradition either assumes musical entrepreneurs to be adverse to working with larger established organisations or assumes them to be unwilling to make economic decisions at all. Punk music metaphors an extreme expression of this assumed tension in people's lives and their unwillingness to accept the role of large organisations or commercial activities generally. The assumption is predicated on the notion that people have no interest in the commerce of others, no background commercial knowledge or that they feel uncomfortable having to make money through music. There exists, however, a tradition of bands and musicians who establish commercially operating entities and who purposefully question and take on modes of musical entrepreneurship. The notion of independence in music business is also associated with this assumed tension in experience. Although David

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Hesmondalgh (1999) suggests the UK Independent distribution movement

which arose after Punk music was a response to the perceived difference of

interests between smaller groups and organisations and larger, better

established entities often termed 'the majors'- that Independence for them

meant a will to make money, the emergence of this 'independent' movement

in relation to larger established organisations, and the other forms of cultural

and commercial knowledge and modes of action that translate imagination

into a business context are little fondled. As Stratton (1982) noted early on,

the movement arose and was perceived to be culturally valuable only through

people being attentive and interested (pedagogically) in the commercial

activities performed historically by close industrial relations. That means

sometimes making the kind of contracts that Richard Caves (2000) talks

about- between friends and within groups in order to brings things into being.

In aPAtT's experience described here, that was just friendships and ongoing

work with like minded people in the local area and wider, not really anything

that formal as to be correctly termed a contract or a business partnerships.

It's just friends and a curiosity, and goes back to that idea of a Positive

Approach to Totality.

In both image-texts here, aPAtT have those lines of dependence- aPAtT's entrepreneurial imagination depends on the 'constrained flexibility' (Foss 1998) that exists in their experience of being musical entrepreneurs in the city of Liverpool. Autonomous or independent creation of productive opportunities, as Penrose suggested, are confused misnomers for them: it is not that aPAtT's work falls in contrast to the perceived mass of musical entrepreneurs with presumably more commercial interest. Rather, like the emergence of the independent movement, aPAtT too manage different forms of knowledge, cultural and economic, developing from being-in-business, temporally and relationally, as they imagine and bring questioning and productive modes of musical entrepreneurship into being. Their management is an attentiveness to commonplace images of popular music and modes of operating, a will to consider their own unique experience in relation to current environmental conditions, and a will to bring novel images into being. They might not be commercially minded, but aPAtT do express a curiosity for the commerce of others and the will to bring things into being. aPAtT depend on and express the significance of temporal experience for knowing and imagining images-

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that is what the aesthetic value of the ruse track is all about: they purposefully engage us with arresting images and make a point of their attentiveness to temporal and relational characteristics of experience through their 'archiving' project. Images arrest audiences because value is social, as Penrose (1959) described it to be. These forms of image-work would be impossible and invisible if entrepreneurship and management were not experience-based, expressive of a kind of pedagogical attentiveness to those characteristics of experience. Without being understood to develop through epistemology the paper suggests characterises Penrose's conceptualization of the production of productive opportunities, modes of practising like that expressed by aPAtT and larger musical movements such as the Independent scene of the 1980s might, paradoxically, appear to to emerge without being 'learnt' (i.e. imagined) in direct relation to the historical make up of relations in music business. Epistemology evoked from this paper challenges polemic views which either suggest entrepreneurship to occur in isolation or occur due to equilibrium inducing forces in the market. 'a Positive Approach to Totality' is a good metaphor for this epistemological position and the impact that has on the traditional representation of musical entrepreneurship because it expresses

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the band's feelings and attitude to experience (local and more general industrial and market-based relations) and the way in which a movement endures in experience between people like musical entrepreneurs and the local (or more 'total') social context. 'a Positive Approach to Totality' also works as a pretty neat metaphor for thinking about images-of-being-in-business: again, it suggests a kind of movement between the 'members' and wider society and the idea that totality- whatever it might be in the industrial or market-based milieu – might be engaged with by aPAtT and part of their experience.

Conclusion

The pedagogical attentiveness implicated in Penrose's suggested ontological position on the creation of wealth strategies and opportunities as 'image-work'- specifically the attention image-work necessitates in regard to temporal-relational characteristics of experience - expresses entrepreneurship and management as modes of the same experience-based process, or different intensities of the same phenomena. Images, as they

operate here, appear part then/part now, part them/part us, part commonality/part unique experience, part uncertain/part practical, part creative/part commercial, part entrepreneurship/part management. Interpreted to be expressed through this kind of image-work that depends on temporal-relational embeddedness, aPAtT's pedagogical attentiveness appears to reconcile such abstractive notions. These different poles and dualities dissolve away in experience as people become attentive to their personal experience, imagine, and act. This paper now finishes by asking others take accept Penrose's invitation to research entrepreneurship and management as experience-based. The image-work in this paper expresses a different kind of entrepreneurial experience, away from the neatness or clunkiness of the usual resource-to-productive opportunities-seized narrative embodied in institutional norms and it stands somewhere between isolated actors and social authorship or equilibrium inducing forces. It uses made up terms and expresses a processual interpretation of entrepreneurship in which 'history matters' because it enables imagination, not because it determines and enables prediction as some might have wanted, and the normative entrepreneurial narrative mode is only part of that image-work.

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Phenomenological made up terms like images of being-in-business, and image-work, interpreted as processual ontology and based around a different kind of productivist interest like this, imagine new modes of learning, 'vision' or experience oriented research- an encounter and memory for more images of what the 'subject' is...

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PAPER[1]:

'Gendered Sight: there are none so blind as those who will not see'

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Conference Theme: Motivation

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'Gendered Sight: there are none so blind as those who will not see'

> With the new glasses the world was bigger and for the first time, space really had three dimensions where things could extend unhindered...But the world was a strain like that...when they became too much for him...he retreated behind the old lenses that kept everything at a distance...But he could not forget the new view either...he grasped the glasses and adjusted them. He was beginning to like them".
> Pascal Mercier (2008, p. 89): Night Train to Lisbon.

Contemporary organizations (replete with their gendered structures) are still being created, supported and developed in such ways as to determine what (or who) can be seen or not seen. In this paper I present my view, as both researcher and practitioner of a highly visible feminist intervention in a scientific research organisation that enabled male leaders to see for the first time the gendered practices of their densely masculinist workplace. I describe how these leaders learned to look differently, beyond prevailing stereotypes and adjust their collective view by reframing long-held beliefs about the absence of women from the senior levels of their organisation. The feminist participatory action research methodology outlined in this paper was in the first instance designed for a PhD project[2]. Completed over a three-year timeframe, the collaborative project between my university and a policing organisation engaged men and women looking together through a gender lens to conduct a forensic examination of the gendered culture of their workplace. Having successfully completed the research project, I adapted the methodology and applied it to the scientific research organisation. Different location – similarly masculinist workplace.

As Acker (1990:142) asserts, "organizations are imbued with a masculine view of the world, a view that obscures any other": Further, she tells us that "as a relational phenomenon, gender is difficult to see when only the masculine is present". Clare Burton (1991:10) similarly raises the issue of seeing and visibility by questioning why women are *seen* as the problem, rather than their workplace:

> Whenever I am told that women are not putting themselves forward for promotion, and this is usually said as if this fact demonstrates their lack of willingness to take on extra

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[2] See Harwood (2006)

responsibilities, or career commitments, or that it is something to do with womanhood, I ask, what are the conditions prevailing in the organisation to make this so?

Calling for a different approach to understanding those prevailing conditions, Burton (1991: 23) suggests that a *clearer view* is needed of how gender works within organisations as a "central structuring principle". Such an understanding is critical, Burton argues, if we are to gain a greater insight into the gendered nature of how tasks and roles are allocated.

Almost two decades after Burton the prevailing view (with only a few notable exceptions) is still one of a *masculinist* leadership model. This lack of change to the status quo was demonstrated in a 2010 conference presentation by David Knights whose research supports the view that there is "institutionalised masculinity". Further, Knights and Tullberg (2010) suggest that "to be a senior manager involves conquest, competition and control" and that women in organisations are often viewed as failing these "3c's" and are therefore not seen as worthy of a place at the leadership table. All-male interview panels often fail to see the other [noteworthy] achievements of women applicants[3]. At the same conference Buckley, Linehan and Koslowski (2010)[4] suggest that "there is still a strong discourse around the concept of merit"; that "there is a framing of unequal outcomes as 'choice' rather than systemic discrimination"; and that these "unequal outcomes" are seen as "a feminine lack in relation to male norms".

In this paper I present a case study on a scientific research organisation where an "excess of men"[5] is the norm and where women are largely rendered invisible as they conduct their work out of sight, out of mind – or, whose exit from their organisation is barely noticed. I describe how the application of a "gender lens" to the gendered practices within this *densely masculinist*[6] workplace provides a clearer view, exposing

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[3] David Knights and Tullberg (2010): "Managing masculinity, mismanaging the corporation". Unpublished paper delivered at EGOS Conference, Lisbon, Portugal July 2010.

[4] Joan Buckley, Carol Linehan and Nora Koslowski (2010) "The Lady Still Vanishes". Unpublished paper delivered at EGOS Conference, Lisbon Portugal July 2010.

[5] Amanda Sinclair (2005) coined this term and used it in her presentation to a *Women Leading Change* trainers' course, Airlie Leadership Development Centre, Victoria Police, Melbourne, February 2005.

[6] Researcher Sue Lewis coined this term to describe those workplaces –such as policing, defence, fire and emergency services - where the gender ratio is so skewed towards men as to create a densely masculine demographic profile.

the differential impact of certain policies and processes on the profile, progress and place of women workers. Further, I show how such a feminist project methodology can provide men with a rare opportunity to engage in a dialogue about the gendered practices of their workplace.

In analyzing some of the project outcomes I focus on the ways in which the men and women who engaged in this dialogue began to develop a better understanding about the practices and processes that undermined the role and place of women in their authoritarian, densely masculinist workplace. To this end, I use some of the data gathered to highlight where and how we included some bold and highly *visible* 'critical acts' (Dahlerup, 1988) to bring these issues into sharper focus.

Through my formal facilitation role in this project I could also position myself as feminist ethnographer: I was able to see and map, watch and document. This positioning enabled me to see how the data gathering process engendered some resistance plays. As a consultant contracted to undertake this work I was able to share new ways of seeing as I described what lay beneath the metaphorical practices of this workplace.

The Research Site

I was contacted within the context of my consultancy work as a gender equity strategist by a colleague who also knew about my research work. She expressed grave concerns for her workplace, which was one of several Divisions within a publicly funded government scientific research organisation. In this organisation (hereafter referred to as the Division) women were all but absent from the executive team and the numbers of women research scientists who had achieved the status of 'senior scientist' had suffered a significant decline. My colleague was aware that the Division needed to do something different than what had been attempted previously – that is, there was a need to drill down into the organisation to examine those practices that appeared to advantage men and disadvantage women. There was an all-male senior executive team and at the next level down, just two "senior" women. There were multiple sites across the nation, resulting in considerable travel for executives to attend their regular meetings.

An internal audit conducted by a reference group six years previously had recommended some changes to existing practices to attract and retain more women. There was no measurable evidence that any positive changes resulted from this intervention. Further, while there was a belief that "a number" of senior women research scientists had left this Division in the intervening period, there was no data on the actual number of senior women scientists who had left over the previous six years.

The methodological framework

As indicated earlier, I based my methodological framework on one I had developed and successfully implemented for my doctoral research project within a policing organisation. For the policing project my methodological framework comprised a complex interplay between four qualitative models: participatory action research, Quality Management, a gender lens interventionist approach and feminist ethnography. That combination of feminist goals and action research techniques drew men and women into insider teams for the purpose of conducting a thorough, forensic examination of the gendered organization of their policing organisation. The goal was to develop recommendations for change, linked to a framework for successful implementation.

What I knew from my research project in policing was that working collaboratively with people inside organisations, facilitating dialogue about their experiences of their gendered workplaces, and enabling these insiders to define the problem and work on solutions is far more promising than conducting another review as an outsider. As part of the research methodology I engaged these insider teams in policing in a number of critical acts. The feminist intent of my research approach was to test and reframe current perceptions about the contributing causes of sexual harassment, discrimination and women's absence from positions of power. In Amanda Sinclair's (1998: 19) terms this means enabling both men and women to see from a different viewpoint, moving from the familiar position of seeing women as "the problem", and needing to change, to one where the problem is seen as belonging to the organisation (the organisation needs to change). Some of the middle to senior ranking men at the policing organisation were more than willing to participate in a research methodology that enabled them to redefine the ways in which they engage with women and men in their workplace and embraced

the gender lens approach as a means of gaining a new perspective. This approach had been finely honed by researchers affiliated with the Center for Gender in Organisations.

The CGO researchers developed their "gender lens" approach based on the notion of the "gendered organisation" formulated by Joan Acker (1990). Kolb and Meyerson, (1999: 129) suggest that this approach offers a tool for fleshing out "masculine definitions" and the "gendering" of job descriptions that work against women (Kolb and Meyerson, 1999: 141). People within the organisation have the opportunity to develop collaborative groupings to closely examine their own organisational processes and work out how they are gendered.

While I was aware that the project at the scientific research organisation would be of much shorter duration (six weeks) than the PhD project at policing (three years) I was nonetheless confident that I could adapt and modify the methodological framework and the tools to this new site.

Adapting the methodology to the scientific research organisation

After some delays, a framework was developed and agreed, a contract settled and I was invited to meet with the chief executive in his national office to discuss his concerns about the absence of women and to begin what I had named as a "gender equity audit". I briefed the CEO on the "gender lens" approach, explaining to him that I already knew from my previous research experience in a highly masculinist workplace that it was imperative to engage men – particularly senior men – in this investigative process if we were to have any prospect of ownership of outcomes and any change in the current status quo. The CEO stated that he was very keen to adopt a new approach as there needed to be measurable outcomes from this intervention. He readily agreed to my suggested framework. I would conduct separate interviews with each member of senior executive, and engage men and women across the organisation in focus groups; I would also undertake separate, structured interviews with a large representative sample of men and women research scientists [and others]. Later, when increasing numbers of people expressed interest in being interviewed, the CEO agreed to my developing an on-line survey for use across the multiple work sites.

Prior to commencing the surveys and interview process, I examined existing documentation, including the report on the previous internal audit, and a more recent series of discussion points that were raised through the CEO's blog. From this data I developed two questionnaires – one for men, one for women – to use as prompts during the interview and focus group data gathering process. Site visits were undertaken in three capital city locations, where I collected qualitative data through a series of interviews, focus groups, and phone discussions. One-on-one interviews were conducted with approximately 23 people, each interview comprising 1-1.5 hours' duration. The majority of men interviewed were at executive and senior management levels, and this group also included the Chief Executive and his Deputy.

Six focus groups were conducted: two in each of three state capitals comprising a total of approximately 40 people. Telephone interviews were conducted with both former and current staff, including staff at two regional locations. To encourage greater participation from these locations in particular, the customized on-line version of the survey was sent out to those people who had missed out on the opportunity to participate in focus groups and interviews. Forty-eight women responded to the on-line survey; overall, the results of the survey supported the findings of the interview process. Interviews were also conducted with women who had left the organisation over the previous three years; these included women who at the time of interview held senior management positions elsewhere, some senior women within the wider organisation but outside this Division, as well as women who had been at a relatively senior level prior to leaving the Division.

I encountered some initial reticence amongst women to engage in the focus groups and separate interviews. I was told by other women who did participate that some of their female colleagues were anxious about exposing the true state of their working lives; that it would be too confronting for some, who would rather believe that "one day" their turn [for promotion and recognition] "would come". Some of the more confident women who attended the initial focus groups were in effect an advance party, checking on the credibility of the researcher, the process, the proposed outcomes and the veracity of the CEO's support for this intervention. Once assured that my report would be presented, by me, to the senior executive, these front-runners enlisted other women to attend further focus groups and/or to participate in the on-line survey. It became evident that women needed to feel "safe" before they could expose what they considered to be

discriminatory practices. Some expressed great fears about confidentiality, saying that if their comments were attributed to them that their careers could suffer a detriment. Those men who spoke up in mixed focus groups, and those interviewed separately did not express these same fears to the researcher.

Having completed the data gathering and collated and analysed the results I turned my attention to planning a very strategic approach to the presentation of what I knew to be contentious and challenging findings.

A critical act: the presentation

As I had done at the conclusion of my policing project, I deliberately subverted the normative practice of presenting a report on my findings *prior* to the delivery of my presentation. I met only with the CEO before the official presentation, to brief him on the key findings and to present him with a copy of the report. Then, at the appointed hour I was invited into a large, executive conference room, where the Executive team members sat around a "u"-shaped conference table, each person busily working away on their respective laptops. I was able to arrest their attention immediately when I told those present [some 23 men and two 'stand-in' women] that they could not have a copy of the report until the end of the presentation – and, I would first of all be subjecting everyone to a short "test" (including the CEO).

I distributed individual forms and asked each person to complete the test without consulting anyone else. I told them that there was only one correct answer to each question. They needed to read each of 20 statements on the sheet, one-by-one, then make a decision for each statement as to whether it was more likely to have been made by a woman or a man.

The "test" was unexpected, aroused some derisive comments and proved to be something of a challenge for some. As this group was completing the questionnaire, I walked around the room and checked some of the responses. I looked at the responses completed by their CEO and stated in a loud voice – "no, this one is not correct" and did the same with several others in the room. The two women in the room smiled at me, knowingly. They had got it. I then asked participants to turn to the person on their right

and share their responses with them. This instruction produced a flurry of exchanges between everyone in the room, as some participants' answers were clearly at odds with those of their partners in this activity. After allowing sufficient time for discussion I asked if anyone would like to volunteer their answers. One man, considerably younger than his colleagues (and by all accounts highly regarded for his intellect) responded by saying that he had worked out that there was a "trick" in this test – and that "probably" the statements had all been made by one gender. He asserted that it was most likely that women had made these statements, not a mix of men and women.

He was half right. All of the statements had been made by one gender – in response to a question put to them about what it is like to work in an organisation where there is an "excess of men". I had collated these responses from my individual interviews with members of the all-male Executive Team – and now I was giving them back their collective responses. And it was immediately evident that most had no idea that other men felt the same way as they did about working in this highly masculinist workplace.

Many of those present in the room expressed surprise to hear that these responses were all from men; and indeed, some found it somewhat of a challenge to conceive that their male colleagues would make statements that on the surface appeared to have been made by women. How could this be? Why would men be saying things about the lack of women that sounded like the kind of statements that women would make?

Having successfully arrested the attention of this group from the outset, I could now deliver the findings from the gender equity audit. I began my presentation by praising the Division for taking the lead in this difficult arena – for having the courage to closely examine the gendered practices of this workplace and for being prepared to listen to the feedback from employees at all levels of the organisation.

> Through this Audit, the Division has provided a clear signal to women in the organisation that senior managers recognise their concerns…the wide range of people who have contributed to the Audit data-gathering process have named and discussed possible changes needed to redress those organisational policies, practices and behaviours that have a differential impact on women and men in this Division.

The Findings

In the article *Men, Women, Ghosts and Science*, Peter Lawrence (2006) refers to the not uncommon practice of women's contribution to their team's output not being acknowledged. Lawrence uses the phrase "*annexation of credit from others*" (2006:0014) to refer to the more overt and discriminatory practice of removing women's ownership from their research. According to my interviewees, this practice occurs to (lower ranking) men as well as women, and was apparently occurring within this Division of their organisation at this time. However, one of the key findings from my analysis of the data was the historical impact of this practice on women's careers over a sustained period of time.

The covert practice uncovered through the audit – of women's work being claimed by others (including their male supervisors) - reduced the capacity of women in this Division to be appropriately acknowledged and rewarded for their efforts. Because this was reported by a number of women, from various locations and at various stages of their careers, I was able to appropriately describe this unofficial but apparently entrenched practice as being an example of *systemic discrimination*. Several women reported that supervisors or others have "passed off" their work as their own; a significant number of other interviewees reported that after completing the majority of the work it is not unusual for them to discover that their names have been relegated to third or fourth author status. In one example provided at interview, a woman who had completed 80% of the work discovered upon publication of the final report on her project that she had been relegated to third author status.

Some women reported that such "passing off" has happened consistently to them over a significant period of time; given the cultural emphasis on the numbers of papers published as a measure of performance, this practice had serious repercussions for those women whose performance is seen as lacking when compared with men they are competing with for promotion, and/or when going for tenure.

In relation to the more senior levels of women, some of the data provided to me by human resources officers indicated that a total of eight (8) women research scientists had left the Division over the previous six years. These figures on the attrition of mid to

senior level women research scientists should not be analysed in the context of an overall attrition rate for the Division, but rather, comparative to and within the context of the small numbers of women research scientists. Importantly, prior to my seeking out this information it had not been known in the organisation exactly how many of the senior women had departed.

The detrimental impact of workplace bullying was outlined in a significant number of survey and interview responses by both women as well as some of the men. The range of responses on this topic suggested that in some locations, workplace bullying had become an "acceptable" means for managing people's performance. Some examples provided were as follows:

"[There is] bullying, intimidation in public forums";
"[The senior executive group has] a pack mentality – [they] tear strips off people";
"[They act like] gladiators in the ring";
"Cyber-bullying: "shouting" by email";
"[They engage in] Combative behaviours – women will not engage";
"Body language used is the language of bullying".

The impact of informal mentoring and sponsorship was also highlighted by respondents; examples were provided of how mainly men, and very few women, get "tapped on the shoulder" for leadership roles [such as leading a project] at post-doctoral level. There appeared to be a lack of transparency about this process, with examples provided of how some men appear to be nurtured into these roles, and strategically positioned for them. One woman commented that "the "done deal" is done a lot. She suggested that the key projects "are mainly about who is already working on them…people are tapped on the shoulder…there is very active promotion of men in the team".

Women described the lack of equality in access to the meetings that matter, citing these meetings as being the forums where aspirational junior staff could make an impression on the senior decision-makers. While women interviewees stated that they aspired to leadership roles, they felt that they were unable to compete on the same basis as men if they did not have the same access to those forums where topical and strategic issues are discussed. As one woman suggested, this lack of engagement meant that people lower down, and particularly women, do not get exposed to the "tricks in the trade".

Women reported that even when women are physically present at decision-making meetings they feel excluded: by the dominating meeting behaviours of their male colleagues, by the language and code in use and by not being allowed to put their point of view across. One woman stated in this regard that she didn't ever "get the culture" in the room: "I'm the odd one out anyway…the temperature in the room is often cold…it is a foreign territory". Reflecting on her experiences in mixed meetings another woman stated that she hardly ever got to finish a sentence in meeting. This woman spoke about the off-putting and embarrassing behaviours of her male colleagues in meetings: "I have seen really poor behaviours among men in meetings… attacking each other, undermining each other in front of the whole room. It's really embarrassing".

Another woman interviewee outlined how the masculinist culture prevails outside of the organisation when she has had to accompany male colleagues to social events with [male] clients:

> "We have dinners with clients but I feel uncomfortable the whole time. I am usually the only woman. The men drink and talk about footy. It is how people rate you – they ignore you the next time they want to engage with a client. I need to make more noise…I do a lot of the research but the client would not know that".

Overall my analysis of the data from the interviews demonstrated that women in this organisation were expected to conform and comply. That it is women who are expected to change, to accommodate to the prevailing masculinist culture. As Sinclair (1998) suggests, the lack of women within executive levels of organisations leads to misconceptions about and constraints on how women conduct themselves. Those who do engage in more masculinist behaviours find that they still do not "fit", and are more often described by both men and women as "aggressive" if they breach accepted practices of femininity. One woman commented thus: "women engage in accommodating behaviours but are still not members of the [boys'] club." Another referred to the importance (and the difficulties for women) of being visible in this organisation: "The criteria are fairly limited. Opportunities are guided by visibility – how visibility is measured – rather than seeking out the qualities of people. Women don't like to self-promote or push themselves forward". This woman interviewee speaks of the

frustration of apparently being the wrong gender when she had something to contribute that she considered to be of value:

> "I have recently offered advice that went unheard. This proved in hindsight to be excellent advice. I believe that if I was a male this advice would have been more fully considered at the time"

From their own accounts women in the scientific research organisation were used to engaging in resistance plays to avoid the behaviours of their male colleagues. Some of this was passive resistance, while for others it meant resisting the temptation to become one of the men. The latter women indicated that they resisted the temptation to apply for promotion on the grounds that they did not want to become one of a group of immature people who engage in "chest-beating" and mutual "back-slapping" behaviours. These were just a few acts of resistance reported; time did not allow for the kind of deep analysis of resistance plays that Wodak refers to:

> Foucault (1980), Hooks (1990) and others have suggested that to truly do liberating research we should study acts of resistance rather than acts of power. Feminists have long understood this concept (Wodak, 1997: 49).

Both men and women commented on the apparent focus on age in the Division. Women who are either younger, or older, have two counts against them: age and gender. As one interviewee asserts, older men can see younger women as being both a threat and not up to the job:

> "Some men, especially the older ones, do not see women as equal partners in science. They are considered as less able to do the job. It seems that men think it is a bad reflection on them if a woman is in a position of leadership"

The wide use of the term "boys' club" (by both men and women) in survey responses signals an awareness that age and gender are relative – the diminutive "boys" generally perceived in this organisation as a positive for men, while "girls" is a term used to denote women's lack of maturity. Women who responded to the on-line survey wrote lengthy, reflective responses to questions about whether they had applied for promotion, and if

not, what had stopped them. There were a range of interesting answers that generally challenged the prevailing perceptions that women were just not ambitious, did not have what it takes to be top scientists. Significantly, many of these women commented on their exclusion from, or indeed their avoidance of "the boy's club":

"The few times I have considered further study to try and climb the science ladder I quickly remind myself that I couldn't be bothered with blokey crap. The boys' clubs and the slaps on the back, and the ego competitions".

"I think there are women who don't want to go through the process of trying to get into the boys' club and figure it is easier to move out of the organisation… why would I want to stay if all I hear are the horror stories of women who have tried and have been pushed out?"

"Smart women go elsewhere. It would be hard to push through the boys' club atmosphere here".

Learning from the gender dialogue

The methodological framework and specifically the gender lens approach, created the space for an individualised gender dialogue that until this point at least had not ever been possible in this organisation. It was evident from their responses that some men in the senior executive group had observed their colleagues engaging in practices that were discriminatory. Further, individual men had been prepared to say a lot more in one-on-one meetings with the researcher about how they separately felt about the discriminatory practices for which they were collectively responsible. In their separate interviews many of the senior men used visual terms to describe what it was like to be a member of an all-male executive. The following responses appeared and on the "test" sheet and each are examples of statements provided by men when the researcher engaged them in a dialogue during the interviews, asking each person to describe what it was like to work amongst an "excess of men" in the executive group:

"We are blind men sitting around trying to discuss colour";

"There is a lack of perspective at executive level…when you look you can see that women are missing all the way down into the organisation";

"It's a poor environment for women";
"If women don't see other women ahead of them they are not represented";

"It's a very combative culture";

"Look at the behaviours that get rewarded: highly personally driven; selfish; self-promoting; [men] can sell themselves".

It was clear from these gender dialogues that the *mental models* in this organisation reflect what Kolb and Merrill-Sands (1999) found at their agricultural research site: "Masculine experience, masculine values and masculine life situations" that sustain "cultural assumptions about decision- making and reward systems". The difference here is that the men in this scientific research organisation felt safe enough within the context of a one-on-one interview to recognise their own mental models and to name them. Later, when I collated and produced this information in a format that showed the collective knowledge of this group, it was both powerful and empowering. Now we could move forward as one, without having to further debate the issue of whether or not there were discriminatory practices in this organisation. There had been collective ownership of the outcomes and there was a substantial set of comprehensive data from all of the interviews, focus groups and the on-line survey to underpin the recommended actions.

Impact of the methodology on the ownership of outcomes

In summary, there were a number of critical ways in which the methodological framework impacted on the capacity of the organisation to see with new eyes, to have sufficient clarity to accept the findings. The presentation was of itself a critical act: I had to ensure that the findings were simultaneously made visible to all senior managers. A further critical act was to have a strategy in place to ensure that the executive group would take responsibility and ownership for implementing the recommended actions. Prior to the presentation I had worked with several of the more senior women and some of the men to identify possible champions to take on the role of implementation. The names of these champions appeared on the overhead slides next to the list of

recommendations and senior managers had each been allocated to one key recommendation. This highly visible critical act helped to "lock in" those who would now sponsor (and then report progress on) the implementation process.

This senior executive group was comprised largely of research scientists; therefore, it was crucial that the report and the presentation "spoke" to their knowledge and framework. Accordingly, the report and the presentation on the outcomes from the gender equity audit included both quantitative as well as qualitative data. I was also careful to reframe the language of discrimination and sexist behaviour into "unlawful practices", using examples from the data to show where and how "gender blindness" led to scientific fraud. I ensured that the organisation understood the importance of shifting the blame from "the problem is women" (Sinclair 1998) to "the problem is the culture of the organisation". Then, I provided an implementation model with appropriate measures.

Conclusion

When I first began the gender equity audit there were many women (and some men) in this Division who were rightly cynical about any prospect of change from this intervention. I could only attempt to allay their fears by quoting the outcomes from my doctoral project, which had specifically engaged men with women to examine the gendered practices of their workplace. I had a wealth of data from that project demonstrating that this key objective had been realized; that men had a new understanding and commitment to changing the gendered practices of their masculinist culture. Edley and Wetherall (1996) suggest that while it may be unusual for men to join with women on a project of this kind, such collaboration should not be seen as necessarily problematic. Indeed, their research on masculinities suggests that assumptions should not be made in this regard:

> But while we must recognize that patriarchy naturalizes men's power and privilege (especially) in the eyes of men themselves, it is wrong to assume that they are incapable of changing the culture that defines them (Edley and Wetherall, 1996: 108).

The interviews I had conducted with the all-male senior management team at the policing organisation had already demonstrated to me that most welcomed the

opportunity to discuss gender issues. However, in the first instance many of this group indicated that they had neither the language nor the experiences to describe or understand the gendered practices of their workplace. Thomas and Davies (2002: 181) suggest there is a need to understand "the many and complex ways" in which individuals respond to the dominant discourse in the organisation. Further, while Hearn and Parkin (2001) examine gendered processes in organizations through the lens of violence and violations, they suggest

> Although men's dominance is profound, it is neither monolithic nor unresisted. It has to be continually re-established, and in the process it can be challenged, subverted and destabilized (Hearn and Parkin, 2001: 10).

There is still a lot more that could be said and done about changing the cultures of organisations to provide an equal space and place for both men and women. What I have learned from working with the highly masculinist organisations of policing and scientific research is that in order to bring about change, there must be a new way of seeing. To be able to see differently men and women must be prepared to engage in a gender dialogue that focuses on the prevailing practices in their organisation. Like Gregorius (Pascal Mercier's protagonist) in *Night Train to Lisbon* there must also be a preparedness to look through the new lens to see a different view. Once seen, the new view is hard to forget, even when the lens is adjusted back from time to time to a more comfortable vision.

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Reviewing March's Vision

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INTRODUCTION

This paper reviews a remarkable experiment in organisation. At the centre of the story is James G. (Jim) March, one of the most influential scholars in management and organisation studies over the last half century. He is best known for his work on organizational decision-making, though he has published in the fields of politics, economics, psychology, sociology, leadership and organization studies. From 1954 to 1964, March was a leading member of the Graduate School of Administration (GSIA) at the Carnegie Institute of Technology. GSIA was a truly exceptional group of scholars from various disciplines, led by the remarkable and prodigious Herbert Simon. In 1964, March was already an academic 'star' - even though we was just 36 years old - when he left his position as Professor of Industrial Administration and Psychology in the Department of Pscychology at GSIA to become Dean of the School of Social Sciences in the new Irvine campus of the University of California, which, at that time, had not yet enrolled any students.

This was a period of intense political debate about *inter alia*, radical societal change, the nature of the University, the organisation of academic work, the Vietnam War, and the direction of American society. In this fluid context, March articulated a clear vision for the new School. First, he wanted it to be *interdisciplinary*. Second, March incorporated a large amount of *mandatory mathematics* and statistics in the new undergraduate programmes, on the basis that mathematics provided perhaps the only common language that could span the disciplines. In particular, March advocated the mathematical *modelling* of social behaviourFourth, in line with the wider interest in *contrarianism* and *anarchy*, March's vision was that the division should be "conspicuously experimental and innovative".

This paper provides a detailed processual account of the organisational experiment from the inception of March's vision to its demise. It draws on interviews with many of the main players - including James March, Jean Lave, Duncan Luce, Arnie Binder, William Schonfeld, Mike Cole, William Sharpe, Charles Lave, Julian Feldman, Michael Cohen, Kim Romney and John Payne, correspondence with others, and a detailed analysis of secondary and archival material. The story is interesting for the following reasons. First, since March is such an influential figure in management and organization studies, it's worth inquiring into the immediate context out of which the ideas associated with him emerged. Second, this is a case of a keen and skilled student of organization getting involved in setting up, running, studying, playing with and leading an organization. This was an interesting and early case where the 'manager'/'leader' is a knowledgeable manager leader, as indeed, to a lesser extent, were those who are being led/managed. Many contemporary organizations are akin to this in that they are populated with people who have studied organizations. We could say it's an early and extreme case of this phenomenon. Third, it describes an unusual attempt to escape from and work with the powers of an institution. It is a case study of creativity, work, power and play.

This paper just tells the story, based on my research, and for now I will avoid imposing a theoretical frame on the story, though it is surely open to a number of theoretical interpretations.

SITUATING THE VISION

March's vision was of its time, and therefore we will begin the story by setting the context for the Irvine experiment ('Irvine' refers to School of Social Sciences rather than the broader university, which in some ways was also an experiment)

The Educational Context

Immediately before, during and after the Second World War a significant number of European scholars migrated to the United States shifting the balance of scholarly power and purpose. After the Manhattan project, it became clear in the United States that university research had played a vital role in the war effort and that universities were more than simply teaching institutions. The evidence was that 'scientific' research had delivered in spades during the war, creating, what March referred to as, "post-World War 2 enthusiasms in social and behavioural science". Those enthusiasms, "relative to other times [both earlier and later], were strongly interdisciplinary, were strongly quantitative, strongly 'scientific'" [Jim March]. Thus the Irvine approach merely "reflected …the dominant beliefs of a dominant group of social behavioural scientists at the time" [JM]. These beliefs were articulated by those social scientists who were members of the National Academy of Science, the Social Science Research Council, the Centre for Advanced Study into Behavioural Sciences (CASBS), founded in 1954 in Palo Alto, and the RAND Corporation. [1]

March was well-known within this "relatively small community'" [JM]; many of them had contributed to the *Handbook of Organizations* (March, 1965) which he edited and to the *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Lindzey, 1956) see March (2007b: 12-13) for development). Earlier institutes and centres also fostered inter-disciplinarity even if they did not share the post-war enthusiasm for mathematical analysis of social phenomena. Particularly influential were Yale's Institute of Human Relations, founded in 1929 around the idea of having physical and social scientists working closely together, and Harvard's Department of Social Relations, another innovative, inter-disciplinary collaboration between three social science departments, set up in 1946. Yale was important, not least because March obtained a PhD in political science from Yale in 1953 (for details on March's time in Yale, see Augier and March (Augier and Kreiner, 2000)). Mike Cole, an early recruit, also came from Yale and for him it "was a more or less faithful attempt in continuing [the] sort of inter-disciplinary social science research" pioneered in Yale. That institute, which was the first of its kind in the U.S., was founded by two of Yale's deans, Robert Hutchins of the Law School and Milton Winternitz of the medical school, who subsequently led the Institute. Winternitz was a strong, brilliant and eccentric scholar, and perhaps a role model for March himself (Spiro, 2001). To some of his colleagues he was brilliant, bold, and a 'steam engine in pants,' and to others he was an insufferable 'martinet,' a Napoleon, and an anti-Semite" (http://yalemedicine.yale.edu/ym_au01/capsule1.htm). The Institute was effectively defunct by the time Winternitz retired in 1950.

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[1] CASBS was one of a number of institutes modeled on the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS) founded in Princeton in 1930 as a postdoctoral research institute. The stated purpose of IAS was to foster the free pursuit of learning "to the utmost degree that the facilities of the institution and the ability and faculty of the students will permit". The idea - which was inspired by All Souls College at Oxford, the Collège de France in Paris, and Humbolt's concept of a research university - was that intellectual exchange across disciplinary boundaries, the *sine qua non* for excellent research, could be achieved if disciplinary experts were collocated in a small community. Other institutes that subsequently modeled themselves on IAS include the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (19xx), the National Humanities Centre (1979), the Institute for Advanced Study Berlin (1980), the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences (1985), the Collegium Budapest (1992), the International Institute for Advanced Studies in the Kansai Culture and Science City, and more recent entities such as the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study and MIT Media Labs. Common to all of these institutes, and to the School of Social Sciences in Irvine, was a commitment to creating a space for the free exchange of ideas, where scholarly serendipity, curiosity and contrariness would be respected and fostered.

Harvard's Department of Social Relations was another interdisciplinary collaboration, this time among three of Harvard's social science departments (anthropology, psychology, and sociology). Kim Romney, who moved to Irvine in 1966, had trained in Harvard's Department of Social Relations and saw clear parallels between the three experiments in inter-disciplinarity in Harvard, Yale and Irvine. March saw Harvard as a 'different kind of thing', probably because it lacked a commitment to mathematical analysis. Set up in 1946 by Talcott Parsons, it disaggregated into its component departments in 1972. In Romney's view, "there has been no permanent successful experiment to have a multi-disciplinary social science programme anywhere in the world that lasted more than 20 years." Harvard's Department of Social Relations "lasted about 20 years after the original enthusiasm of the original organizers [Talcott Parsons and Gordon Allport]. Those people, when they got to retirement time or died, then Harvard reverted back to straight departments. The experiment here [in Irvine]… lasted roughly twenty years. It was inevitable that it would became departmentalized" [K.Romney]

The RAND Corporation, located in Santa Monica, just 50 miles north of UC-Irvine, was another inter-disciplinary institute of note at the time and it shared and manifest some of the same enthusiasms for 'big science', mathematical economics, mathematical modelling, systems analysis and operations research that also engaged March, Simon, and others. For instance, Bill Sharpe observed that "you could call Jim March an operations research guy, in some senses". Julian Feldman, who joined Irvine soon after March and who, with March, was a central figure in hiring new faculty, had done consulting work for System Development Corporation, a military consulting offshoot of RAND, as had other faculty in Irvine (e.g. Arnie Binder, Kathleen Bell and Bill Sharpe), while Herbert Simon had spent some summers working there during the 1950s.

But probably the biggest influence on Irvine was the Graduate School of Industrial Administration (GSIA) at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburg, which, from 1954 to 1964, was an extraordinary hotbed of ideas and research. [2]. The group was led by Herbert Simon, a true polymath who is now recognised as a founding father of many scientific domains including artificial intelligence, information processing, decision-making, complexity theory and computer simulation. As well as Simon and March, the GSIA group included Richard Cyert, who went on to become President of Carnegie-Mellon University, Abraham Charnes, William Cooper, and Charles Holt whose work shaped the development of operations research, John Muth and Robert Lucas, whose ideas underpin rational expectations economics, Oliver Williamson, who pioneered transaction cost economics (and received the Nobel Prize for Economics in 2009), William Starbuck, who subsequently became a leader in management and organisational studies (editing ASQ at the age of 32), Victor Vroom, who develop the expectancy theory of motivation, Edward Prescott, who began his work on the driving forces behind business cycles, Edwin Mansfield who pioneered the study of the economics of technology and innovation, Franco Modigliani, who formulated influential theories in corporate finance and on savings in the economy, Richard Nelson, who published seminal work on evolutionary theories in economics, and Edward Feigenbaum, who developed one of the first computer models of how people learn. Remarkably, *six* of the GSIA group - which fluctuated in number from 30 in 1955 to about 50 in 1964 - subsequently received Nobel Prizes in Economics (Lucas, Miller, Modigliani, Prescott, Simon and Williamson), 10 were elected to the US Academy of Sciences (including March) and 15 were elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (again including March).

GSIA also provided the model, rationale and method for a new form of Business School, founded on, on the one hand, a strong commitment to research (which emphasised deductive reasoning and

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[2] See (Augier and Prietula, 2007) for a good description of the emergence of GSIA, while see (Augier and March, 2001; 2002; 2004) for descriptions of Simon and his varied activities in GSIA. Tadajewski (2009) presents an insightful description of how Cold War sensibilities affected the School and how, in particular, the term 'behavioural science' emerged as a more palatable alternative to 'social science', which, to some, had more than a whiff of socialism. See (March, 2007a) for a discussion of the longer term impact of GSIA.

mathematical modelling) and, on the other, a committment to teaching through the case-method, which had already developed at Harvard Business School. Curiously, the case method is essentially an inductive epistemology, while mathematical modelling is more of a deductive epistemology. For a good articulation of Simon's position see his influential article The business school: A problem in organizational design (Simon, 1967).

A final important factor in the educational context was the large imbalance between the demand for university education, which increased rapidly after the Second World War partly due to the G.I. Bill - and the supply of faculty, which, of necessity, is difficult to increase quickly.

The University of California at Irvine

UC Irvine was appealing to March, not least because the whole University of California system was at that time going through an "explicit attempt to experiment with some new forms or state sponsored higher education" [Bill Sharpe]. For instance, UC-Riverside implemented the idea of mass-producing liberal arts graduates, and they also tried new pedagogical approaches such as taking different disciplinary perspectives on a single subject within the one course. UC-Santa Cruz modeled itself on Oxford, having small, residential colleges where students would not receive grades.

These experiments were partly in line with the fashion of the time, probably harking back to the 19th century fascination with utopian communities. They were relatively low-risk as well because the rapid growth in the population of California during the 1950s was putting pressure on the administrators of higher education to quickly increase the capacity in the system. In 1958, Clark Kerr, then President of the University of California, produced a landmark Master Plan for Higher Education in California which identified UC as the State's research institution which would be expanded by building four new campuses, one of which was to become UC-Irvine. Things moved rapidly after that (see *Instant University* by the historian Sam McCulloch for further details on these developments (McCulloch, 1996)). In 1961 L.E. Cox (47) was appointed UCI's first Vice Chancellor for Business & Finance and in January 1962 Kerr appointed Daniel Aldrich (44) as Chancellor. Within months Aldrich had appointed Ivan Hinderaker (46) as VC of Academic Affairs and he quickly published "A Provisional Academic Plan" that set out the academic strategy for the new campus. A key element in this strategy was to recruit a mix of senior and junior faculty, in contrast to UC-Riverside where mainly junior faculty were hired at the beginning. [something about purchase of site and how barren it was]

In early 1963 a UC Senate Committee visited eight English universities, both new and old, and produced an influential report supporting the proposition that the University of California should do novel, imaginative things in higher education.

Aldrich's strategy was that UC-Irvine should be a general rather than a specialized campus. By July 1964 he had appointed six deans, all under 48, overseeing the following divisions: Biological Sciences; Letters & Science; Humanities; Social Sciences; Fine Arts; and the Graduate School of Administration. Soon after these appointments Hinderaker moved to Riverside, and Jack Peltason, who had been appointed Dean of Letters & Science, took over as VC for Academic Affairs, which meant that there was no Dean of the College of Letters & Science.

Partly because the university was growing so fast, and partly because there was no Dean of Arts & Letters, and partly because of the personalities involved, UCI came to be, in Feldman's words, a "collection of baronies", where each of the divisions "pretty much worked on their own with relatively little regard for the others". In practice, and notwithstanding the fashion for inter-disciplinarity, there wasn't much interest in inter-disciplinary activities across the campus, though March did collaborate with Fred Tonge, director of Irvine's computer facility. (In 1965, they succeeded in obtaining a grant from Carnegie Corporation to develop new models of student instruction in the social sciences.)

The national context

The instability within the University of California system was symptomatic of wider socio-political upheavals of the time, which centred around US foreign policy, especially US involvement in the Vietnam war which was escalating in the early 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement (the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964), and a resurgent Feminist Movement (the contraceptive pill was legalised in 1961), and a turn to alternative understandings of the human condition (the Esalen Institute opened in California in 1962), and a popularisation of radical (often Marxist) critiques of society and social science. There was also, at the time, an emerging hostility towards organization. For instance, the Free Speech Movement in the 1960s often cited Paul Goodman, who attacked the 'organized system' proferring a utopian anarchist alternative (Goodman, 1960), while C Wright Mill's *The Power Elite* was also hugely influential (Mills, 1957). And while March was in Irvine new movements emerged, such as the post-structuralist, post-modern worldview and the romantic enthusiasm for 'flower power' and other countercultures.

THE SCHOOL UNDER MARCH (1964-69)

Jim March

The central figure in this whole story is undoubtedly Jim March. March received his BA and MA from the University of Wisconsin in 1950 and his PhD from Yale in 1953. His academic output is prodigious including 21 books, eight books of poetry, two films and fourteen honorary doctorates. His most famous books include *Organizations* (with Herbert Simon (1958)) *The Behavioural Theory of the Firm* (with Richard Cyert (1963)). His most widely cited article is *Exploration and Exploitation in Organizational Learning* (March, 1991) and his 'garbage can' article with Mike Cohen and Jonah Olsen (Cohen et al., 1972) which have 6223 and 3736 citations in Google Scholar, respectively (July 2010). It is difficult to identify his most important contribution because his work is so varied, but he is probably most famous for concepts such as 'bounded rationality', decision-making in conditions of high ambiguity, his 'garbage can' model of decision-making, and his distinction between exploration and exploitation.

March was a strong, extremely intelligent, charismatic individual, as the following selection of quotations illustrate.

"Jim was really charismatic…. He's a remarkable guy" [Bill Sharpe]

"If you met Jim March you'd know that he can be an exciting guy, and he communicated that to the students" [John Payne]

"Volney [Stefflre] and Jim knew more about everything than any of us did" [Charles Lave].

"I still consider him one of the most creative brilliant academics I have ever known" [John Payne].

Even Arnie Binder, who March classed as a "loser" and "particularly disaffected", reckoned that March "is one of the nicest, most honourable men…He was a strong dean. He was a strong individual. I say this over and over again, because it's important since I say so many negative things. Never unpleasent. My animosity is not to him as a person - he's a very decent, nice man - but in terms of his inflexibility, that, maybe more than anything else, I resented. His inflexibility. Because I had such brilliant ideas that he rejected!" [Arnie Binder]

While March sought to manage "unobtrusively", he well recognised the central position he played in the experiment: "I think some people would describe it as a benevolant despotcy [sic]!"

March moves to Irvine

The GSIA group was breaking up in the early 1960s and Irvine offered March a new challenge. When Ivan Hinderaker asked March why he agreed to come to Irvine, March replied: "I like to see the dirt fly". Julian Feldman's recollection is that "we weren't quite sure why March left that environment", though he speculated that March and his wife had taken a liking to California after he had spent some time at the CASBS in Palo Alto

In November 1963, just before he joined Irvine, March wrote a letter to Hinderaker in which he set out his vision. The Division (the unit was initially called a Division, before it became a School some years later) "should be conspicuously experimental and innovative" with the burden of proof "shifted to the existing system. I think there should be major innovations with respect to curricula in the social sciences, instructional methods, academic organization, and staffing policies. The social science division should be viewed as an experimental laboratory rather than as primarily a production facility." His second point was that specialization should be by problem areas rather than by traditional academic disciplines, with growth coming through pursuing new specialities "rather than by mimicry of standard views on what is subsumed under the terms 'psychology', 'sociology'". In short, "faculty should [have] substantial disrespect for traditional disciplinary identifications". Third, March's vision that that the division should become a "leader in the application of modern techniques for empirical investigation and theory building", which meant that the "social sciences should be heavily laced with mathematics, statistics and computer methodology". Finally, March was of the view that the division has to take some risks. "There is no serious possibility of becoming a major institution with a conservative strategy".

From the other archive material and the interviews, it's clear that March very much followed through on these plans that he set out in 1963. Interestingly, March didn't spend much time worrying about the graduate program which "didn't seem to me to be a significant matter" (March interview with McCulloch, March 1973).

Forming the Group

March's first appointment, in 1964, was Julian Feldman (34), who had been one of his graduate students in GSIA. Feldman had graduated from GSIA in 1959, joining the faculty in the business school in Berkeley. He was an expert on the computer simulation of human thought and decision-making, and, with Edward Feigenbaum, he had just published *Computers and Thought*, the first collection of articles about artificial intelligence. Feldman and March took responsibility for the initial round of appointments.

While Hinderaker had hoped that March would follow a traditional approach, March was insistent that the Division of Social Sciences would have no departments because he saw this as necessary if the Division was to be truly inter-disciplinary and innovative. He was also against using disciplinary titles for programmes or positions: "And so we created these fancy titles. I had something like "Associate Professor of Psychology and Economics or something like that. He [March] was a Professor or Political Science and Sociology. Between the two of us we were covering four disciplines" [JFeldman].

The first group of students were due to arrive in the Fall of 1965, so March and Feldman hired about fifteen faculty during that year, including Kathleen Archibald, Duran Bell, Inga Bell, Isabel Birnbaum, John Boyd, Myron Braunstein, Gordon Fielding, Barbara Foley, Lewis (Creel) Froman, Joseph Hart, Sheen Kassouf, Alan Miller, Deane Nuebauer, Karl Radov, and Martin Shapiro. Most of these were in their early 20s and still hadn't completed their dissertations. 287 students registered with the School of Social Sciences in the Fall of 1965, including 13 graduate students. Even though a departmental structure was not in place, the records shows that the students registered to the following disciplines: anthropology (9), economics (39), geography (1), political science (83), psychology (61), sociology (30), social sciences (44), undecided (7). In 1966, a further 375 students registered, of which 20 were graduate students. More new staff were appointed including, Arnie Binder, Charles Cnudde, Lyman Drake, Alan Gross, Mary Key, Jerry Kirk, Charlie Lave, Jean Lave, Duane Metzger, Volney Stefflre, and John Wallace.

This was a remarkable burst of hiring. While Hinderaker's plan was that each Division should hire a mix of senior and junior staff, March followed the Riverside model by hiring mainly junior faculty, for perhaps understandable reasons. As William Schonfeld, who joined in 1970 recalls: "Nothing was here. I mean, these were empty fields; cows were running around, the freeways didn't exist. The question was, who would you get to get involved in the adventure?" In practice, virtually

all the new hires were junior people: "There were a lot of young junior people, energetic.." (the average age of the faculty in 1966 was just 26, with five women in the faculty of 30, which was unheard of at that time). Feldman wasn't sure why Irvine didn't attract more senior faculty, but he did speculate that the decision not to have departments may have been counter-productive in this respect: "I think that getting senior people fell apart because of the lack of structure. I don't know."

March's "other point was that the only way to be distinctive was to do something radically different; that you could never attract the really good people here if you just did things the way everybody else did them" [Arnie Binder]. March made this explicit in a strategy report (November 1968) to Aldrich: "it seems clear to us that our basic strategy should be to exploit our special competences, to develop national preeminence in areas that have not been developed at the major institutions and to innovate in new curricula, new procedures, and new organization". Elsewhere he made the hiring strategy explicit: "Our guiding principle in acquiring future faculty will be to appoint people whose area of specialization are particularly conducive to interdisciplinary effort".

Here's March's retrospective take on these hirings:

"We discovered fairly early on that hiring into Irvine, first class, first rank people was extremely hard. We tried, but they mostly preferred to be at Harvard, Chicago or Berkeley or some place like that. I think mostly our basic strategy was to hire young people and to try to be ahead of the market and to take risks – to hire people who had a distinctive interest in playing with ideas; hard to tell, we didn't have very good testing devices for that, so basically we said we're going to run a strategy in which we'll have more failures that successes, but our successes will look pretty good.

DK: It was a strategy of letting many flowers bloom?

JM: Many flowers bloom, but we tried to have standards – flowers that don't bloom well, you weed out. But I think we were a little less successful in doing that. That was the strategy at least"

Another issue he mentions in a 1973 interview is that the UC system was inflexible in terms of the salaries that could be offered (in contrast to the Stanford, Harvard and Yale systems which separates decisions with respect to a person's rank from decisions with respect to a person's salary). As a result, March was unable to attract the "top 10 or the top 20 in their field"' because while he could offer a professorship he wasn't able, much to his frustration, to offer a high enough salary. (The archives include a very strongly worded letter from March to Hinderaker, dated January 1964, in which he complains about the inflexibility of the UC system in terms of salary).

William Schonfeld took a more political take on the hiring strategy, observing:

"There are two reasons you can surround yourself with people who can't challenge you. One reason is you're trying to get the others [senior faculty] and you just can't quite recruit them. But the other is you don't really try to recruit them and you want to have a dramatic difference between you and the rest because that allows you to carry out your experiment in a more unhindered fashion. Since I wasn't here, I don't know which of those interpretations is correct." But Schonfeld is unambiguous in his opinion that: "some of the people hired were absolutely outstanding. And some of the people were the absolute mirror image of being absolutely outstanding."

The hiring process was unusual, even for the time, and certainly in retrospect. "All appointment and promotion cases went before a committee that consisted of all the faculty in social science, and there weren't that many then, plus the senior [non-academic] staff members. They participated in that evaluation which was completely unheard of anywhere" [C Lave]. Some student representatives were also on these appointment and promotion committees, including Michael Cohen, who joined as a graduate student in 1966 and subsequently co-authored a book with March. But neither was it an truly egalitarian system: "[March] was interested in making changes and doing things differently but probably not interested in being a long time administrator/manager. Some people thought (and I think it was true) that he was not as much of a democrat as some faculty

people would like to have - certainly not in terms of consulting people on a point. He pushed through some appointments with less than a majority endorsement" [JFeldman].

The hiring criterion was relatively straightforward but, in retrospect, unusual: "'Was this person interesting?' And I think clearly the dominant story was 'we don't care whether you have the same kind of ideas as we have, as long as we can find your ideas interesting'" [J March]. Almost inevitably this eclecticism created an very high level of variety: "as it developed it turned out to be a number of people who I would now describe as social constructivists, a number of people who turned out to be relatively pure mathematical modelers. There were some people who became committed ethnographers, and you are talking about a range - someone like Bill Sharpe at one end was creative and a little bit different, but a financial economist, and then you have people like Duane Metzger and Jean Lave at the other end and who were fairly creative, constructivists, post modern anthropologists." [JM].

Kim Romney, who joined in 1968, opinioned that the variety that emerged was probably intentional: "I don't know whether he made it explicit or not but I think that he also wanted variety. High variance. You wouldn't have people coming out of the same mould."

William Schonfeld now takes a somewhat jaundiced view of some of the hiring practices: "The way the search committees were constructed - now, I don't know if March did it quite that way or not - the Dean appointed the Chair, announced the committee, and anyone who wanted to joined and came to the meetings. One of the early 'March people', a fellow named Harvey Sacks, who did something called conversational analysis, was an ethnomethodologist. He came to these meetings, he was trained as a sociologist and early on one day he comes into a meeting and he announces, "I have found someone absolutely spectacular!" I, in my era of raving naivety, asks Harvey, "tell us something about the person?", so he says, "He's just marvellous! He lives in a caravan!" So I said, "ok, tell us something else". And Harvey said, "I don't know anything else. But isn't that wonderful?!" The idea that you have someone who either was getting a Ph.D or had a Ph.D and was living in a caravan, made them perfect as a recruit, knowing nothing else about them. That's high variance from standard practise".

Bill Sharpe, who joined in 1968, gives a faculty perspective on why it was attractive: "Certainly I went there - as others - on the ground of Jim's goals, which were to make it in the image of Jim's work which was rigorous, academic, creative and innovative…Jim's a brilliant guy, a lot of charisma".

In 1967, Julian Feldman went on sabbatical for a year, and when he returned he was appointed Chair in Information & Computer Science, which meant he was no longer in the Social Sciences Division. In March's opinion, both Feldman and Binder ended up being "particularly disaffected" [email from March to Author, August 2004].

Creating the Curriculum

Notwithstanding March's hope that "faculty should [have] substantial disrespect for traditional disciplinary identifications", the faculty in the 1965/66 catalogue have conventional titles, e.g. Kathleen Archibald was Acting Assistant Professor of Sociology, Duran Bell was Assistant Professor of Economics, and courses were offered in disciplines such as anthropology, economics, geography, political science, psychology and sociology. The catalogue says that the programs will focus on the systematic empirical observation and quantitative analysis of human behavior" and it emphasises the use of computers, the application of mathematics to social sciences, and the continued refinement of techniques of inquiry. The focus and rationale for the school is clear from this extract from the first catalogue:

"Important new problems confront society; and social scientists have a responsibility to assist in the development of solutions to these problems. A rapidly changing technology, the pathologies of a population explosion and urban concentration, the thrust of once underdeveloped societies, the creeping master of disease, the strains of race relations, the tempestuous marriage of men and

machines in problem solving, endemic crises in international affairs, lagging or explosive economic growth, political instability, and explorations of space provide social scientists with an extraordinary list of unsolved problems and opportunities."

The catalogue shows the central position given to mathematics in the curriculum (see Table 1).

	Fall	Winter	Spring
Freshman	Intro to Analysis Maths Humanities English	Intro to Analysis Maths Humanities English	Intro to Analysis Maths Humanities Computer Science
Sophomore	Anthro or Economics Maths Natural Science Elective	Political Science or Psychology Maths Natural Science Elective	Geography or Sociology Maths Natural Science Elective
Junior	Major Field Statistics Outside Field Elective	Major Field Statistics Outside Field Elective	Major Field Statistics Outside Field Elective
Senior	Major Project Fine Arts Outside Field Elective	Major Project	Fine Arts

Table 1: Curriculum extracted from 1965-66 Catalogue.

The mathematics requirement imposed on all social science undergraduates was "most unusual", according to Arnie Binder, while Julian Feldman perceived that the requirements in computer programming, mathematics and statistics were "controversial". Consistent with the fashion of the time, maths was perceived to offer a universal language on which inquiry could and indeed had to be based, but it also "acts as a screening device for improving the calibre of students who are attracted to the social sciences. So far, we seem to be very successful at discouraging anti-scientific humanists but only partially successful at attracting potential scientists, who now go into physics, chemistry and math" [memo from March to Aldrich, 1968]. This maths requirement was somewhat at odds with the hiring strategy: "March hired a lot of people who were not mathematically inclined so [the maths requirement] was never…I mean it was held more as a value than as a practise" [Kim Romney].

Another most unusual feature was the notion of just offering one degree, and not offering degrees in subjects such as psychology or economics.

An important, memorable and influential pedagogical innovation was the "Introduction to Analysis" course taught by March and many of the other staff. Initially, March wanted all of the faculty to contribute to the course, but many of them were so inexperienced that the took the course with the students. Here, Mike Cohen - who took the course as a student - describes it.

"The centrepiece of all that was a course called Social Science 1. March did a lot of the lectures - in the early years he did them all; a number of the faculty did them. The course was taken by all of the students, the undergraduates and graduates all had to take it. I think in the early years the faculty also took it. I recall the very early years; the faculty ran the sections of the courses so basically they were taking it with the students. Then March & Lave produced the text book for it [(Lave and March, 1975)]. The text book was also used in high schools. A beautiful course. When

I got to Michigan, I built a course around the text book. It was taught up until a few years ago with a reproduction of the book. Certainly the most beautiful course on thinking about social life - it had a huge effect on me – a way of thinking.

DK – what was unique about it?

It managed to convey a creative attitude and aesthetic criteria and a commitment to simultaneously holding multiple perspective on phenomena and I think that's great training for social science and life. You ended up getting a strong feeling on the course that life is always more complicated than your ideas about it, but your ideas can still be useful and illuminating even though they're not perfectly right."

Bill Sharpe was one of the faculty who sat in on the course and describes it thus.

"Jim had a required course, which everybody had to take, which was in effect models and social science. I audited that. It was brilliant. He did things like marriage, he had a contagion model; he took not just economic issues, but a series of applications, and in each case a model thereof. There was a lot of angst. He'd get these kids, who took it in their sophomore year; they were do-gooders, the social science majors, they were going to go out and save the world. He made them look at each of these problems with models, some equations, some graphs, maybe a computer programme. I can't remember. There was a lot of no, no, no; this is not how you do social science. I don't know if the students liked it."

William Schonfeld, who arrived in 1970 and was Dean from 1982 to 2002 was of the opinion that "By 1970 that was just another course like every other course".

At the graduate level, Mike Cohen explains the procedure: "The basis way the graduate teaching programme was explained to students was when you get together three faculties who agree you should get a PhD, you get it, period. There were a few more rules than that, but it was basically a customised degree plan where you choose a committee. If you weren't getting along with some of the people, you could change the membership. It was up to the students to get the committee together."

William Schonfeld sees this more negatively:

"Now for some people this worked marvellously well. Michael Cohen who was an early graduate student, he's at Michigan now, was a case in point of someone who prospered under this kind of system. Most students admitted into the system became totally lost. I think much the same is true at the undergraduate level, where there were a few very bright gifted students who found the capacity to circle among the faculty, do lots of independent studies, to be a very positive experience. But the bulk of students, for example, basic introductory courses in the separate disciplines were not allowed, students were told to read a text book and were then given a multiple choice exam to take. A student decided whether he or she, without any faculty sense as to how you put together a programme of study. A very gifted student might put together an innovative new programme of study, but a lot of them just fell through the cracks."

The following extract from 1967/68 Catalogue gives a flavour of the pedagogical philosophy:

"The Division of Social Sciences has no great confidence in a college education that consists solely in regular attendance and grades in a specified list of courses, each lasting some multiple of one quarter. As a result, 'courses' in the Division do not always resemble the conventional university course either in content or in format. Enrolment in a course is simply a commitment on the part of a student that he will educate himself (with such faculty assistance as is required).

When the education is complete, the course is complete. Thus, a student may obtain credit through examination for any course in the Division for which he is otherwise eligible".

The Division emphasized educational innovation, experimenting with variable-length courses, content-indeterminate seminars, self-instructional introductory materials, accelerated courses in

mathematics for social scientists, critical incident evaluation procedures, and extensive use of qualification through competence examination. The archives include detailed reports on such things as whether learning is as good in large as in small classes, on the relationship between a student's Grade Point Average and post-college success, on the factors that correlate with GPA, on the effects of College environments on students, etc. The 1969-70 Catalogue summarises the philosophy: "Undergraduate and graduate education in the School of Social Sciences at UCI involve participation in an experiment. The program, faculty and students differ substantially from conventional counterparts elsewhere" (p. 115).

One notable initiative that emerged at the time was the 'farm school'. Michael Butler was interested in alternate forms of education and so he started an elementary school cum pre-school on an old farm on campus. It was "a Programme B kind of a thing …there was this experiment that was right on campus, an alternative education" [M Cole].

The School also ran a commune from 1968-69, probably the only commune on a state university. In many ways, the commune (also known as the farm) was a symbol and reflection of the School and what it might become. March describes it well:

"It was a charming sort of illustration of the problems of romantics in the real world. I think to a large extent I was their buffer, between them and the world, and they managed to survive.

DK - *During the 19th century there a long tradition of romantic and utopian villages being set up, and in some ways it seems to have been a continuation of that*

Absolutely. One of the conspicuous things was they could never solve the governance problem. They could never figure that out. You wanted a system in which no one told anyone what to do, but on the other hand you wanted the garbage taken out, and they just never got around to figuring out that. Periodically I would get a phone call saying, essentially, 'Don't tell anyone I called, but could you please fix this?' So I would pick up the garbage.

DK – *Was that to do with the commune or more broadly to do with the school?*

In some sense, more broadly it was to do with the school. The commune, of course was the symbol of all of that. I saw my role in large part as a buffer and, not that I could do it very well, but I tried. It's a fairly common role for somebody. For me, it was fairly easy to talk to the local military, when they got upset about things, try to calm them down; talk to the local townspeople, when they got upset, calm them down; talk to the chancellor when he got upset. That was my role. It varied in size, we didn't have membership lists, I think the maximum was 80 or so. They built their own houses, shacks I suppose. Some of my best stories were stories about trying to give them agronomy help – they fancied themselves being gardeners but they came from a background they didn't know anything about gardening or farming. I as a good mid-Westerner had more knowledge about growing corn than they did. I closed it down as one of my last acts as Dean

DK: *Why?*

Because I didn't think I should leave that as a problem for my successor. The people that were involved were not connected to the university. They were hangers on in one way or another. The university people who were involved evolved it to a little different structure - they started a school [the farm school]. I think in retrospect it was time to close it down because there was not very much outcry or resistance. The people in it were not socially or politically adept; there were innocents – to be pushed around by me or by others, as long they didn't trigger a deep ideologically strain. They were injured people. They hated protection. Things had run their course by that time."

Organized Anarchy

In his 1963 letter to Hinderaker, March highlighted what he saw as the problem with the usual model of academic organizations. "Academic organizations ordinarily combine inflexible central control with irrelevant local initiative. First, the structure is usually exceptionally rigid. The

departments are substantially unchanging over time; they are the same from one university to the another. As a result, subunits tend to become inviolate, individual faculty members tend to be linked with a specific subunit in perpetuity, and the university as a whole becomes a loose alliance of migratory workers. Second, typical academic organization overuses 'legislative' techniques for decision making; it underuses staffwork, consultation and executive decision making."

In implementing an alternative, de-differentiated mode of organizing, "March had set it up so that there was far more equality among faculty, students and staff than in most universities" [Kim Romney]. He clearly emphasised socialization among the faculty. In particular, the (non-academic) staff played a much more important role than was the norm in other universities, with some informants observing how "unique" [Romney] it was to have staff, students and faculty socializing together. Kim Romney reflects on the unique position of staff in contrast to other institutions at the time and in contrast to the current situation: "One of the things that I thought was almost unique when I first got here was that it came as a complete shock to me because, at both Stanford and Harvard, staff were people who worked for you. They were not ever brought in or consulted, and they are no longer consulted about anything here….They were invited to all of the meetings. And had a big impact. And their ideas were reflected and they also served as go-betweens and communicators, not only to faculty and staff but to graduate students and students. The circle was complete".

In many ways it worked, especially in the early days. Romney again:

"people met in the very beginning, in each others homes as well as in different places on campus. That included groups from different disciplines, who really tried to get joint research going. I would say that for a period of up to 5 years there was hope that that would make a breakthrough to new kinds of research and collaboration. Not unlike what happened in the Harvard Social Relations that I saw the early days of"

The eschewal of formal structure did give the appearance of chaos. According to William Schonfeld (who only arrived in 1970 so his perception shouldn't be extended back into the 1960s), "the only rule was, there are no rules", though Mike Cole, who arrived in 1967, says something similar: "There were no rules, and it was as close to a blank slate in an institution as you're ever going to find." In his interview, Arnie Binder emphasized the notion of disorganization: "'disorganization' was a word that was used permanently…it meant that we were certainly never going to have departments here, above all; that we're never going to assign offices according to discipline. So you have to have the psychologists here and anthropologists in the next office, and so forth, and the interactions had to be so that there were no organizations by disciplinary focus above all… if they moved in a direction of what some would call 'responsible organization', he [March] would oppose it.".

Mike Cole recalls that "There was a lot of probably illegal relations between students and teachers, there was a lot of drug use, and a lot of alcohol abuse was going on…There were affairs between faculty, between couples on faculty, and between faculty and students. So you had these different things that would make it seem chaotic."

"part of the disorganization was that it seemed like, you know what you're against but you don't know what you're for. Literally we would go in on Saturday to see what the hell we were going to do on Monday. And we would do that quite regularly" [M Cole].

Of course, there were rules, not least the rules of the university regarding tenure, which became very real for some of the staff in 1968-69. And March himself didn't agree with the proposition that the School was rule-less:

"JM: Rule-less would not be quite right. We had some fairly strict rules. Obviously we viewed the University of California as having a whole bunch of procedures that got in our way, and we were arrogant enough to think that, by and large, we were being ruled by colleagues who were not of the quality equal to ours.

DK: Was this arrogance justified?

Probably not. The University of California is a wonderful institution; but there is an awful lot of mediocrity in it."

March's suspicion of the academic status quo did not extend to rejecting academic principles of rigour, critical thinking, and scholarship. In particular, he and Volney Stefflre, another charismatic figure in the group, consistently attacked the use of jargon, emphasising the importance of clear thinking and communication. March identified Martin Shapiro as another key person in the group: "[he] was a very tough-minded, hard-edged student of law and politics. He had no tolerance of the student political radicals, no tolerance of the playful intellectual gamesmanship, but was a very important intellectual person to have around." Mike Cole remembers when Harvey Sachs "gave a talk about how social life is organized around the "not saying" of things. After he talked…Jean Lave got up and gave us all a break and said 'I've been sitting here for an hour and a half and so far you haven't said anything at all. Are you planning to say anything in the next hour or so because if you're not I have a lot of work to do!' It was that kind of place. People would do that". Jean Lave recounted much the same story but in her version Harold Garfinkel (who was twice hired by the School but quickly left both times) was giving the lecture. In her story, Jim March rowed in as well: "I found it very difficult to understand what's going on and Jim just broke in and said what she's trying to say to you is that you haven't said anything… It wasn't me that was rude or if I was rude - I don't care if I was or I wasn't – but if I was I was surprised that Jim backed me up by being even ruder".

Volney Stefflre and Duane Metzger, two charismatic figures within the group, also took a forthright approach to inquiry and representation, articulated the principles that all talk across disciplines must be in words of one syllable, or at least directly intelligible. Providing citations to one's own discipline was disallowed, as were similar academic evasions.

Looking back, March paints it thus:

"I think some people would describe it as a benevolent despotcy [sic]! I don't think that it was, it didn't have much structure, so in that sense it was democratic, you had to make your case, and anyone could make their case, and little subgroups formed, of people who liked to be with each other" [JMarch]

Program A, B and C

March's 'experiment' was to put about 30 young academics together and then see how they might organise without replicating existing structures, or as Mike Cole recalls it: "we created this rule that you cannot create an academic unit which was identifiable with an existing discipline [like sociology, anthropology or economics]". Out of this mix, three groupings emerged, which, in 1967, came to be named as Program A, Program B and Program C.

Program A, sometimes referred to as 'Formal Models' or, more officially, the "Program of Mathematical and Computer Models in the Behavioral Sciences", followed through on the GSIA work, and the maths and computer programming requirements placed on the students was in harmony with the philosophy of this group. By 1968, Program A consisted of economists, an engineer, psychologists, and computer science specialists.

Program B was sometimes known as 'Language and Development'. This group included what would be recognised as anthropologists, sociologists, and social psychologists. It sought "to provide sufficient understanding of complex cultural phenomena to produce significant cultural change [and to develop an] understanding of individual and small group behavior, as well as national, macro-level behavior." [March's report to Aldrich, Nov. 1968]. In practice, this group divided into two or three sub-groups, though the membership and identity was fluid. One sub-group focused on language and behaviour and the members included Isabel Birnbaum (a psychologist interested in learning and retention), John Boyd (a communication scientists interested

in mathematical models of kinship and bargaining behaviour), Doug Chalmers (a psychologist interested in psycholinguistics and learning), Nick Colby (an anthropologist interested in change and development in an Indian community in Guatemala), Mike Cole (a psychologist interested in mathematical models of learning in animals and humans), Joseph Hart (a psychologist interested in awareness), Duane Metzger (an anthropologist interested in exotic beliefs), Harvey Sacks (a sociologist interested in the sociological organisation of conversation), Volney Stefflre (a psychologist interested in relations between language and behaviour), Dave Sudnow (a sociologist interested in non-verbal behaviour), and Ken Wexler (a psychologist interested in psycholinguistics). Another sub-group, with some overlap in membership, focused on 'Development and Change' and the members of this sub-group included Mike Butler (Social Science; the sociology of the Mexican intelligentsia), Mike Cole (Culture & education), Jerry Kirk (Sociology; social foundations of collective innovation), Charlie Lave (Economics; quantitative economic history, transportation economics), Jean Lave (Anthropology; comparative studies of social structure), Kim Romney (Anthropology; change and development in Mexico), Volney Stefflre (language and behaviour). This group intended to undertake a large-scale interdisciplinary research project. The group's students had already participated in field studies in Mexico, Liberia, Samoa and Brazil and native informants from Mexico and Samoa had been brought to the campus to work with the students.

Finally, Program C was "is a residual category for those faculty members in the Division who are not members of either program but hold appointments in the Division" (memo from March to Aldrich, June 1967). It was "the set of those not belonging to any set" (Lave, 2009). It appears that the Social Ecology group, led by Arnie Binder, emerged out of Program C.

Jean Lave perceived a further group - the ethnomethodologists - who were outside of this A, B, C structure. One could be a member of one or more groups and move between groups. Once a year each faculty member had to declare whether he or she would be in a program or not, which, according to Jean Lave, was "a pretty serious business. You had to make a positive move to declare your intentions. Programs really did cut across academic disciplines. They absolutely violated standard divisions between disciplines".

Froman and Metzger were appointed as Program Directors for B and C, respectively. Notifying Aldrich about these appointments, March stated "Their general responsibilities are essentially equivalent to those of Departmental Chairmen in other divisions. They should be included on your mailing lists of Departmental Chairmen, and should be accorded all the rights, love and aggression normally associated with such offices" [memo from March to Aldrich, June 1967].

Notwithstanding these internal groupings, the primary social science subject that Irvine came to be known for externally was political science, because "we had March who had in PhD in political science from Yale, you had Peltason who had a reputation of constitutional law and Dick Snyder who was the Dean of the Graduate School of Administration, was also a very well known political scientist in addition to young people" [JFeldman]. (Even though March was the only person in the Social Science Division).

DISRUPTIONS

Social Ecology

The tensions within the group developed, culminating in a number of significant leavings. The first major issue centred on Arnie Binder, who joined the group in 1966 and whose field of interest was mathematical psychology. Even though this was an abstract subject, Binder had received research grants for two research projects that dealt with applied community problems, one on accident prevention and another on biometeorology. As a result he became more interested in research that would have more direct social benefits - "that led me to think of social ecology". By 1968, Binder had proposed a "Program in Social Analysis" and March included this in his report of that year to Aldrich. This program, which March presented as just a proposal, "centers on the very problems

which society presents for solution. e.g. 1. urban development, etc. 2. community mental health; 3. riots and unrest; 4. injury control in home and highways". March proposed that Arnie Binder would be allocated to this full-time along with three part-time faculty. However, "within 2 weeks he [March] withdrew [his support] and said he had just made a mistake in giving initial support" [A Binder]. Binder was clearly disaffected and worked to split off from the School of Social Sciences a new independent unit/program. This he eventually set up in 1970, after March had left Irvine. Binder's unit and program was called "Social Ecology", and, curiously, it mirrored much of March's interest in the interdisciplinary study of social problems. Twelve faculty were aligned with the program when it opened in 1970, and it attracted 113 undergraduate students that year. The program in Sociol Ecology continued to increase in size over the years. By 1981 there were 685 undergraduates and 57 graduate students in the program, increasing to 1320 and 117 by 1992. For further details on the School of Social Ecology see Binder (1972) and http://socialecology.uci.edu/pages/conceptual-social-ecology .

March leaves

In November 1968, March produced a 'planning report' for Chancellor Aldrich, in which he identified three developments that he felt would have a significant impact. First, an increasing concern with quantification and formal theorizing (i.e. amenable to mathematical representation and/or computer simulation). Second, substantial elements of borrowing (or convergence) among the social sciences, hence *inter-disciplinarity* and *disorganisation* were celebrated. Third, concern with the *application* of social sciences, which meant a return to 'applied problems'. March's vision was positivist in so far as "we assume a theoretical model is valid only if it predicts the kinds of changes actually produced".

"There is a pervasive sense at UCI of new beginnings, youth, enthusiasm, flexibility and innovation. We intend to sustain these qualities by anticipating growth and change in the University, and making, organizational arrangements to insure maximum flexibility and revolutionary character in the long run" [from the same report].

In the report he reaffirmed his committment to inter-disciplinarity: "SSS has been organized to facilitate the integration of research and teaching activities around the concept that the most crucial and exciting work in the social sciences is that which is interdisciplinary in nature."

And he ends the letter accompanying his report with typical quip: "I hope that things continue to be unstable enough so that neither one of us will really know what is going on".

Within a few months, March informed the faculty that he was leaving Irvine to take up a professorial position in Stanford. Stanford was clearly a more prestigious university than Irvine and it meant that he could continue his career as a research professor-cum teacher rather than become a university administrator. He has remained in Stanford ever since.

When I asked March why he left, he answered: "The glib answer is that parents should allow their children to grow up. I think as long as I was around it was relatively difficult for individuals to escape from attending to me". March also "didn't want to be a College President and having made that decision the issue was where could I do my work best. But from Irvine's point of view I felt the School would develop better without me than with me". John Payne, who was a student at the time took the view that "every leader somehow wears out his welcome but everyone had a great respect for Jim March. I still do." Charles Lave, mused as follows: "I hope there was little of the idea that 'Well, it was neat idea but it has failed, so move on'. But you know you always suspect that."

March's leaving was devastating to the group: "..the major incident is Jim leaving, and that was significant because the guy who brought us here and was our intellectual leader was all of a sudden saying that he didn't love us anymore….When the person who left, the kind of father figure, left, that created a disappointment…" [C Lave]. "His leading left a big vacuum" [Kim Romney]. "One of the things that I was very unhappy about was March leaving when he did. I thought he'd stirred

the pot and then just walked away from it. I mean I'm sure Jim has a different story about that. But then I followed." [M Cole].

But in his interview, March distanced himself from the trauma: "There were a number of traumatic things associated with [my leaving], but not particularly my leaving. My leaving necessitated some decisions which articulated some of the differences that were suppressed by my presence, I suppose".

Bill Sharpe presents a good picture of this wider trauma. Sharpe observed that the hostility that the group held to the status quo had a number of, probably unintended, consequences. One important issue, which was a corollary of the assumption that disciplinary is bad and inter-disciplinary is good, was the position held by some in the School that "all academic journals of consequence are in the hands of the disciplines, so therefore publishing in one of them is bad, [and so] we won't". This led to something of a crisis in 1968 when many members of the group were coming up to their 'up or out' tenure reviews. "The way the University of California operated, a campus that was new and fresh might not have enough senior faculty in a particular discipline to do a review, especially a tenure review, so they would bring in some faculty from some other universities in the system. A lot of review committees said 'How can you promote this person?' And there was a group that lived in a house – an old farm house – and engaged in – I think they grew pot and they certainly used it – I was sympathetic to them, I was counter-culture, sympathetic not active – it was a pretty free-wheeling operation out there. So the problem came, at one point Jim said 'I am going to get these people through, they put their faith in me, they did what I thought they should do, I've got to find some way to keep them from being canned'. Then came a point when he said 'I can't really give tenure to these people as they really haven't done anything that advances the state of the knowledge particularly', and then he said he was going to resign as Dean, and then he said he was not, 'because I am going to stay on to try and get these people through the system", then he resigned after all. Jim was very conflicted. But most of us who wanted to do rigorous modelling, theoretical mathematics within our disciplines or even across disciplines were disappointed and really didn't feel that this was going to be a place that we'd be happy in. So a fair number of us left. I certainly did." Soon after March left Sharpe also moved to Stanford.

According to Kim Romney, "the economists wanted to departmentalize and I think Bill Sharpe left because Economics didn't get independence as a department". Bill Sharpe was probably never as intensely engaged with the experiment as others, and tended to view it from a distance. For instance, in his interview he didn't recall the Program A-B-C groupings at all: "I kind of dropped out. In my second year I taught my courses, I didn't participate very much." Similarly, March is adamant that while Sharpe and Shapiro "were not part of the play group" they "were not antagonistic, in that they didn't want to eliminate it" and left simply because "they had good opportunities". Perhaps fittingly or ironically, while Sharp wasn't enthusiastic about much of what was going on in Irvine, he was one of the originators of the inter-disciplinary field of financial economics, for which he received the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1990.

Post- March

When March left everything went into flux and there was quite a bit of controversy. Johan Olsen, who subsequently wrote three books with March as well as the 'garbage can' paper with March and Cohen, was a research fellow in the School of Social Sciences in 1968-69 and closely observed the decision-making process involved in appointing March's replacement. Olsen published two reports on what happened (Olsen, 1970; 1971) and he also wrote a book chapter which used the case study to show how far from theory the practice of decision-making can be (Olsen, [1976] 1979). At the end of quite a tortured and painful process, Kim Romney, who had joined the School in 1968 was appointed as Dean. Mike Cole promptly left: "The decision about the Dean was really a decision which went for stability and standard social science. That put an end to the whole thing. And I walked away from it" [Mike Cole]. Others, like Bill Sharpe, left as well, if not for the same reason.

And Arnie Binder then took the opportunity to create a new unit, called the School of Social Ecology, bringing staff and students away from the School of Social Sciences.

Kim Romney was Dean from 1970 to 1972, at which point Lewis (Creel) Froman became Dean. The following quotations give a sense of the time:

 "I mean he was a kind of anarchist and he was opposing the Marchian ideology and he was anti-quantitative. But he was one of the original people and he started out as a hard-headed quantitative political scientist and he eventually began teaching courses whose essence was…well, what does it matter anyway? A brilliant guy. He became an anarchist" [C Lave].

"Creel Froman didn't have a strongly defined sense of direction, I'd don't think. He got other interests over time and the school started to drift and not know exactly what it was doing" [Kim Romney]

"He made a total change in his social science philosophy while at Irvine. The third year I was working with him, I went into his office and he'd given away all his books, as he no longer believed what was in them. What was left was one shelf, mostly literary criticism such as Kenneth Burke.…He became quite a difficult person during his 'transformation'. I was surprised actually that he became Dean since his views of much traditional social science became pretty negative, and he was inclined to act on what he thought…I think he was pretty disappointed in me... I regret it, as I learned a lot from him and respected his courage of his convictions" [M Cohen].

According to Charles Lave, Froman was eventually 'deposed' in 1975 to be replaced by Christian Werner who was Dean up to 1979, followed by Linton Freeman (1980-81). While I have not collected much data on the School during the 1970s, my general sense is that it was a period of drift and emptiness. Some of the spirit and excitement of the 1960s remained, but the overwhelming sense seems to be one of disappointment, resentment, and loss.

In 1982 William Schonfeld, who arrived in 1970 when March was leaving, was appointed as Dean and he continued in this position for twenty years. Schonfeld has a fairly negative perspective on the School of Social Sciences under March's leadership: "It was at every level a game being played with other people's lives. You could draw that as a conclusion – I think there was an ugly quality to what they did because of exactly that. None of us had a right to play games with other human beings. We have a right to found institutions on the basis of principles in which we believe. We don't have a right to take other people and throw them out there and see what they do". During the 1980s, Schonfeld effectively dismantled the original structure putting in place a conventional social science departmental structure.

LOOKING BACK

Almost all of those I interviewed look back on those days with fondness, though it's important to emphasise that the people I interviewed were those who remained in and were successful in academia.

"In retrospect, I cherish those memories and those days. They were very heady days" - [Kim Romney]

"I didn't regret a moment the time I spent there." [M Cole]

Jim March felt that that the greatest successes were "spiritual. I think that we constructed a culture, at least among the faculty… that we were able to exhibit the possiblity of having a non-departmentalized structure and exhibit the possibility of having a fairly significant quantitative undergraduate program, a kind of what I call organized anarchy, an organizational style that involved a lot of spontaneous coordination, an unobtrusive coordination rather than a formal structural coordination that was feasible, but not easy."

"my saddest feelings about Irvine was that we never built, while I was there, a campus community. The level of discomfort with one another among the faculty and the level of acrimony among the

faculty, not only within the School of Social Science but collectively on the campus, the level of pettiness on the campus was just way above what it should have been… Ordinary decency and ordinary elements of human life were somehow driven out….Part of the socialization process and part of the missionary zeal produced a kind of snottiness and a kind of cockiness and a kind of maybe indifference to other people that I don't think I intended to communicate, but I think it got built into that culture".

"The one major administrative thing is that I did not educate the faculty to the administrative facts of life…. They were allowed a kind of deceptive irresponsibility; they were being covered." [March, interviewed in 1973].

Jean Lave notes the irony of being "a delighted, enthusiastic participant in its collective search for interdisciplinary unity via a mathematical language, empirical modeling and anti-historical, anti-social-theoretical stance, and [yet] end up today working within a historical, materialist theoretical problematic" (Lave, 2009).

Bill Sharpe recalls as follows: "There was not enough of a coherent notion of what a truly inter-disciplinary group could do. It veered off, which I think was partly contagion from the cultural situation at that time, into being so virulently anti-establishment it partly threw out the ideas of doing serious research, testing and peer review, what have you…. it was a sort of flower child mentality…I characterised it to others as 'it was a really interesting experiment, but unfortunately all the rats died'".

"Things that are easy for me to say are unconditionally I enjoyed it" [Jim March].

While many of the Faculty may have shared March's enjoyment, William Schonfeld's take is that it wasn't attractive to the students:

"No, there were not many students, that is to say the Department of Social Sciences were not acquiring their normal share of students. I guess you could go back and find out statistically today at UCI, the school of Social Sciences graduate 38% of the undergraduate student body. My guess it, and it's a pure guess, that in 1970, the School of Social Sciences graduated 8%. *[My data is that the current figure is 25% in 2010 compared with 14% in 1970. Schonfeld may be including students from the School of Social Ecology in his 38%].* That is to say that one of the consequnces was that since most students got lost they went elsewhere, including going over to Social Ecology which became an alternative programme and Binder …certainly understood those frustrations."

"It was an experiment. But it was an experiment by an experimentor who was playing with the faculty who were hired, which is not the best form of experiment" [W Schonfeld].

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Practicing the 3rd Eye :
Reflexion on a collective visual harvesting process

ABSTRACT
In an interview he gave a few months before he passed away, Francisco Varela stated that the most critical challenge of the XXIst century would be our collective capacity to do something with experience in order to learn collectively, from mistakes, from aspirations and from practice (Scharmer, 2000). Through introspection, phenomenology and contemplative traditions, he explored the core process of *becoming aware*, from the first, second and third person experience. He questioned current research methodologies that turn knowledge into solid objects where more fragile ontologies would keep a quality to experience that resonates more with the improbable and brittle nature of the way the worlds unfolds. Guillet de Monthoux addressed the same issue by reflecting on his experience: « When I tried to use my […] experiences as management science or organizational theory, they faded into theoretical constructs and technical jargon; the energy vanished in the process of reducing experience to abstraction. [...] What was so special about this energy? I wondered. » (2004, p.15-16).

Stated as such, this methodological question addresses the need to find modes of accessing experience that would bring the quality of the first person experience back, as one would find through introspection, phenomenology or contemplative traditions. Varela's interest for learning to work with such fragile ontologies (Scharmer, 2000) actually becomes a door opener for exploring creative approaches susceptible to foster the energy of the collective experience. The challenge of sketching out a method that can become a relevant research process tool to meet these goals is the trigger for this exploration paper. Initially seen as a methodological challenge, what has taken the name of 'The 3rd Eye' has become a collective and creative research process aiming at capturing phenomenological nuggets of experience as well as a poetic storyteller, sharing the memory of it. The research on which this paper is based has led us to explore participatory action research, aesthetics and large group collective processes. The goal of this paper is to explore this 3rd Eye.

INTRODUCTION

Starting a Methodological Quest: How to go about facing Varela's Challenge?
The central idea chosen to address this challenge is the attention one gives to the experience. Varela thought (Scharmer, 2006) that this quality of attention was intrinsic to our understanding of consciousness. For us, the question translates into how to capture experience with attention or more specifically with mindfulness. The risk is to dry it out of its rich texture, and then any vibrant resonance rapport between the past and the present is bound to vanish.

Introspection, occidental phenomenology and oriental contemplative traditions were all considered useful by Varela to answer the question for they all shared the inner process of developing one's sensibility and consciousness through *becoming aware* in order to access experience. He saw this as a three steps process of the mind which would start with: (1) suspending judgment, (2) redirecting the mind (3) letting go of all thoughts that clutter up the mind, to start exploring in a unfocused way. This openness and sensible listening are suggested to be the appropriate state of mind to find the source of presence and innovation (Senge *et al.*, 2004). Rooted in these principles, the 3rd Eye could become a poetic discovery project into which groups participate actively in the expression of their own consciousness.

A research perspective borrowed from the world of Design
If we consider experience as an ongoing learning process as Varela did, what is learned can be understood as a series of reactions to unknown situations, problems never encountered before, new events or any rupture in the world of the already known. Individual but situated, learning is also collective, as it is a process happening socially. How can we understand this social process and how can we capture its essence without killing it? Considered from a positivist perspective, where experience would be seen as an object to observe, the research output capturing the essence of experience would translate into explicit knowledge, as Nonaka, Scharmer and Polanyi have shown (Mahy, 2005). They also have demonstrated the limitations of what is explicit, by underlying the following: first, explicit knowledge is documented data, only a very small volume of knowledge is actually documented. Second, what is not captured is the context in and from which the documented data has emerged. The basic reason explaining this lack of documentation is the fact that context changes. Considering knowledge to be situated also means that it is relevant *in a certain context*, for the people who have created it. This shows the constructivist (Le Moigne, 1994) – or social constructionist- standpoint on knowledge.

If knowledge is situated and therefore always fluctuating along with its context, how can we be certain that what is documented takes encompasses a complete understanding of a situation? It is actually not feasible, as Schön (1983) proposed. He challenged this positivist idea which assumes that problems are well-formed and thus possible to solve. What human beings know and understand is always incomplete, ambiguous, wicked and understood from a certain standpoint. Thus it cannot be objective. Following this logic, knowledge is always subjective, it cannot be a distant object one observes without interfering with it. To see it is to change it, and to be changed by it.

These ontological considerations may seem basic or irrelevant but through the years, enormous efforts have been invested to try to capture knowledge and, by this, even if the quest is silent and vain, to capture the essence of human wisdom.

How then can design be of help to address the richness of complex and wicked problems, changing contexts where collective knowledge emerges and fluctuates as groups are living meaningful experiences? How can design help create an experience harvesting process to produce glimpse of vibrant memory?

Considering new sciences, or design sciences as the relevant paradigm, rather than the analysis sciences -or positivist research paradigm-, we can focus on the designer's problems. The approach is then not as much centered on the object of knowledge but rather on the *project* of knowledge. It is thus by modeling knowledge, by giving it shape that the process of understanding action unfolds. Designing would be like looking for something that doesn't exist and yet succeed to find it[1]. Supporting the methodological project of fostering, hosting and harvesting experience, this epistemology allows for the researcher to create knowledge by prototyping artifacts that act like memory fragments of various experiences. Over time, through action research done with groups in various organizational settings, the understanding of what makes relevant harvests emerges by inference or action learning.

With aesthetics and phenomenology as a grounding paradigm, collective learning and sharing of experience (Lévy, 2003) can be seen as events and processes that are hosted and harvested (Nissen and Corrigan, 2009) and the perspective of social poetics (Shotter and Katz, 1996) is brought in to inspire the development of the methodology, which aim is to create narratives designed to act as a sensitive mirror reflecting moments of emotions, or in other words, able to convey the quality of the first person experience.

To address this, a soft gaze named the 3rd Eye has been developed and applied to multiple research settings. This aesthetics process of harvesting experiential knowledge creates patch working fragments of experience or soft semiosis. Tapping into multiple media (video, photo, web-based tools, illustrations, poetry, etc.), this creative harvesting method establishes an aesthetic dialogue between the actors and their experience through collective memory. This process of evoking the quality of the shared moment transforms desire, energy and emotion into design (Jennings, 2001) by transforming experience into poetic memory. Initially inspired by Cirque du Soleil creative processes, this 3rd Eye has evolved though prototyping in practice for the last 5 years.

The origins : The first 3rd Eye at Cirque du Soleil
Between 2001 and the end of 2002, an architectural project done by the Cirque du Soleil was studied (Mahy, 2005 and 2008) and one of the practices revealed by this ethnographic research was focused on memory.

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[1] Originally from Plaute, quoted by Le Moigne (1994)

Very innovative, the artists' team had integrated a new kind of memory instrument. Activating the '3rd eye' meant to capture their creative process and transpose what was learned back into the project. This evolved iteratively. The 3rd eye was a person who filmed, on video, everything that she thought 'felt' right to shoot. She was granted the right to capture everything she wanted, and her work consisted of creating video clips of the project team's daily life. She captured visually: creative work sessions; conversations; coffee breaks; restaurant parties; holidays; and traveling situations. Based on these fragments of memory, her edited video clips were used as an intimate mirror of the team's work. Through this aestheticized gaze non verbal communication, images, emotions, and moments of experience were revealed to group members. By looking at themselves, their body language, the atmosphere, and their rapport, they found the experience meaningfully augmented, reinforced, and underlined by music. The 3rd eye would edit clips by integrating the music the team was listening to at the time of the shooting, but would not capture verbal exchanges. The expected content was not intentional information but that which the team revealed spontaneously, unconsciously. This 3rd eye activity held a mirror to the experience and was used to launch conversations on the work completed or to revisit the issues of the week. This way of becoming collectively reflexive was innovative, complex and polysemic, as art can be. Inspired by artists who keep their visual diary on video, this 3rd eye captured, framed, and rendered the field by an aesthetic process, which translated the images into a unique work of art, one that told a different story of the project, one based on an intimate artistic grammar of the person who shot and edited the videos. These traces acted as a parallel path of experience. They were an innovative means that added to the creative process and its dynamic memory.

Since its inception, the 3rd Eye has evolved from being a video storyteller to a full collective intelligence process involving different media and performing artists. This evolution has taken place through prototyping iteratively, in action. The following sections of this paper addresses this with more details.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS
The central question of this exploratory research being how to go about Varela's challenge on doing something relevant with experience, we are invited to consider the preferred paths the cognitician chose to address this problem: introspection, phenomenology or contemplative traditions that foster presence as a central inner stillness. What is implied or, in other words, the underlying hypothesis acting like the foundation to address the question is first that it is possible to harvest collective learning experience *and* to succeed in conveying the sensible nature of the experience without killing the emotion of the experience through the harvesting process.

Unfolding from this question, a second one arises regarding the conditions to put in place in order to create what Nishida defines as Ba, or an inspiring context for innovation to emerge. If like it has been said before, experience is seen as a collective learning process, learning occurring in social settings, and consequently in organizational settings, could equal collective

intelligence[2]. If so, how do we foster or *host* a situation in order to nurture collective intelligence and harvest it to share it back with the participants?

How could this be designed and embodied so that it becomes a relevant methodological research process? With epistemological foundations considering the organization as a complex system, the research presented here explores both the activities of hosting and harvesting experience and proceeds by prototyping relevant tools based on action research activities focused on collective learning processes. To avoid losing the essence of experience in the process, a phenomenological approach is adopted, based on art, or poetics, as art translates and densifies meaning into and through powerful images. By this, the methodological proposition called 'The 3rd Eye' finds itself a nurturing ground, calling for creative artworks as narrative outcomes of the collective learning process. With aesthetics acting as a paradigm (Strati and De Monthoux, 2002), the 3rd Eye links creativity, art and communication –understood in its focus on collective, organizational and interpersonal dynamics- with social and organizational concerns for knowledge, be it experience – knowing from the past- or innovation – knowing from the future-, the distinctions are proposed by Scharmer (2007).

CONCEPTS

The need to harvest the memory of experience : epistemology of memory
This 3rd Eye is embodied in a person who is able to look at human experience from and with a soft gaze. This view on the world is anchored in a phenomenological ground, where substantive rationality is unveiled through the exploration of the culture, here considered as an anthropology, thus defined by its values, behaviors, rules, etc.- and sensibility, which is captured through the various observable cultural manifestations media can perceive and poetry then evokes. Such a memory building process is well fitted to mirror interpersonal and inter-group problematic as well as the issues of innovation and the complexity related to all organizational change which aims at letting multiple stakeholders express their voice.

For this 3rd Eye process to be pertinent, it must act from intuition and find what is not there yet, or what emotion is emerging. From such a sound grounding, a narrative can be created, a scenario sketched for knowledge to be presented back to participants who lived the experience for them to reflect and understand what they have lived through and what meaning they have created. This recursive movement augments and reverberates the experience in such a way that emotions are brought back to consciousness and available for reflexive thoughts, both individual and collective.

Through the aesthetical mediation offered by the collective narratives created by the actors, in dialogue with the researcher, meaning emerges in action and is confirmed with the editing activity. Sketches, trails and artifacts left by the actors are creatively reworked to create

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[2] The risk being that such a collective process does not actually foster intelligence but stupidity…

polyphonic narrative artworks which become useful research data and helpful data for the actors in their own quest for meaning

Narratives as collective memory
As the content of immediate experience vanishes with time, what is left after a while is the memory of having felt something but the emotion itself is gone. The rebirth of the memory is a process well known by artists whose work aims at touching hearts and souls rather than the intellect, through stories. Sharing narratives not only slows the dissolving action of time on memory but reactivates it through the evocation of the experience. Fragments of stories can be patch worked to create a collage which becomes an artifact of collective memory, as Halbwachs (1950) suggests, for the narrative acts as the *seed of remembering*. This narrative genre weaves together gestures, atmosphere, non verbal communication, gaze, intimate moments, silence and the like. As each individual memory is a perspective on collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950) it is the intertwinning of viewpoints which acts the primary prism of the narrative.

Hosting and Harvesting experience
Considering the 3rd Eye process as an aesthetic memory process induces for the group who acts as *harvesters* an openness to complexity and change through an inner posture of presence -and thus attention to emerging phenomena. The intervention a 3rd Eye research group *harvests* is one of the two core dimensions of a collective intelligence space. The other half is the *Hosting* of the Hosting – Harvesting model (Nissen et Corrigan, 2009) which proposes a rich approach to design appropriate containers to nurture conversations that matter. The concepts of *Hosting* and *Harvesting* scope, define and guide the intervention design and the memory capture. To host is to aim at creating democratic moments inside organizations where discussion and formal authority dissolve to give place to listening, reflexivity, openness and presence. Inviting poetry in various artistic collective performances then becomes a key vehicle for experience sharing and innovation. *Harvesting* will reflect the moment by acting as an impressionistic mirror of the intervention, which evokes the experience though poetic means. Research wise, to consider the Hosting – Harvesting model for framing a participatory action research is coherent with the roots of ancient democratic participation practices (Mahy, 2009b). As a collective conversational process available to all communities (Block, 2008), it also supports the XXIst century collective desire and public claim for more direct access to decision processes, social, economic and climatic justice.

The aesthetic paradigm
The aesthetic paradigm and discourse on organizations has recently emerged (Strati and Guillet de Monthoux, 2002), revealing the qualities of a *rapport* to the world nurtured by sensitivity and emotions, including the researchers'. The research presented here is inspired by an empathic – aesthetic approach (Strati, 2004) where the researcher chooses a concern and a field with regards to his/her aesthetical sensibility to the actual concerns, actors, places, etc. and unfolds his/her intervention, data collection – analysis and results approach accordingly. As a collective process, this creative research design becomes a conversational place in itself, where the goal, the means and the aesthetics are shared and take part in the collective intelligence. The collective narrative which is created is thus considered as an artwork, offered to the participants

as traces and fragments of their experience, bearing witness poetically. Acting as a rich perspective on an organizational reality, aesthetics becomes a lens through which (Strati et Guillet de Monthoux, 2002) one can discover aspects of the experience otherwise considered superfluous (sources of joy) as well as essential aspects (survival issues), facetious aspects (playful ruptures of the organizational routine, elegance impossible to limit to a rational analysis). One can also discover what is considered serious (work, revenues, production, competition, growth), or artistic as well as scientific… Encompassing such a broad spectrum, this aesthetic perspective becomes paradigmatic, rooted in phenomenology, arts, participative action research and learning as well as it reflects postmodernity in its poetic grammar, though the fragmentation - stratification of reality and the patchwork – or collage – approach in the harvesting work leading to the creation of a collective narrative.

METHODOLOGY
The goal of the 3rd Eye is to design, host events and prototype memory artifacts, traces of various collective experiences, in order to evolve the process over time, with action research, in different organizational contexts. To do so, social and learning events of various types are facilitated in order to foster a collective learning experience which unfolds like a creative working session and the experience emerging from the various activities performed translates into kinetic, visual and textual data. The generated data are then collected – harvested- in order to create various textual and visual artworks that act as fragments of collective memory.

Concretely, small groups of people can have a discussion, a participatory performing dance like a flash mob can be designed and performed, large conversational cafés can take place for groups of more than a 100 people, visual notes taken by participants while discussing can become a mural, etc. Many social and creative practices are examined to address a specific situation and a core team, the 3rd Eye with members of the inviting organization, designs the learning process of the event. In the design, both the hosting and the harvesting dimensions of it are sketched out, to constitute a scenario. This roadmap stays open, flexible and changeable so that the learning process can emerge in various forms and settings, if needed.

Prototyping the tools needed to host and harvest experience supposes that participatory action learning / research activities act as events from which the tools are iteratively fine-tuned. Different events with various configurations have taken place between 2006 – 2010 and served the purpose of this research. Without providing a detailed description of all the events[3], it is nevertheless important to consider what these fields have in common. Their profiles share the following characteristics. All events gathered a group of people between 25 and 150 persons from one organization or in a public setting. All events were either meetings in private or public organizations. Public calls have also been made for specific events to people interested by a meaningful question. For example, one public event has focused on what collective intelligence is. Another one dealt with the role of art in society. All events were collectively designed, hosted and harvested by the research group –namely the author with a team of 2 to 5 graduate and

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[3] Between 2006 and 2010, more than ten events of this type have been hosted and harvested in various organizations.

post graduate students and professionals-. The events lasted between half a day to two days. The events differ in their scenarios. One event took the format of a triptic, first with an art gallery vernissage, followed by a large group conversation and ending with a second vernissage presenting the collective artwork done by the participants and completed by the design core team. Regarding the activity sector, the events have been held in the health sector, in education, IT management, public business development, in associations, etc. mostly for managers and a few times for professionals.

RESULTS

After five years of hosting and harvesting events, creating prototypes of tools (hosting and harvesting ones) and of memory artworks as well as inferring principles from them, the following key characteristics that define the 3rd Eye process and can help activate –embody- it are the following.

Art

The influence of creative artistic processes and practices on the designing of 3rd Eye process and activities translates into a form of social art, or collective and participatory performance.

The affinities with the artistic activities are manifest and the role of the 3rd Eye team has the hybrid identity of a multi media production team inside which every professional is a poet. The team is clearly focused on an aesthetic view of the world rather than a journalistic one. Instead of acting like journalists, the 3^e Eye team acts as a storyteller, like an author who writes poems, a art film director who does experimental shorts or any other artist capable of creating narratives which capture and render the vibrant flow of energy (Csikszenmihalyi, 1990) of a collective learning process.

Presence

A series of iterations in prototyping all aspects of what the 3rd Eye has become have led to stating some guiding principles for defining and activating a 3rd Eye. A fundamental inner quality of every team member appears to be the ability to embody a state of presence (Senge et al., 2004 ; Mahy, 2006 ; Gumbrecht, 2010) which results from practices identified by Varela as being introspection, occidental phenomenology and oriental contemplative traditions. This inner process of developing one's sensibility and consciousness through *becoming aware* in order to access experience appears to translate directly into the artworks created by the team. This inner presence is found important at all steps of the process, from hosting to harvesting. When acting as a host, being present will enhance the perception of the whole field and reduce fear, while inviting to creativity. When capturing either on video or stills, presencing will also enhance the perception of the person behind the camera and thus increase the intuition or ability to sense in good time and frame meaningful moments. This sensible memory process captures the intangible, the emerging ideas, the natural expression of the actors who participate in an intervention and it frames fragments of memory that will be brought back afterwards, after the experience, as a collective narrative of the moment they lived. This inner state translates into a soft, aesthetic and meaningful gaze. This seem in return to be helping to create emotion, which is the very beauty we're looking for, as it becomes the link between the past –the experience- and the present – the memory of it-.

Personal Mastery of Media

In parallel, personal mastery of the various media at work (Lombard and Ditton, 1997) in the 3rd Eye process is a necessity, technically wise. The different definitions of 'media' would have needed more space to be addressed properly but a few words are necessary to add some clarity. Collective, social and interactional for the hosting process when it relates to facilitation, what is now called 'social media' as defined for the interactive 2.0 web means the virtual conversational tools available, like Facebook, Ning, etc. All the other more traditional multimedia that are not interactive, like photography, video, illustration, poems, etc. They are unidirectional. Regarding these, be they facilitation skills during hosting as well as visual media capture, editing and production, all activities made with these media require some mastery to be effective. Questions stated in a confusing way to a group or a shaking camera, blurred images, a zoom or a traveling which is too quick can in the first case ruin a social dynamics and in the second one make the images unusable. The variability of technical quality the various artworks make a self explaining statement. A 3rd Eye team can be a group of amateurs but these amateurs must act like super users, aware and passionate about their media – be they interactional or not - instruments and devices, this to create favorable conditions for the dynamics of a group and - or for succeeding in taking the precise frame that will be perceived as pure beauty.

Storytelling

The ability to tell stories has also appeared to be central to the 3rd Eye process. This poetic approach to knowledge (Jennings, 2001; Shotter and Katz, 2004) engages the participant in recalling through emotions what he or she has experienced in the past. A touching and moving story will trigger this process and convey feelings, as an odor smelled in the present time, or a music heard again can immediately recall an event from the past. The ability to tell stories in an evocative way constitutes one of the key competences of the 3rd Eye. Along with the ability to create narratives, to create them collectively is also a specific competence. Originally influenced by the surrealist and automatist art movements, the 3rd Eye is therefore influenced in its editing process by the same creative currents. This traditionally implies a team participating in the capturing and editing process. In other words, there is potentially more than one author of images, illustrations, video shoots, performing arts, etc. Consequently, the narratives created, be they stills or videos, poems, dances, sculptures or murals, are the outcomes of a team of authors creating together short stories of an experience.

DISCUSSION

Is it effective, or in other words, does this 3rd Eye trigger an aesthetic experience? Does it recall and if yes, does it succeed to evoke the emotions of the experience? To ask these questions implies that the artworks produced with the 3rd Eye as the aesthetic memory process actually target audiences who have lived the experience. The memory artifacts are thus not meant to be affective or to recall anything to people who have not experienced the moment captured by and displayed through the artifact. Therefore, these 3rd Eye productions are not to be confused with television series, films or professional artwork based on the craft of professional technicians and artists. They are humble traces of an experience witch is given back to the people who lived it.

The lack of any aesthetic ruling, which could otherwise dominate style, and framing, editing decisions or postproduction choices confers to these artifacts a quality of simplicity and accessibility. They actually look as non-professional artwork, like the millions of clips and photos anybody can find on the web nowadays. There is no other aesthetic pretend to it than the actual competencies of the 3rd Eye itself, who ever the team is. This makes the process accessible to all researchers.

Becoming a dense and valuable artwork in the sense that it passes the test of aesthetic judgment is not a goal these artifacts try to reach. They are meant to trigger the memory of past moments and the emotions experienced at the time. The first person experience rendered by the 3rd Eye would be like and I felt what you meant' combined with 'I saw what you felt' as necessary conditions for creating relevant artworks. This combination make the very successful –or touching- 3rd Eye artwork artifacts quite rare. Nevertheless, somehow, a few artworks sometimes rise above the crowd and impose themselves as archetypal images, which encompass rich meaning and vibrant echoes to a larger public. If is actually hazardous to open the door to yet another tension between arts, aesthetics and semiotics as a closing comment, it is nevertheless relevant to say that these artworks – or semiosis - seem to have special qualities when they succeed to capture and keep the attention, in the sense we have defined it previously: they offer the audience phenomenological spheres or worlds, witch really resonate on their memory because they perceive them as being fully their own. This universal dimension is obviously an exception and as artist knows, it is vain to try to capture the recipe for success. Humility and a certain sense of discovery related to the very nature of this research process still permeate the activity in each if its embodiment.

As Merlaud-Ponty's quote on genius revealed, when he wrote that genius doesn't come from the sky above, like visiting angels, but it rather emerge from the low levels (from Manuscripts X, le visible et l'invisible [4]), the exploration of the low levels of experience, or in other words, the invisible, somewhat unperceivable and vibrant texture of life can be turned inside out by a 3rd Eye when its gaze and talent are mindful.

CONCLUSION
While it is still not clear as to know if the 3rd Eye succeeds to provide an answer to Varela's question and concern, we can minimally propose that it constitutes a methodological path toward the understanding of and the acting from experience. As a path finding activity, this design-based research, which proceeds through prototyping, participates in the discovery of the nature of the unique quality of first person experience. By doing so, though the participatory action learning events led to provide the conditions for research, some guiding principles have emerged and can act as reference for embodiment. Activating the 3rd Eye can thus become more concrete and its aesthetic gaze become more tangible to the team members.

There are obvious limitations to this research, found mainly in the complexity of the research process itself, and the numerous components to consider simultaneously may invite to a

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[4] Quoted by Pascal Dupond, *Autour de la phénoménologie de la perception de Merlaud-Ponty*, www.philopsis.fr

simpler research design. More specifically, the competencies the research process requires can be difficult to find at once. Initiating events, hosting / facilitating them, harvesting them, producing the artworks, etc. require significant efforts that can constitute a heavy load if resources are scarce. Furthermore, because the culture of a 3rd Eye team has many similarities with an artistic community's culture, - a troupe-, which can be compared to a tribe, encounters and relationships building process are central (Mahy, 2005). This attention given to the quality of the affective relations implies time, openness and authenticity. A certain ethics of care develops through this relational process when these conditions are met.

A second limitation is found in the paradoxical relation between collective and individual artistic process when times comes to make aesthetic choices. While the whole 3rd Eye process is collective, the aesthetic choices cannot be reduced to an exercise of compromise. The fundamental values that define the nature of the relations inside the small 3rd Eye community will show when such decisions have to be made. The strength of the collective design abilities are tested in the process and as such, it constitutes a unique experience of co-sensing, co-presencing and co-creating (Scharmer, 2008) that is worth harvesting.

This paper also has its own limitations. One of them consists of the very short definitions given of the social interactional facilitation processes (i.e. hosting). More depth could have helped clarify the understanding of the socialization of knowledge creation process, as Nonaka would qualify it. This invites to explore in a more focused and in depth way the various components of the 3rd Eye in further publications, now that this overview has shed light on the whole process.

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The Politics of Work Coaching -

Between Impairing Vision and Creating Visions

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ABSTRACT

Coaching has become a frequently used Human Resource Management intervention, but has hardly been empirically researched. Coaching is commonly legitimated by drawing upon HRMs notion of enhancing performance and stands especially close to the Human Potential Movement and its aims to free the untapped potential of individuals. While the positive effects of coaching have been extensively discussed in the literature, critical reflections of this emerging field are rare. In this paper I therefore investigate coachings' political nature and suggest to understand coaching as a social, rather than an individual, practice. Such a perspective lets us consider possible adverse effects of organizational coaching and I will consider three: when coaching is instrumentalized as a disciplinary practice; when coaching individualizes organizational conflicts; when coaching intensifies the internal constraints by propagating emotional regulation and self-management. These critical considerations are linked to an illustrative case example and excerpts from narrative research interviews. A critical deconstruction of coaching allows us to move on and look for alternative ways of reading this organizational practice. We might thus consider coaching as a reflective practice, which, in a modest way, enables emancipation and the emergence of alternative visions of organizational life. In sum, this paper seeks to make a contribution by deepening the perspective on the political dimension of the use of coaching, as well as its in organizational settings.

Introduction

In this paper I propose to understand coaching as a social practice, in which multiple stakeholders are involved in the negotiation of coachings' vision. The question is then: *Whose visions are enacted in organizational coaching*? In the attempt to find an answer to this question we might enquire the processes which shape the coaching practice: different forms of participation, political motives, individual and organizational identities. Generally, coaching can have a wide range of aims, but in organizational settings it is dominated by the idea of producing the "happy-productive worker". This dominant discourse impairs the field of vision as it marginalizes other perspectives. On the other hand, coaching might also act as a reflective space in which employees are able to discover alternative visions to organizational life and are empowered to find forms of micro-emancipation. I argument, that it is this ambivalent tension between impairing vision and creating visions that coaching, as a social practice, falls into. Aim of this paper is to contribute to the critical organizational studies and Human Resource Management literature on coaching and deepen the understanding of coachings political momentum.

In a first step I will contextualize the coaching practice and show its historical development, its prevalence in the work world, its struggle for identity and describe the logics coaching practitioners preferably draw upon. In a second step I will then try to deconstruct the common understanding of coaching with the help of empirical interview material. Finally I will sketch a first and unfinished picture how coaching might act as a reflective practice within the organizational context.

Mapping the Coaching Practice

"We have witnessed the birth of a new form of expertise, an expertise of subjectivity. A whole family of new professional groups has propagated itself, each asserting its virtuosity in respect of the self, in classifying and measuring the psyche, in predicting its vicissitudes, in diagnosing the causes of its troubles and prescribing remedies. Not just psychologists - clinical, occupational, educational - but also social workers, personnel managers, probation officers, counsellors and therapists of different schools and allegiances have based their claim to social authority upon their capacity to understand the psychological aspects of the person and to act upon them, or to advise others what to do" (Rose, 1990, p. 2).

Had Nicolas Rose written the above in the year 2010 he might have added coaches as one of the newly born professional groups which claim "authority upon their capacity to understand the psychological aspects of the person and to act upon them, or to advise others what to do" (idem., p. 2). Today a large number of people are showing interest in coaching practices, in private as well as in work contexts. This is mirrored by the establishment of a large coaching industry, a flood of best-selling coaching books as well as the broad incorporation of the term into everyday language. Over the last twenty years coaching has especially established itself as an organizational practice and can be found in many forms of business and work contexts. Coaching is increasingly considered a core activity of Human Resource Management and its sub-discipline human resource development. Still, when asked most people will admit that they do not have a clear understanding of what coach-

ing is. This circumstance is mirrored when Clegg, Rhodes, & Kornberger (2007) introduce their findings on the coaching industry in Australia as follows:

> "We uncovered coaches whose definition of their organizational selves included (a) executive coaches, (b) therapists who use Buddhist philosophy, (c) just a web site, (d) facilitators, (e) entrepreneurs with franchising systems, (f) mixed forms, (g) public speakers, (h) emotional therapists, (i) institutionalized schools, (j) global corporations, (k) business planners, (l) and many more, (m) with money back guarantees" (2007, p. 495).

Coaching is de facto a fuzzy practice and its diversity is mirrored in the historical development of the term. In the attempt to better comprehend coaching I propose to turn to a narrative reconstruction of its history to shed some light into the matter. The following is a, surely incomplete and somewhat too linear, collage of the development of the term.

The Genesis of Coaching

Several authors assume that the heredity of the modern word coaching goes back into the fifteenth century were its roots seem to lie in a small town called Kocsi Szekér, a place located in the northern parts of today's Republic of Hungary. In medieval times the people of Kocsi where known as talented craftspeople, who made excellent horse wagons. The wagons where called the wagons from Kocs. The wagons from Kocs became fame and were well known across the Hungarian speaking regions, but soon also within other parts of Europe (Pitsis, 2008). By the sixteenth century variations of the word had trickled into some of the other European languages, like English, where the word was linguistically modified into coach (Hartmann, 2004; Kubowitsch, 1995). It was then in England that a

new meaning was attached to the word, namely the act of instructing a horse into pulling a coach. This was to coach a horse. The person coaching the horse then became known as the coach (Bayer, 2000, as cited in Hartmann, 2004).

A possible next development of the term may have occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century, when English university students started to mock their tutors by calling them coaches. We can imagine that this mockery was partly due to the circumstance that preparing for university exams meant long hours of hard and monotonous learning and tutors were to coach students into learning. In this picture, students probably identified more with the horses than with the wagons (Palmer & Whybrow, 2006). Coaching had found its way onto campus and it did not take much for the term to also find its way into sports as students began to call their sports instructors coaches. This seemed to have first happened with the rowing instructors of students at Oxford (Everend & Selman, 1989). The meaning of the word had now underwent another transformation, linking it also to sports. In this context sports instructors began to identify themselves as coaches and thus the sports coach was born (Brock, 2008).

At this point of our story we might have to consider the turbulent dynamics that the sports sector was undergoing in the twentieth century. As we move into the modern era, the role of sports in society drastically changed. As sports championships became mass events with a high involvement of media the field drastically professionalized. Sports was paired with industrial interests and lead to the commercialization of various disciplines, enabling people to live from sponsorship contracts and connecting achievements in sports to financial gratification. This not only lead to the professionalization of the athletes and

their routines, but also to the professionalization of coaches, whose job it was to guarantee the success of the sportspeople. In the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century sports coaches started to consider psychological models of learning and motivation (Gordon, 2007). Sports coaching received a new function, which was about motivating people, instead of only teaching them the right techniques or movements. In effect coaches no longer only technically instructed the athletes, they also began feel responsible for their mental training and psychological motivation. Often through media these approaches to coaching were transported into the public awareness. Everyday people began to perceive coaches as motivational trainers who supported athletes to perform at their best. An early example of this fusion is Gallwey`s (1974) best-selling book The Inner Game of Tennis, which in its 2008 update edition holds the subtitle The classical guide to the mental side to top performance.

From within sports coaching the term began to spread onto other disciplines and contexts. In the 1980s came a phase of chaotic development, during which coaching began to be associated with psychological, management, spiritual and philosophical ideas. The term became popular in mainstream culture, leading to its exponential use as well as the acceleration of its mutation. The effect was that the act of coaching was paired with different motivational and learning models of change (Grant, 2004; Rauen, 2005). In present times coaching is omnipresent and has found its way into all realms of life, especially into the working world (Falla, 2006). Especially influenced by systemic thinking, "to coach" in work contexts is increasingly associated with ideas of "second order management", non-directive conversation and "enabling a systematic and intensive problem- and self-reflective process" (Greif, 2008, own translation).

I would like to highlight the three meanings of the verb "to coach" within the narration. A first meaning is connected to a practice of external discipline (breaking a horses will), a second is associated with a practice of self-management / self-discipline (coaching athletes and managers to top performance) and a third is linked to intensive self-reflection. There is another aspect of the story I would like to stress: the term coaching is infused with multiple, historically formed meanings. These meanings are linked to interpretative repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), which inform the doing of coaching. They predefine the implicit and explicit theories of change and to which cause change can and should be directed.

Forms of Coaching

In the following I will differentiate between three prototypical forms of coaching for reasons of clarity: life coaching, organizational coaching and coaching as a communication theory in management. Life coaching includes subforms like health coaching, spiritual coaching, personal coaching and dating coaching. Organizational coaching summarizes forms of coaching within organizational boundaries, sometimes called work coaching, business coaching or executive coaching (Pitsis, 2008). When a coaching stance is used in management the context is less formalized and can be understood as a way of managing employees in everyday interaction through non-directive communication. While life and organizational coachings are often facilitated by "professional" coaches within formalized

settings, coaching as a management tool is often not even referred to as being coaching (Clegg, Rhodes, Kornberger, & Stilin, 2005).

Further, the question of contracting is essential for the organization of the coaching process. The flow of money somewhat predefines how, where and when coaching sessions take place and who is involved in the process. The sponsor can implement a dominant way of reading the coaching practice and its aims. Schmid (2008) distinguishes five business models for coaching: (a) coach to client, (b) coach to business, (c) business to business, (d) coach via intermediate to client and (e) internal coach to internal client (idem., p. 47ff.). Generally, the coachee pays for life coaching (model a), the organization pays for organizational coaching (models b to e) and no one pays for coaching as a management tool, because it is part of everyday management activities. By understanding who funds the coaching sessions, we can also better understand the dependencies and power structures into which this practice is placed. As coaches are paid for by the organization, and not by the coachee, a triangulation of interests is preassigned (Sherman & Freas, 2004; Orenstein, 2002). While the literature often stresses the intimate relationship between the coach and the coachee, the influence of the organization on the coaching process is seldom discussed.

This paper is exclusively concerned with organizational coaching as a personal development interventions, placed within the Human Resource Management agenda and (Cummings & Worley, 2008) in which "professional" external or in-house coaches are involved.

RELEVANCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL COACHING

Is coaching a relevant organizational phenomenon?

Organizational coaching has considerably grown in size - as a HRM trend in organizations but also as a service industry. The coaching market has rapidly expanded within only a few years (Kampa-Kokesch & M. Anderson, 2001). For example, a 2009 UK-survey (Bresser, 2009) reported that of 859 questioned organizations, 2/3 stated that they make use of business coaching. Other surveys indicate that the coaching trend has not reached its full zenith. For "almost half (46%) of organizations, the major organisational change affecting learning and talent development in the next five years will be a greater integration between coaching, organisational development and performance management to drive organisational change" (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2009, p. 3).

The growth of coaching is also visible in the establishment of training infrastructures and the formation of coaching associations. We can identify the formation of a new profession (Fietze, 2010). The International Coach Federation, as one example of one of many coaching associations, has recently doubled in size and currently has around 12000 members in 34 countries (International Coach Federation, 2009). The strong presence of coaching within the media is another sign which indicates its viral development. Finally, the growing numbers of people who professionally do coaching speaks for itself as "[t]here are about 43,000-44,000 business coaches minimum operating in the world" (Bresser, 2009, p.

7). Given the large number of coaches and the finance power of this emerging field one might ask how coaching presents and legitimates itself.

LEGITIMATION AND IDENTITY OF COACHING

The coaching field "is ill-defined, contradictory and ambiguous" (Clegg, Rhodes, & Kornberger, 2007, p. 510). As the profession lacks inner cohesion it makes all the more effort to distinguish itself from disciplines that it stands near to - foremost psychotherapy (Hart, Blattner, & Leipsic, 2001; Price, 2009; Clutterbuck, 2009) on the one side and counseling on the other. In order to distance itself from psychotherapy the sports coaching metaphor is regularly drawn upon (Gordon, 2007). It has been argued that the close connection between top performance and sports coaching enabled the term coaching to transcend into the realm of management. Professional athletes and managers to share similar priorities oriented around the theme of top performance. The term coaching is an outstanding rhetorical vehicle to transport individual centered interventions into the business context and as Peltier (2001) has remarked: "The main reason that coaching is called 'coaching' and not executive counseling or workplace psychotherapy is that hard-charging corporate types, especially men, are likely to be happy to have a coach, but unwilling to enter therapy. Most identify with sports and would love to see themselves as athletes, or at least, high performers. Counseling is associated with weakness and inadequacy, while coaching is identified with successful sports figures and winning teams" (p. 170).

The boundaries towards consulting are mainly established through describing consulting as a somewhat ridged, answer-orientated practice that avoids the emotional side to business, while coaching is described as a flexible, process-orientated intervention that embraces the emotional side to business (Clegg, Rhodes and Kornberger, 2007; Bjorkeng, Clegg, Pitsis, & Rhodes, 2008).

PREFERRED LOGICS OF WORK COACHING

We may now move on to ask what visions guide coaching and what "preferred realities" coaching aims to create? To address these questions a literature review using best-selling Amazon books as well as coaching journals was preformed. While the list is surely not extensive, the following logics of coaching do seem to be dominant in the literature:

- Coaching as a means of improving personal attributes. The logic behind this vision is that individual growth leads to organizational growth. By optimizing self-management and communication skills and heightening motivation the overall job performance is improved. Personal attributes act as mediators for organizational effectiveness.
- Coaching as a means for improving coping strategies. Coaching deals with issues of work-life balance, stress reduction and work-load. By improving coping skills physical and mental health is secured. Healthy worker are happy workers are productive workers. This correlated with less turnover and sick days.
- Coaching as a means to catalyst learning and adaptation in new situations. Here coaching is used as a pedagogical custom-made intervention, which is to enable fast learning. Such a learning situation might be the coaching of a young top-performer, who is promoted into a management position for the first time. Other topics might include the

training of intercultural behaviors or practical skills needed within a specific industry or context. This is to produce an adaptive advantage.

In total coaching especially draws on the Human Potential Movement and its inherent idea of the happy-productive worker theme - coaching is believed to increase organizational productivity and at the same time boost individual happiness (Kinloch, 2004; Linley, 2006; Peterson & Millier, 2005; Wales, 2001). One of the premises is "that individuals have vast reservoirs of untapped potential within them and are naturally inclined towards developing that potential" (Spence, 2007, p. 257). Coaching unleashes his potential and thus enables "getting the best out of every employee" (Fournies & Fournies, 1999). Within such a model the function of coaches is to master "the skills needed to help people unlock their potential and maximize their performance" (Whitmore, 2009). The assumption that organizational and individuals can be directed towards the mutual goal of high performance, and that this is good for both parties alike, is somewhat taken for granted here (Janssens & Steyaert, 2009). In consequence the other visions are seldom explored.

Summarizing we find the preponderance of functionalist logics that underlie the coaching practice. Such an understanding, we might suspect, would predefine how coaching is organized in organizational settings and thus influence the effects of the intervention. The following shall be a first attempt to diversify our understanding of coaching's political nature guided by the question: "Who gets coaching from whom, when and why".

Towards a Critical-Interpretative Understanding of Coaching

While alternative paradigms to coaching are rare a number of authors can be named. Amado and Fatien for example (2009) discuss coaching from a Lacanian perspective and consider coaching to be an "ambiguous tool rather than either detrimental or efficient per se -and this ambiguity may well be a reason for its success today" (p. 16; see also Arnaud, 2003). Also in the line of psychoanalytical thinking Newton, Long and Sievers (2006) stress the importance to relate roles, not individuals, to organizations in coaching and consider the enactment of organizational (psycho-)dynamics within the coaching process. Both Drake (2008) and Stelter (2009) make an argument for a narrative take on coaching. While Drake draws upon the works of poststructural narrative psychology, Stelter (2009) takes on a dialogical approach and sees coaching as a reflective space.

Still, critical accounts of coaching are few and it has not yet been discussed which role and function it takes within a wider social and organizational development. Also vacant, to my understanding, is a critical discussion of the role coaching plays in organizational politics (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992; Grey, 2009) and in the enforcement of managerial control. As coaching can be understood as a HRM-practice we can immediately connect to a large body of Critical Management Studies literature which tries to understand the effects of managerial control (Townley, 1993; McKenna, Garcia-Lorenzo, & Bridgman, 2010). Following Karreman and Alvesson (2004) we can differentiate between two forms of managerial control: socio-ideological control which "attempts to control worker beliefs" and technocratic control which "attempts to directly control worker behavior" (idem, p. 152). In the

following I will try to show how coaching might be used as an instrumental tool for organizational politics, as a method of socio-ideological and technocratic control.

As the story of coaching at the beginning of this paper demonstrates, coaching holds multiple meanings. Therefore multiple meanings can also be projected onto the doing of coaching. The ground assumption here is that coaching's visions are not fixed, but variable. The aims and visions of this practice are socially constructed and have to be negotiated. Often multiple agents are involved in determining preferred outcomes of a coaching process. In order to explore the use of coaching in organizations and to better understand the social dynamics involved, twenty-five interviews with coaches, coachees and HR-managers were conducted.

The following case example shall illustrate how coaching is discursively constructed in a larger organizational context. Currently data is being processed and this paper draws upon the preliminary analysis. The following case example shall illustrative that organizational coaching is often a multi-stakeholder process.

Case Example

The following is an excerpt of a research interview (Coach 7, 2010) conducted with an external Coach [C] of the German branch of a large multinational COMPANY in the finance sector. This narration describes the contents of the first coaching session as well as the processes leading to the first session. I have highlighted the different actors to show the diversity of agents who actively co-construct the coaching process.

[I]:   How did it come to the first contact between you and the employee?

[C]:   The employee participated in an Employee Development Program [EDP]. This was a workshop within the Organizational Development Program of the Company. At the end of the program the employee received a personal feedback, which suggested that she has issues with "being emotionally responsive to criticism" and "distancing herself from decisions". Colleagues notice instantly when the employee disagrees with something ... I have to admit that I already know the employee, because I did a coaching with her some time ago. Her old boss organized the coaching back then, because he said that you notice immediately, when she does not agree with something. I asked the employee what happened to that issue. The employee used to have a problem with another colleague, because she told him plain spoken when she disagreed with him, but she doesn't consider this to be a problem anymore. Now she gets along fine with people, but she has problems with decisions (...) The employee had her difficulties with the EDP feedback, because she says she wanted to discuss certain issues but the external trainer didn't agree to that. I don't know... The employee doesn't see criticism as a problem and I also don't see her as someone who can`t take critical comments either. (...) Altogether the employee clearly describes her main motivation for coaching: She knows how things are and that they restrain her career development and she doesn't want that.

[I]:   What position does the employee have within the company?

[C]:   She is a team leader, but she doesn't have a disciplinary function at the moment... She has a new boss and she hasn't figured him out yet. We worked on this specific circum-

stance within the coaching session. The employee is a bit tough on this new boss, because she is on edge due to the new management style of this new boss. She gets under considerable strain, because she has a lot of pressure at work. When the new boss comes around with a new assignment, which the employee does not consider to be important, and which can not be resolved easily or quickly and the new boss puts pressure on her to resolve the problem, then the employee becomes crabby. (...) What also adds up for the employee is that she has a lot stress in her PRIVATE LIFE and she says this adds up.

[I]:   Is the employees emotional behavior ever seen in a more positive light? I mean that she is what you might call "an honest soul"?

[C]:   No, they don't appreciate that at the COMPANY. They very much emphasize harmony and emotional reactions like that don't fit in there - especially when they are of negative nature. They don't allow themselves to be emotional, but they do contract me, because I am particularly emotional. I give very explicit and honest feedback and they tolerate that. But the employee is an employee and that's not possible for her at all. (...) Yes, and that's why the employee chose me. She said that she fought to get me as a coach, because she knows that I am emotional and also navigate within this environment, however in a different role...

CRITICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON COACHING

A single narration of the coaching process can merely give one interesting account of a coaching process. Still, the example makes visible that multiple voices may surround

coaching and lead to a polyphony of visions (Bakhtin, 1982). The process of negotiating the preferred visions of the coaching process might already be seen as a central part of doing coaching. A naïve handling of this politically laden dynamic process may miss a central point in understanding the effects of this intervention in its organizational context (Arnaud, 2003). The following three critical hypotheses shall underline this.

Technocratic Control: Coaching by Prescription

The literature on coaching agrees that one of the success factors for a positive outcome of the coaching process is the voluntariness of the coachee (Bluckert, 2005). On the other hand little has been said about the frequency and effects when coaching is subscribed to employees. Currently we can only indirectly conclude the number of forced coaching sessions. An example is Judge and Cowell (1997) study of mid-level senior managers. The authors reported that half of the study population was required to seek coaching. Even when coaching is not directly subscribed social pressure to use coaching as a means of fixing personal deficits can still be high. As in the case example the coach summarizes: "Altogether the employee clearly describes her main motivation for coaching: She knows how things are and that they restrain her career development and she doesn't want that" (Coach 7, 2010). Within the interviews I have conducted, several coaches, depending of the industry they operate work in, have reported that coaching is used as a last resource to manage the productivity of employees. Within the interviews two coaches reported of cases where the coachee was given an official reprimand and advise to take coaching, due his inability to fulfill the demanded sales numbers.

This use of coaching often contradicts the intentions of the coaches and their ethical agenda to help the coachee as best as (s)he can. Since internal and external coaches are mostly contracted by the organization this is a strong dilemma, without an easy solution. It is not my intention to state that coaching is always involuntary, nor that such coaching must always be harmful for the coachee. The point I would like to stress is that coaching is far from being innocent, when used in organizational contexts.

POLITICAL INSTRUMENTALIZATION: COACHING AS CONFLICT DEFLECTOR

From a macro-perspective there might be another function within coaching that makes it an attractive practice for organizations. Kühl (2007, 2008) grounding his line of argumentation on Luhmann's system theory, arguments that coaching may also act as a deflector for organizational tension. The central argument here is that coaching limits conflicts that span over a larger subsystem to the individual subsystem, thus individualizing the conflict. In other words, the problem is interpreted and narrated as being an individual problem, although other interpretations would also be possible on a non-individual level. In our case example this might be reflected in the way the coach narrates the specific politics of emotion within the organization: "No, they don't appreciate that [=straightforward emotional reactions from the coachee] at the COMPANY. They very much emphasize harmony and emotional reactions like that don't fit in there - especially when they are of negative nature" (Coach 7, 2010). In this logic we can come to see coaching as a practice to avoid the dispute of negative emotions in the organization.

Maybe, an even better example is given by a former internal coach of a large multinational organization in the technology industry: "The organization sent me a lot of employees, during the course of a big business restructuring process. I got all the hot potatoes from the Human Relations Department. Directors and senior directors, who didn't have a place in the future of the organization any more. They were around 55 years old and their career were going to an end. Not yet in pension age, out of a job or potentially out of a job at the organization. They told them to go talk to me. Professional assessment was the topic of our sessions. (…) They weren't fired yet, but they knew that the restructuring process would probably flush them out." (Coach 1, 2009)

Both short narratives show how specific events can either be interpreted and potentially dealt with on an individual or an organizational level. If the situation of the employee is seen as a personal problem and related to his character, then it will be dealt with individually. If the assessment is that the situation is highly interrelated with the organizational structures a dissenting reading of the situation is triggered. In the light of organizational dynamics, coaching is tempted to take the edges of political power play out of daily routine by making individuals deal with their frustrations and resistance in the coziness of a confidential space. In consequence, organizational problems are individualized and coaching augments the organizational denial of political dynamics, turning potential 'blind spots' into 'dark spots'?

Within this last argument I would like to move into the realm of emotion, which I understand to be subject to social construction (Fineman, 2005; Harre, 1986). As such emotions are not objects, but highly related to interpretation and sense making of actions. The effects of a gradual psychologizing of the social world have been discussed by a number of prominent authors like Foucault (Foucault, 1979, 1988), Ellias (Elias, 1987) and lately by Rose (Rose, 1999) and Illouz (Illouz, 2007). Hence, I can only begin to scratch the surface this relevant theme in this contribution.

Asked about the reasons what legitimates coaching within the organization one HR-manager stated: "I think that in a lot of heads the idea still exists that we can trim people by coaching them. We`ll coach people to make them more efficient" (HR-Manager 2; 2010). The hypothesis is that coaching places a subtile pressure, through specific forms of interpretation, onto the coachee and thus enhances forms of self-discipline. To make this illustrate, the case example can be recapitulate in the following way: "The coachee reacts unprofessionally when dealing with colleagues and decisions. Aim of the coaching is to resolve this behavior so he can further develop his career within the organization." What is reflected in the remark "she is unprofessional" also reflects the way out language frames professionalism and emotion. This remark does not state that she doesn't do an efficient job, but that she is too emotional while doing her job. Professionalism in this sense is considered as a synonym for emotionally controlled (Illouz, 2007).

As it becomes the common assumption that emotions are a part of work performance and need to be regulated, the pressure to adjust emotional displays becomes stronger. The thrive towards greater performance is then the central vision that is to be inscribed into the personal identity. When techniques that have been developed for the modification of depression, anxiety disorders or traumata are used in the work context, we might be looking at a new layer to the formation of emotional labor (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983). Is the modern soul under pressure as employees are not only to show norm-adequate emotions but also identify with them and make them to their own?

All speaks for an increase of what has been called a "therapeutic habitus" (Costea, Crump, & Amiridis, 2008) in the dominion of work which diminishes the borders between self-identity and work-identity. As personal attributes become increasingly linked to work features it is expected to manage oneself and ones emotions and thus "intense regimes of self-discipline" (Costea et al., 2008, p. 991) are installed. Coaching in this light is a disciplinary practice such that "[i]n compelling, persuading and inciting subjects to disclose themselves, finer and more intimate regions of the personal and interpersonal life come under surveillance and are opened up for expert judgment, normative evaluation classification and correction" (Rose, 1999, p. 240).

Coaching as a Reflective Practice

The critical reading of coaching lets us gain insight into the political nature of coaching and its social dimension. This form of critical deconstruction allows us to re-search new positions, which are not naive to the installments of power and (mechanisms of self-) control in organizations. Within this last section I would like to attempt a reconstruction of

coaching and suggest to consider coaching as a reflective practice (Reynods & Vince, 2004) and "believe that reflexivity is inherently connected to learning to use tensions among different perspectives to expose and connect different assumptions and to open up new ways of thinking" (Janssens & Steyaert, 2009, p 152). When seen in such a light, coaching may allow the reflection of dominant organizational discourses. It may house spaces for resistance in which emancipation and the creation of alternative visions are enabled. To do so coaching needs to overcome its individual-centered HRM thinking and wake its curiosity for the processes of organizing which shape organizational life. It also needs to distance itself from its sole alignment to enhance economic performance in organizations. Such form of reflexivity will call upon reflection at the organizational level and contextualize individual experiences, including their emotions, within the specific cultures - it will try to understand how organizational routines are dominated and re-enacted in the day-to-day practices and question their underlying premises.

Given such a framework the obvious next question is then, if coaching, whose setting is individual centered, can at all contribute to this form of reflexivity. I would like to give a moderate positive reply to this question by arguing that coaching allows individuals to develop and probe narrations of organizational life that might otherwise not be detected. The underlying idea to this is one that emanates out of a critical-interpretative narrative theory (Boje, 1995). Grounding on ideas from Bakhtin (1982) narrative theory perceives life to hold more complexity than what is narrated and that narratives of life always have the possibility of being multifaceted and multivocal (Hermans, 2003). When one voice gains interpretative authority over the others, life is marginalized to one perspective; one way of feeling, behaving and thinking. When new voices and new interpretations are articulated

within this context we might understand this as a form of micro-emancipation (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002); a shift from one dominate narration towards multiple narrations of life's complexity. Coaching may be understood as a space in which these narrations are probed and articulated for a first time.

While group-based reflection methods allow a wider range of people to share different version of organizational reality with each other, it is not said that alternative narrations are more likely emerge in such a setting. Group pressure to subscribe to the dominant interpretations will often block the explorative and innovative processes. It is here that the confidential space of coaching may provide the secure ground, a playful space in which individual reactions are de-individualized and read as text within the greater organizational context. Instead of looking to explore the hearts and souls of their coachees, coaches might critically challenge the premises of the organizational culture. I suggest to study and envision such forms of reflexive coaching in future research.

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VISION: the Art of Manifesting the Invisible

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Abstract

The article addresses the theme of vision considering it as the 'art of making things real'. To stretch the meaning we should say that vision is an act of faith, since it operates as if the future were actual or as if immaterial entities were concrete. In this version, the concept of vision combines a common meaning with a metaphorical one. The term 'vision', in fact, simultaneously evokes the sense of sight and the mental exercises of imagining, forecasting, and representing. These functions are metaphorical because they transfer the meaning beyond the description, thus producing multiple interpretations. The core of this study is precisely the analysis of the performative nature of vision in different organizational domains. Four meanings of vision are discussed: representing, forecasting, normalizing, organizing. The investigation draws on organizational studies, philosophy of language, STS, urban sociology and human geography, and combines theory with case studies.

Introduction

Recently in the U.S. Christian fundamentalism has been growing particularly in the so-called "Bible Belt" which includes those southern states where radical Protestantism is particularly strong. In that area have flourished evangelical universities and colleges, such as the Liberty University in Virginia, the Museum of Creationism of Petersburg in Kentucky, open since 2007 and theme parks, such as the *Holy Land and Experience* in Orlando, Florida, where actors perform passages from the Bible. The reportage by the French journalist David Fauquemberg (2008) on the spread of creationism in the U.S. provides interesting examples of the narratives used by the creationism movement to promote its message and prove the truthfulness of its beliefs.

'Prepare to believe' is the welcome message of the Creation Museum website. A similar, but even more explicit, message is the one that Fauquemberg saw in Tennessee in front of a Baptist church: '*Vision is the art of seeing invisible things'*. That sentence caught my attention and prompted me to think what it would be to consider vision in these terms.

The case of creationism may appear alien to analysis of vision in organizational environments. Instead, I found it inspiring because it directly concerns a topical issue: the mechanisms upon which vision is based and works. "We need, in other words, to look at the way in which someone convinces someone else to take up a statement, to pass it along, to make it more of a fact" (Latour 1986: 5).

Is it not significant that even religion, which should by definition be a matter of faith, has an urgent need to demonstrate its propositions by resorting both to drama and science? In order to make it more accessible and to compete at the same level with scientific argumentation, religion has become a sensible and verifiable phenomenon. Accordingly, we have two different and apparently contrasting narrative patterns: the dramatic one, as in the case of the Orlando theme park where passages from the Bible are enacted, and the scientific one aimed at providing undisputable proofs. The Museum of Creationism, for example, seeks to demonstrate the real existence of Adam and Eve through an analysis of Genesis, and to establish the age of the Earth by means of a detailed genealogical analysis of the Old Testament.

Scientists, for their part, have the same attitude to visualization. They consider visual devices as means to demonstrate the truth: "You doubt of what I say? I'll show you". (Latour 1986: 13). Latour's words clearly posit the problem being discussed here by addressing two questions. The first concerns recognition that, given the predominance of sight over the other

senses, knowledge is inevitably mediated by the visual, so that visibility connects the domains of aesthetics and politics together (Brighenti 2007).

Secondly, since we rely on the visible, the power of visibility has become overwhelming, not only because "what is not seen is not thematized as an object in the domain of action" but also because "distortions *in* visibility lead to distortions in social representation" (Brighenti 2007: 328-330). For these reasons I shall begin my discussion on vision by addressing the more literal meaning, that the one related to sight.

With the above example of creationism I meant to introduce the topic of vision by beginning with its political implications, my purpose being to raise questions on how vision relates to knowledge and sense-making. Moreover, that example provides an opportunity to reflect on the relationship between knowledge and faith in a broad sense. By treating vision as an act of faith towards the practices and tools on which we rely to know and manage our world, this study explores the performative nature of vision in different organizational domains. Analysis of this concept is supported with examples taken from the literature and with case studies. Four meanings of vision are discussed: representing, forecasting, normalizing, and organizing. The investigation draws on organizational studies, philosophy of language, STS, urban sociology and human geography. By means of this review of cases and examples, the aim of the article is to examine the concept 'in action' in order to account for its properties and effects.

1. Representing displaying, describing

Making things sensible is not confined to the realm of senses (sight); on the contrary, it involves the mediation of culture. If perceiving is itself a way of thinking (Merleau-Ponty 1964) and "believing is seeing rather than the reverse" (Perlmutter and Dahmen 2008: 245), the duality between visible and articulable (Foucault 1972) is less stringent. Brighenti (2007: 329) observes that, despite this distinction, what can be seen and what is matter of discourse coexist: the visible is immediate but "in fact it is because the political (Foucault's articulable) is always already there".

Vision performs a kind of translation and reduction that enables our cognitive capacities to overcome the limits of our perception: for instance, to imagine a place faraway, or to experience a situation that is not yet real. In other words, vision enables us to explore the realm of 'what could be' and to grasp entities that would otherwise escape our perception. Latour, for instance, is interested in the process of making an economy visible and recounts the steps and means required to achieve a simple and comprehensive idea of a country's economy. The core reason for his interest is not only the possibility of turning the chain of actions that forms what we call 'economy' into a concrete entity; it also concerns the generative capacity of such a visual language. Since we do not have access to the entire set of exchanges behind the word 'economy', nor to the mass of charts and calculations used to interpret it, when we talk about the economy we take for granted all this information enabling us to understand a phenomenon that otherwise would be beyond the grasp of most people.

What, then, is our vision of the economy? It is based on economic reports, newspaper articles, and documents issued by the Ministry of Economics. The relevance of Latour's analysis is precisely this: it provides an opportunity to recognize and discuss the power of representations and how they function. Vision entails a visualization effort that induces us to take what is represented for granted and to mix the phenomenon with its representation through the mechanism of "seeing-as" (Schön 1978: 259). In other words, vision acts metaphorically: on the one hand it works as a metonymy or a synecdoche because representation takes the place of the object, assuming its properties within the visual language. On the other hand, vision as a metaphor re-describes reality by stressing one aspect

over another, thus orienting the sense-making, and highlighting new perspectives and new ways of framing problems (Schön 1978).

Many visual artefacts serve the purpose of 'being in place of'. Renderings, maps or strategic plans are all examples of vision: they replace what they are intended to represent. Maps are interesting examples of this mechanism: their proportions do not change in place and time, so that they are usable in different conditions. In other words, they have the properties of being immutable and mobile (Latour 1986). But do they really perform a translation without corruption? Translation is never neutral: it first involves an interpretation, and then a transcription. Cartography, too, makes a selective reading (Mangani 2006: 13) that lays the bases for new readings because it shapes the way in which a territory is experienced (Farinelli 2003: 15). "To be understood, therefore, cartography should undergo a deconstructive rhetorical analysis as if it were a text, and, precisely, a literary work. Like literary texts, in fact, it is rooted in mental images acting emotionally to produce actions, not aseptic descriptions" (Mangani 2006: 13). Of course, the map is not the territory: "no one can smell or hear or touch the Sakhalin island" through the map (Latour 1986: 7); nonetheless, cartography has historically shaped the political discourse generating states and legitimizing the political organization of a territory (Farinelli 2009). Mapping has been not only a form of knowledge but also a way to create territory.

Our experience of the world is increasingly mediated by visual artefacts and instruments. We simply have faith in them: we trust in maps, renderings or other visual devices without ever wondering to what extent they are able to convey the complexity of the phenomena they aim to reproduce, or to what extent we should trust them instead of our senses Fine (2006). Similarly, Virilio draws attention to the revolutionary change wrought by photography in the realm of vision by establishing a "fusion-confusion of eye and camera lens" (1994: 13) and how, despite the significance of this change, it became commonly accepted without awareness of it.

According to Farinelli, today, for the first time, sight is unable to convey something significant about the mechanisms governing the world. Farinelli considers this change to be a huge problem for Western culture, "which for centuries based knowledge on vision and in the modern era has made knowledge coincide with the certainty of representation" (Farinelli 2003, 53), because there is no immediate correspondence between the functioning of the world and what is visible. It is consequently difficult to establish connections and understand the complexity of contemporary territories from an overall view.

Despite the inability of visualization tools to produce detailed descriptions, we increasingly rely on the technology that produces handy maps rich with personalized details. It would be interesting to conduct further examination of the relationship between the kind of knowledge produced by visual devices and their proliferation in advanced societies (Virilio 1994). However, my concern here is to investigate how the primacy of sight is affecting the quality of our knowledge, given not only that what is out of sight cannot be narrated, but also that "the language affects both what we constitute as objects of concern and the action we conceive" (Dunford and Jones 2000: 1208).

2. Translating, orienting, forecasting

Thus far we have explored the concept of vision in terms of the most common meanings attached to sight, representation, and demonstration. We may be confused about the use of performances in the *Holy Land and Experience Park* to give visitors a dramatic understanding of the history of the Bible. On the other hand, however, we do not pay much attention to the role of representations in the techno-scientific domain. This is because we are familiar with the rationale of science, and we expect scientists to provide figures, diagrams,

and so on, to explain their theories and make us see what they have discovered. Moreover, we are accustomed to thinking that demonstration is not the principle on which religion is based. But if we compare these narratives, we see that both serve the same purpose: to present things that are not visible. They use a visual language to convey concepts that would otherwise remain obscure to most people (Lynch 1991). These remarks suggest that vision, rather than providing descriptions of reality, is involved in sense-making and decision-making processes.

In order to make abstract entities sensible and understandable, vision works through simplification, reduction, and interpretation. A well-known study in the STS literature (Latour 1987) has investigated the process of translation (Callon and Latour 1991; Knorr Cetina 1995) that accompanies scientific work. This is an excellent example of the process of making things visible, and it shows how visualization is designed to meet or to define public interests. Pasteur's discovery of anthrax vaccine focused the attention of breeders of cattle- afflicted by anthrax on his laboratory. His research on *Bacillus anthracis* obtained visibility also outside the scientific community because of the way in which Pasteur managed his discovery: he gave public demonstrations where he simulated what had happened in his laboratory. By giving visibility to what is usually hidden, the microbes, Pasteur was able to reach a wider public and gain the trust of non-experts who, although unable to understand the technical language of microbiology, could personally verify that the discovery really worked and could save both animals and humans.

Latour traces the spread of the breakthrough not only by focusing on Pasteur's role but also, in accordance with the ANT perspective, taking account of all the actors/actants involved in the process. In fact, the importance of Pasteur's vaccine was determined by network building through translation and visualization. Neither the accuracy of procedures nor the usability of results can determine the success of a project unless they are combined with a translation of aims and a configuration of scenarios. Translation is thus part of a visualizing process where the object, physically constituted and a matter of concern, takes shape through the network of positions at stake and is reframed in multiple versions that may also clash with each other. Consequently, translation is not neutral (Sismondo 2004: 69) for it affects sense–making by others: "translating interests means at once offering new interpretations of these interests and challenging people in different directions" (Latour 1987: 117).

The connection between sense-making and the orientation of others' meanings has been extensively analyzed in organizational studies. The contribution by Corvellec and Risberg (2007) is a further development because it introduces the notion of *mise en sens* as a combination of sense-making and sense-giving. While sense-making is concerned with 'meaning construction and reconstruction', sense-giving relates to the possibility of influencing meaning construction by others. There is a sort of meta discourse related to the notion of *mise en sens* because, while considering it a practice of organization management, we should remember that it is also a matter of meaning management.

Corvellec and Risberg analyze the process of obtaining environmental and building permits for wind turbines in Sweden, and they frame their account of that episode in terms of *mise en sens*. This neologism on the one hand alludes to the idea of staging (*mise en scene*) and on the other plays with the twofold meaning of the French term '*sens*', which denotes both meaning and direction. In the case discussed by Corvellec and Risberg, the use of technical language was combined with dramatization in order to convey an attractive scenario that might foster acceptance of the project by influencing the public and the permit-granting authorities. By means of such literary creativity, in fact, the developers embedded wind power within a wider narrative on city renewal. The purpose of the project was to supply a new urban district in the western harbour area of Malmö with 100% locally produced renewable

energy, including wind power. The new urban district was the focus of the first European Housing Expo Bo01 – City of Tomorrow in 2001.

That episode demonstrates the strength of the relationship between aesthetics and politics, between the technical and social sides of a project. In this regard, vision is a form of meaning management that falls within both the sense-making and sense-giving domains. Accordingly, the layout and the aesthetic of such presentations become crucial because they make increasing use of visual language. Similarly, urban and regional strategic plans and, at a micro-level, the renderings of infrastructures produce visions with the precise aim of describing the project, contextualizing its features, and orienting public sense-making in order to obtain a coherent version (Houdart 2008).

In the above examples, the use of vision comes closer to the notion of sense-giving than to that of sense-making, because the focus is on "making sense for others rather than primarily for oneself or one's own organization" (Corvellec and Risberg 2001: 321). Both controversies exemplify the performative nature of vision: the presentation of a project provides new perspectives and enacts objects that, far from being univocal stable entities, become plural in the process of network building. Such enactment recalls Schön's 'generative metaphors' which connect different domains of experience to suggest new ways of looking at things. Particularly, vision exhibits the same property that Schön attributes to metaphor: it is both a representation and a process disclosing multiple meanings.

Vision is not only the set of argumentations used to present a project, to corroborate a demonstration, or to explain the perspective drawings of an artefact; it is also the public discourse generated by the visualization of an issue. In other words, vision is considered to be the network building in its entirety. In fact, it is not the recognition of the microbe responsible for the disease or the concession/rejection of permits to install wind turbines that determine the end of the project, since neither result establishes a definitive meaning.

The above examples introduce another meaning of vision, that of foresight. The representation provided by vision is more than a description; it is also an anticipation, a sort of wishful thinking that orients action nets. Urban plans, for instance, imprint an outlook on the possible development of an area. Not only do they anticipate how a place could change, they also interact with people's wishes. "This is why they are fascinating: projects deliberately exist to affect our destinies" (Corvellec 2001a: 28).
Czarniawska (2001: 12), for instance, identifies collective incantation and will as the premises for the development of regional projects like that of the Öresund region. She emphasises the strength of collective visions in making things happen. The case is even more emblematic if compared to another one discussed by Corvellec in the same book. He recounts the phases of a never implemented urban project for the construction of a third railway track for the city of Stockholm. Corvellec (2001a, b) examines the debate (which lasted for fully ten years) on the project and the stakeholders' narratives.

Controversies originating from techno-scientific breakthroughs or urban projects suggest that a project almost never develops as smoothly as its presentations claim. It usually has to undergo a phase of discussion and negotiation that may stop its realization, as evidenced by the Stockholm third railway project. According to Corvellec, "the debate is a way of envisioning the project" (2001b: 207) and should be considered part of the project itself since it contributes to its outcomes. Vision is effective, whatever the results may be, because it activates a public discourse, reactions and counter-arguments that may lead to completely different outcomes.

Large infrastructure projects make increasing use of perspective drawings to represent the physical change that the new artefact introduces. As Houdart's ethnographic research showed, not only do they try to reconstruct the entire setting in which the infrastructure is to be installed, but they aim to provide a scenario suggesting possible uses and ways of life.

Renderings are interesting visual devices that embody two functions of vision: materializing abstract entities, and orienting sense-making by anticipating new scenarios. Here it is important to clarify how vision works: it does not only materialize an artefact through images; it also makes the artefact present because people react and discuss as if it has already been built. In other words, visualization consists of the entire action net developed around the project.

The controversy provoked by the rendering of a warehouse wall (Coletta, Gabbi, Sonda 2009) is illustrative of the performative nature of vision. In light of that controversy we can follow the trajectory of a building as a project (Latour and Yaneva 2008: 82). In an industrial area of Trento (Italy), the construction of a warehouse had been an issue discussed in the local press for several months. The controversy concerned the height of the wall and focused on its misrepresentation by the designer's graphic rendering. The difference between the actual height of the wall and that of the graphic design provoked the reaction of local residents, who set up a local committee to campaign against the wall's visual impact. The company's counter-action consisted in attributing the entire responsibility to the urban development plan, which classified the area as industrial and thus legitimized the construction. For its part, the local administration justified its decisions as compliant with standards and planning rules.

The rendering of the wall was not taken to be a representation of an infrastructure; rather, it was perceived as the wall itself because it represented what had been negotiated and finally agreed, and it established a term of comparison with the future building. The paradox of the static view of buildings is precisely that it reduces things to drawings, forgetting that they are bound to change: "a building is never at rest and never in shape" (Latour and Yaneva 2008: 85). As a project, a building has to balance many constraints, and once it has been constructed, transformations go along with uses (Yaneva 2005, 2008; Schön and Rein 1994: 89). The controversial project for the warehouse wall was far from static! Flows of actors took part in the process, both regulating it and being oriented by it in their turn.

The warehouse wall episode highlights the problem of translation that every description entails. The problem is not rooted in visual devices, but in their use. If we continue to consider visual devices as perfect reproductions of reality, we may be disappointed and be locked into our mental constructs. If we do not question the primacy of sight (Brighenti, Farinelli, Virilio, among others) and we do not verify how we describe the world, we will be unable to account for and manage complexity. This is an epistemological issue of prime importance that involves different domains: from language to organizational studies, from human geography to visual sociology.

Accordingly, these remarks concern not only visual artefacts, such as renderings and maps, but also narratives in the broad sense. News, too, "does not so much inform as orient the public" (Park 1940: 677) producing an echo effect: on the one hand it turns news into discussion about news; on the other, it shapes the language of inhabitants, providing them with a specific vocabulary (Bifulco, de Leonardis 2005). Metaphors such as 'showpiece' or, at the other extreme, 'Bronx' used to describe neighborhoods in fact do much more than describe: they picture places and label them. They are powerful because they affect our knowledge, our reading of phenomena and, consequently, our way of addressing public policies.

3 Normalizing

Another function of vision closely related to foresight is normalization of the decision-making process. By sketching 'what-if' scenarios, vision sets objectives, desired outcomes, and indicates how to achieve them. Vision becomes not only the goal to pursue but also the

way to reach it. Within organizations, and in urban management in particular, we can observe the extent to which foresight leads to standardization as a way to manage complexity and emergency. To illustrate the implications of vision for organizational decision–making, I refer to the interesting review by Robert Freeland of Diane Vaughan' book, *The Challenger Launch Decision,* which provides a detailed ethnography of engineers at work and reconstructs the chain of events that led to that disaster.

Vaughan's analysis shows that the disaster was not the result of organizational deviance, but rather of acting in accordance with NASA guidelines. It was not the violation of safety rules that provoked the failure, but the reproduction of learned cognitive and cultural scripts. In fact, vision and its related guidelines, protocols etc. are conceptualised for use in conditions of uncertainty; that is, when taking a decision may be difficult and risky. To be noted is that in an uncertain situation of this kind, without clear evidence, the protocol prevailed over the analysis of parameters suggesting a different direction. Disintegration of the entire vehicle began after an O-ring seal in its right solid rocket booster (SRB) failed at liftoff. Forecasts for January 28 predicted an unusually cold morning, with temperatures close to 31 °F (−1 °C), the minimum temperature permitted for launch. Several engineers expressed their concern about the effect of the temperature on the resilience of the rubber O-rings sealing the joints of the SRBs. In particular, Thiokol engineers, responsible for the construction and maintenance of the shuttle's SRBs, argued that they did not have enough data to determine whether the joint would seal properly if the O-rings were colder than 53° F (12° C),. On the contrary, NASA people were confident that if the primary O-ring failed the secondary O-ring would still seal.

While Vaughan comes to the conclusion that the launch was rule-based and actors had a passive role, Freeland gives another interpretation that views compliance as a strategic behaviour. In the case of the Challenger launch, compliance with procedure had a strategic value: it was intended to avoid setting a precedent that, by establishing a new temperature parameter, could have limited future missions, thus compromising the entire Shuttle program. Freeland stresses the political character of that decision, whereas Vaughan's interpretation of conformity is focused more on the role of learned cultural scripts. For Freeland, the decision was not simply a non-reflective reproduction of a routine; rather, it was based on "strategic consideration in a highly politicized environment" (Freeland 1997: 133). Freeland thus highlights an important aspect of organizational functioning: the justification of one's acting through compliance with rules and adherence to mechanical claims (Fine 2006: 7).

If the issue is framed in these terms, another important characteristic of vision becomes clear: vision is strategic not only because it provides guidelines that orient behaviour, making it possible to plan action in advance and to anticipate opponents' moves; it is also strategic because it acts as justification for that behavior. Which means that it can be used afterwards to make sense of the course of action (Hardy, Palmer and Phillips 2000). In other words, vision acts both prospectively when it orients decision-making, and retrospectively when it functions as a form of accountability.

Organizational analysis of the decision-making process preceding the Challenger launch, despite the specificity of the setting, provides useful insights into how organizations manage complexity and uncertainty and take decisions under strong pressure and expectations. Although the setting is different, this episode illustrates the tendency to rely on devices that mediate our experience of reality and standardize our ways of seeing (Virilio 1994: 13).

Cities are interesting organizing settings where emergencies are frequent and strategic vision is often thrown into crisis by everyday practices. They therefore represent a suitable field in which to observe how vision affects urban management. Cities are constantly re-organized through usual and unexpected uses that alter its urban configuration. Urban management must

constantly cope with a variety of situations that escape the administrative vision and are difficult to handle on the basis of guidelines.

An episode that illustrates the relationship between vision as a strategic tool and the resolution of critical situations concerns the regulation of buskers in the city of Trento (Coletta, Gabbi, Sonda 2008). The study reconstructs how the local administration managed the presence of street musicians in the city centre and analyzes the gap between protocols and everyday practices. After the protests of people working and living in the city centre, a municipal police regulation established specific areas where music performances were allowed. Because such performances are improvised, they fall outside the framework of the strategic plan regulating the organization of cultural events. The plan reveals how the public administration conceives the use of public spaces for entertainment: everything has its specific position in time and space. Hence, noise and disruption are only tolerated as planned exceptions, as pertaining to institutional cultural events. This attitude provides a scenario of how the city, or part of it, should function, and it implicitly establishes a standard that defines what is suitable and what is not for a city centre. Consequently, whatever does not fall within that vision is perceived as deviant and remains out of control until normalized. Paradoxically, it is the 'protocol' that gives rise to an emergency. Emergencies, in fact, are non-codified situations which are thus perceived as problematic. Procedures, on the other hand, are meant to normalize problems, to address indeterminate situations through determinate steps. Not abiding by them means invalidating the rationale of the strategy itself and creating a precedent – as in the case of the Challenger launch.

Strategic plans (both urban and regional) represent a specific version of territorial development and trace its path. The vision they embody functions as a model for action. A model, in fact, provides a lens through which to address a problem, to grasp reality and approach it. Models simulate reality in order to make its interpretation easier. In this sense, a mock-up is an instrument for re-description. Ricoeur (1975), in his analysis of metaphorical language, addresses the relationship between metaphor and model to show that a model operates like a metaphor since it re-describes a phenomenon through the device of resemblance. In metaphor, in fact, the similar is perceived notwithstanding differences.

Metaphors and models are not only descriptive; they also have the heuristic value of disclosing new meanings and perspectives by displaying connections between entities perceived as distant. Ricoeur observes that metaphor is for poetic language what a model is for scientific language. The purpose of scale models, in particular, is to create or reproduce by shrinking, enlarging or slackening. Such models enable understanding of the properties of the original by showing what it looks like, or how it works. Like metaphors, which do not consider the term of comparison in its entirety, they reproduce only the main characteristics. Models of this kind have another important property: they are based on conventions that furnish a knowledge-gathering method (Farinelli 2009: 66). These properties of scale models recall Latour's 'immutable mobiles'. A map, for instance, has the distinctive feature of reproducing, on a different scale, the real proportions of a territory and keeping them invariable through time and space.

Unlike scale models, diagrams and theory pictures may convey a message without actually representing visible objects or resembling observable phenomena. Lynch (1991) discusses the rhetorical and representational uses of these illustrations in different scientific texts. He shows how, although they add very little to description, they are used to simulate the key passages of a theory and "to exhibit and authorize a certain 'impression of rationality'" (Lynch 1991: 11). Such interest in representational realism has become increasingly common outside the scientific domain, especially in corporate discourse and marketing strategies, where their purpose is to summarize an entire phenomenon in schematic presentations that can easily describe complex relations.

4. Organizing

It is possible to recognize a common trait of vision in the cases examined thus far: its capacity to orient our sense-making and courses of action. By providing a direction, vision functions as an organizing principle both when it acts prospectively and when it is used retrospectively to give account of a decision or behaviour. Projects and renderings not only re-organize space through drawings, graphs and figures; they first shape it through our expectations and counter-arguments and affect our relationship with places.

Vision organizes because it provides a structure within which one should move: it sets agendas, defines priorities, establishes standards, and determines functions. It also seeks to manage the unpredictable by means of protocols. In other words, representing, anticipating, and normalizing are all ways of organizing.

The organizing capacity of vision relies on the management of information through visualization: representations are 'governing tools' in Latour's sense when he says that "the 'great man' is a little man looking at a good map" (Latour 1986: 26). Human geography has widely discussed the role of cartography in shaping our relation with the world and how we conceive reality (Farinelli 2009: 29). Accordingly, the 'visual culture' characterizing our society tends to believe more in inscriptions than in experience (Latour 1986; Farinelli 2003; Virilio 1994, among others).

Spatial visions (Shipley, 2000; Fellagra, 2004: 180) are examples of organizing and controlling *dispositifs*. According to Sennett (1991), the grid used to organize the development of American cities is a frame, a scheme used to neutralize the heterogeneity of places in order to be free to organize the territory regardless of the limits of its shape. A grid is neutral *per se* and may have different applications; it is the vision that determines its use and its effects. In the cases discussed by Sennett, the grid produces a space of authority because it is grounded in the supremacy of the normative tool over the interpretation of peculiarities. Here again, vision acts as a form of normalization intended to restore what is 'out of shape' within the grid's organization. Thus complexity is managed through neutralization, by means of a standard which may be a grid in the case of spatial organization or a protocol in the case of decision-making.

Let us again consider the urban domain. Although vision is produced by public administrations to manage the disorder of cities and to regulate their development, it does not incorporate disorder as an innate characteristic of cities because these are seen "above all as a *structure*, not a *process*" (Czarniawska and Solli 2001: 8). Accordingly, close attention is paid to the construction of a reassuring urban image and the organization of its functions, as if such a pattern could last despite the disorder introduced by everyday practices.

The case of the measure regulating buskers in the Trento city centre (Coletta, Gabbi, Sonda 2008) is a precise example of urban management. The new ordinance on busking identifies specific areas around the old town centre where musicians are allowed to perform without restrictions and without previous announcement. Within the old town centre, instead, street performances are limited and buskers are required to notify the urban police three days before their performance. The introduction of notification is a device that enables city police to exercise control over urban space, since they know in advance where the music performances will take place, and they can verify from the notification the time assigned for the performance.

The 'grid' used to manage busking is a sort of zoning device that organizes the use of public spaces in the city centre and allows coordination of the presence of street musicians at a distance. This frame reflects a vision of the city centre whereby the public character of space is a residual dimension after residential and professional needs and from exceptional events. The measure also reflects the main attitude towards urban practices like busking, which are even more disturbing because their visibility encroaches on our individuality (Sennett 1991).

In fact, by framing deviance as a moral difference, visibility "can be empowering as well as disempowering" (Brighenti 2007: 335). In the eyes of public opinion, buskers are beggars, while they try to distance themselves from that label. According to the process of image construction outlined by Czarniawska (2008), buskers build their image through *allomorphism*: that is, they differentiate themselves in opposition to an undesirable entity (the beggars). Likewise, newspapers address the issue in terms of 'innocuousness' by constructing a specific emplotment in which innocuousness is the price buskers pay to perform.

Conclusion

The main aspects outlined in this article have emerged from a review of applications which range across highly heterogeneous domains and thus traverse different fields of research. While organizing the materials for this article, I realized that the many connections among those meanings were possibly due to an inner characteristic of vision: that of being a form of narrative, a discourse that shapes sense-making. Vision, in other words, despite being a many-sided concept, is above all a matter of meaning management.

Vision can be framed as a process of *mise en sens*: on the one hand it is itself a product of a sense-making, on the other it enacts different behaviours that in their turn re-shape the vision. When people faithfully follow maps, or when they react to urban plans or contest the scenario presented in a rendering, they legitimate those entities and corroborate their existence while affecting them. Accordingly, a vision is the result of an action net, but in its turn it activates human and non-human actors.

The cases discussed in this article suggest that vision is performative because it does more than give visibility to abstract entities. Firstly, vision, as a metaphor, orients our gaze, fosters our imagination and enables us to discover new patterns and new configurations. Secondly, the political implications of vision relate to the action net developing around it, as in the case of guidelines, or in project developments. Thirdly, vision acts as a frame that organizes our agenda, affects our way of experiencing the world and produces control devices, such as grids, to normalize the territory and organize social action.

A case in point is the map. This increasingly mediates our relationship with spaces, and it is becoming a new form of faith: we rely on maps more than on our experience and cognitive capabilities. As in a state of uncertainty forecasters are hostage to their models (Fine 2006) and engineers to protocols (Vaughan 1996; Freeland 1997), we are at the mercy of visual devices when we treat the information that they provide as unquestionable facts, without interpreting them through our common sense. Although "the absence of a report is not the absence of a storm" (Fine 2006, 14) we tend to lapse into an automatism which proves the faith that we place in scripts. The article opened with the singular case of creationists seeking to support faith with visible proofs; it then described a reverse situation in which a sort of lay faith enters everyday life as a mediator between us and the functioning of the world.

Some similarities have emerged during the exploration of the term 'vision' particularly with the concepts of metaphor and strategy, which, in fact, corroborate the narrative character of vision. Within discourse analysis, strategy is considered to be a linguistic construct that serves to make sense of the world and organize it (Hardy, Palmer, Phillips 2000: 1229-1230). Similarly, vision, both when it is used to account for past decisions or prospectively to provide a scenario, does not mirror reality; instead, it shapes reality.

Despite the overwhelming presence of visual devices, vision is still mainly a narrative that can be used, as we have seen, to promote, justify and describe a specific version of reality. This characteristic incorporates all the other definitions and functions – or better, it informs them. Storytelling is, in fact, a form of organizing and rationalizing. Ricoeur

addresses this topic in *Temps et récit* (1985), where he focuses on the functions of narrative emplotment. He observes that the plot represents the order that enables the elements of a story to be connected together. Through emplotment the heterogeneity of events, agents and objects becomes meaningful as part of the network that constitutes the narrative rationale. Emplotment creates a "concordant discordance," a coherent unity in which constitutive elements have an explanatory role and provide a causal sequence. Similarly, vision aims at conveying a clear and rational picture where the elements are kept together to give rise to a logical and convincing account.

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THE MYTH OF THE MISSION

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Men my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do.

Tennyson

ABSTRACT

In management text books and teaching in Business Schools Vision and Mission are shown as pre-requisites for determining Objectives, Strategy and Tactics (VMOST). From a survey of Management staff from 500 organisations (world wide) it was found Vision and Mission statements in 80% of organisations are not considered in tactical planning and day to day operations management. The reason being that few, if any organisations, publish Mission Statements that reflect reality. In general they are myths which might give senior management a nice warm feeling but for middle management and below they are no more meaningful than the tooth ferry. The word Vision suggests almost a mystical occurrence (Joan of Arc), or an ideal (such as expressed by Martin Luther King, "I have a dream"). Like wise most religions began with some body having a Vision. If the Visionary had enough charisma missionaries would be sent out with the Mission of converting the unbelievers to the "true faith" as envisioned by the visionary. The same connotation is found when looking at a Vision in the organisational context. It is said that a leader with a vision is a leader with a passion for an ideal. Nanus (1992) says that 'the right vision is so energising that it in effect jump starts the future by calling forth the skill, talents, and resources to make it happen', p.8. El-Namaki (1992) also stresses 'future reality' p.25. In this he follows Polak (1961) who says vision is where tomorrow begins, for it expresses what you and others who share the same vision will be working hard to create. Polak uses great visionaries such as Moses, Plato, and Karl Marx to illustrate his point. 'Themselves under the influence of what they had envisioned, they transformed the non existent into the existent, and shattered the reality of their own time with their imaginary images of the future. Thus the future always operates in the present, shaping itself in advance through these image makers and their images', p.124. Polak defines vision as a 'concept for a new

and desirable future reality that can be communicated throughout the organisation' p.124. But unless the vision can happen, it will be nothing more than a dream. As Langeler (1992) observes 'grand, abstract visions may be too inspirational. The company may wind up making more poetry than product', p.46. Stacey (1993) adds that 'The ultimate test of a vision is if it happens', p.234. The survey found that 90% of Vision and Mission statements focus on customer service, provision of world class quality and in many cases to be an employer of choice. All of this would be fine if management published Visions and Missions that actually happened. The finding of the survey is that the true Vision and Mission is to be the biggest and to have high profit returns. The paper concludes with a change model using a true mission statement based on customer satisfaction to achieve world class performance.

Key Words   Vision, Mission, Culture, Change, World Class

The results of a questionnaire survey of 500 middle managers from United Kingdom, Scandinavia, South Africa, Hong Kong and New Zealand over a five year period found that mission statements, although in 90% of the cases have a strong customer focus, often are not in harmony with what actually happens. The reasons for this lack of harmony were found to be;

1. missions which are not genuine. 60% of the respondents said that their mission statement did not reflect reality. Rather than customer service the reality was pressure on middle management to reduce costs and that there was an obsession with financial ratios such as return on assets.

2. lack of understanding as to what customers want. 32% of the 500 managers said no real effort is made to determine what customers want

3. shortage of key resources. 35% had less than adequate numbers of skilled people with the 'right' attitude, and had severe shortages of other resources.

4. an inappropriate focus of management appraisal systems. (it was found that the personal appraisal system does not support customer service as the first objective. Customer service was fourth in importance in a list of

appraisal criteria after keeping to budget, reducing costs including staff
numbers, and achieving financial ratios

The conflict between the mission as stated and what actually happens is the manifestation of an effect rather than being the cause. As Ishikawa (1976, 1985) found, if the cause of a negative effect can be determined then action can be taken to eliminate the cause so at achieve a positive effect. Likewise the elimination of the cause of conflict, or operational disharmony, should give the positive effect of operational harmony. Operational harmony will be to the benefit of the efficient long term success of the operation measured in terms of customer satisfaction coupled with more efficient use of resources as evidenced in the financial performance statement ratios and measures.

Collins and Porras (1991, 1996) suggest, for the operational manager and for operational staff (those in the firing line), an operation with clearly defined and harmonious objectives will be conducive to the creation of a culture of performance excellence. Or, as Bart (1999) says 'To move toward this state requires, first, that every person in the organisation has knowledge of and understands the mission. Without this knowledge and understanding, there would be no focus and it would be impossible to harness the organisation's collective energy and intelligence and direct it toward the goals embedded in the mission. This is not to say that everyone would not be working hard. It's just that everyone would be working as an individual rather than as a part of a team striving towards the same end. Thus knowing the mission is essential for success', p.33.

The purpose of this paper is to speculate on how organisations can harmonise the twin objectives of customer satisfaction and efficient resource utilisation. The speculation that follows is grounded on a literature review, and from direct personal experience as a senior executive in four large international companies over a period of 18 years (actionable knowledge).Solutions for the problems identified from the 500 questionnaires would appear to be self evident, i.e.;

1.	an honest mission clearly communicated to all staff members,

2.	a customer focus, based on what the customer wants

3.	adequate resources, including strong support of staff, and

4.	an appraisal system that encourages achievement of the objective of customer service.

What is not so simple is how to engineer the major changes needed to implement the solutions. Thus this paper concentrates on how to engineer a change in structure and culture of an organisation so as to overcome the problems. The overall objective being to present a framework for operational harmony in decision making so as to achieve best practice and world class service. A holistic approach is taken, drawing heavily on Deming's Total Quality Management philosophy and Basu and Wright's (2005) Model for Change.

From the literature, for example Pearce et al (1987), Albrecht (1988), Creech (1994), Campbell et al (1990), Oakland (1999) and Bart (1999), Wright and Race (2004) it was found if a mission statement is to be meaningful then it must reflect what the management really wants to happen, it must be achievable, and management and staff need to be encouraged to make the mission happen.

If customer service is the focus it has to be known what the customer wants, see Kotler and Keller (2006) and Miller et al (2000).

Once it has been established what the customer wants, the question is can the organisation actually provide and sustain that level of product and service? As Wild (2002) says many an organisation has gone bankrupt despite having happy and loyal customers.

Carnall (2003) asserts 'that the most important resource of a business is its people, is increasingly meaningful not only in rhetoric but also in practice', p.7. Deming (1986) and Carnall (2003) are adamant that assessment systems must support the objectives of the organisation.

As stated in the introduction the solutions to these issues appear to be self-evident. It also appears to be equally evident that all of these issues are inter linked. It would not seem to be sensible to try and 'fix' just one of these issues and ignore the others. A total systems approach is needed if operational harmony is to be achieved.

Many total system approaches have been written about, Deming (1986) and Total Quality Management and later advances such as Six Sigma see Pyzdek (2000), Basu and Wright (2003) and Hammer and Champy (1993), and Obeng and Crainer (1994),) with business

process re-engineering, Kaplan and Norton (1996) and Norton (1999) with the balanced score card, Basu and Wright (2005) with total operations solutions, and Turner, Grude and Thurloway (1996), Carnall (2003) and Wright and Race (2004) with change management. Likewise the American Baldridge quality award and its European and Australasian derivatives also take a total cross functional score card approach towards achieving world class or best practice performance. But, as observed by Weick (1991) cited in Carnall (2003) p.67, 'scholars of organisations have developed theories that not only don't work for them but won't work for others'.

The truth is that many organisations are not in harmony. As found from the survey mission statements that stress customer service do not reflect reality, customer service is below what customers want, resources are seldom adequate and managers are not encouraged, through appraisal schemes, to give customer service first priority. Thus best practice and world class service is not being achieved in many cases.

Competitors are global and standards are world class. Organisations that are not striving to meet world class standards will soon be found out. The breaking down of national barriers (with the elimination of protective tariffs) and the opening up of world wide competition is seen by some as a threat, and by others as a great opportunity, Basu and Wright (2008). What was adequate in the past when information and communication were slower is no longer adequate for today. To reap the benefits of the new technology and the opportunities of the global market organisations must have the appropriate structure and systems in place. Knowing what the appropriate structure should be requires a knowledge of ;

1. what the organisation is trying to achieve (its mission),
2. what the customers want, and
3. what the organisation can provide and sustain, Obeng and Crainer (1994) , and Wild (2002).

The pressure is therefore on organisations to perform, and nothing less than world class performance would seem to be adequate.

The term world class is generally attributed to Hayes and Wheelwright (1984), who related best practice to German and Japanese firms competing in export markets. Schonberger (1986) used the term best practice to describe manufacturers making rapid and continuous improvement. World class in the nineties was extended to include lean production, see Womack, Jones and Roos (1990).

Fry, Steele, and Sladin (1994) and Harrison (1998) say best practice refers to any organisation that performs as well or better than the competition in quality, timeliness, flexibility, and innovation. Knuckey, Leung-Wai and Meskill (1999) explain that 'the logic behind best practice is simple: because operational outcomes are a key contributor to competitiveness and business performance, and because best practice should improve operational outcomes, by implication good practice should lead to increased competitiveness. Best practice should lead to world class service', p 23.

The approach now presented is derived from all of the above, Deming (1986), Pyzdek and Sigma (2000), Baldridge (2000), Hammer and Champy (1993), Kaplan and Norton (1996), Turner, et al, (1996), Basu and Wright (1998, 2008), Wright (2004), Carnall (2003)

As found in the literature to achieve operational harmony requires;
1. a honest mission clearly communicated to all staff members,
2. a customer focus, based on what the customer wants,
3. adequate resources, including strong support of staff, and
4. an appraisal system that encourages achievement of the objective of customer service.

The model below shows how each of these issues stems from the mission and is inter-linked. It begins with the mission. The argument is that the mission has to be honest. From the research it is found that without customers an organisation will not survive, unless the staff are motivated the organisation will not achieve world class service, and stakeholders in the form of owners, investors, and financiers require a profit on their investment. An honest mission gives the true objectives of a business. The objectives will include customer satisfaction, motivated staff, and profit for the owners and other stakeholders. The mission will also include the reason for being of the organisation, i.e. the specific market or goods

and services to be provided. Once the objectives have been set and encapsulated in the mission statement, actions will be required to make the objectives happen.

The actions are to communicate to the staff the need for a customer focus, so that every person in the organisation understands what customer focus means in terms of specification (product or service), cost and timing and the standards of service expected. Likewise staff have to understand the objective of efficient use of resources, and standards of performance have to be communicated and understood. To reinforce the need for customer satisfaction appraisal systems need to be aligned to service standards to encourage staff to be self-motivated to achieving the goals of the organisation. Finally adequate resource have to be provided commensurate with the objective of customer satisfaction.

If the above actions are taken, the outcome will be a harmonious operation well placed to attaining world class performance. Harmony includes a positive culture. A positive culture is where everyone in the organisation will instinctively act in any situation in the way in which management would hope they would act, and a positive culture also includes the conscious aim of every person to make continuous improvement in customer service and resource utilisation. The result will be a profitable organisation with satisfied customers.

Figure 1.
MODEL FOR OPERATIONAL HARMONY IN DECISION MAKING
And the achievement of World Class Performance

MISSION ===➔	ACTIONS ===➔	HARMONY
Customer satisfaction	1. Customer Focus	1. Positive culture
Motivated people	2. Clear Objectives	2. Continuous improvement
Profit	3. Appraisal aligned to Objectives	3. Profitable organisation
	4. Adequate Resources	4. Satisfied customers

According to Skinner (1995) and Harrison (1998) no organisation can do all things equally well, and firms differentiate themselves based on their own strengths and weaknesses. La

Rooy (1998) adds that best practice suggests incremental improvements, but that "it may well be the case that a large and radical change is required initially or at other times" p.26, and as Hamel (1996) said '…pursuing incrementalism while rivals reinvent the industry is like fiddling while Rome burns' p. 69. However, In 'Total Operations Solutions" Basu and Wright (2005) argue that all parts of an organisation have to be equally strong. Towards this end they provide a systematic procedure for evaluating all aspects of a company to identify areas where improvement is needed so as to attain world class performance. Likewise Kaplan and Norton (1996) with ther Balanced score Card approach argue that an organisation to be world class has to be balanced in all departments.

The approach given by Kaplan and Norton (1996) and refined by Norton (1999) is to use measurement to communicate (rather than control) the objectives of the organization as a whole. Basu and Wright provide measures for all the 'functions' of an organisation, with 200 self bench-marking questions. Norton advocates measures for four areas covering the whole organisation; i.e. financial as an outcome, customer satisfaction as an outcome, internal processes as a driver and learning and growth as a driver.

Both the Total Operations Solution and the Balanced Score Card approach have been adopted in various world class organisations, for example New Zealand Steel, and Hallmark Cards, for Total Manufacturing Solutions, and IBM, Mobil, and Cigna, for the Balanced Score Card. Adopters of both approaches report success and it is evident that organisations can put into practice a whole system approach so as to achieve best practice across the board.

The relevance to this paper being that some organisations do have a total systems approach where they aspire to be world class across the board.

Total Quality Management
Total Quality Management (TQM) has its origins in Japan. In the 1960s Japan went through a quality revolution. Prior to this 'Made in Japan' meant cheap or shoddy consumer goods. The approach used in Japan in the 1950s and 1960s to improve quality standards was to employ consultants from America and Europe. The most famous of these consultants was Dr W Edwards Deming. Deming's philosophy was to establish the best current practices within an organisation, establish the best practice as standard procedure,

and train the workers the best way. In this manner, everyone would be using the same best way. Deming's approach was to involve everyone in the organisation and to win them over. He believed that quality was everyone's business. Deming said that to find the best way meant getting the facts, collecting data, setting standard procedures, measuring results and getting prompt and accurate feedback of results so as to eliminate variations to the standard. He saw this as a continuous cycle. Deming emphasised that people can only be won over if there is trust at all levels. This means that management are prepared to allow and encourage employees to take responsibility and that employees are prepared to accept responsibility. Employee participation, through understanding objectives, processes and contributing through improvement suggestions, is a serious part of the Deming philosophy. He claimed that cultivating the know-how of employees was 98% of the quality challenge - as Gabor (2000) says Deming has been criticised for hyperbole. However, Gabor adds, quoting a Ford engineer "Deming understood that you can't turn quality on like a spigot (tap). It's a culture, a lifestyle within a company" p.293.   Demings 14 points of quality begin with 'Create constancy of purpose toward improvement of product and service' and his second point is 'Adopt the new philosophy….management must take leadership for change'. Deming (1986), Walton (1986) and Gabor (2000). The overall philosophy of TQM is one of incremental and continuous improvement, not revolution.

Six Sigma

In mathematical terms six sigma equates to 3.4 defects per million opportunities. According to Gabor (2000) the Six Sigma management philosophy has its roots in Deming's Total Quality Management. Erwin and Douglas (2000), proponents of Six Sigma, claim that 'practising the concepts of Six Sigma leads to virtual perfection', p. 6 Erwin et al also claim that it is not difficult to change a company culture, if Six Sigma is adopted. They cite Motorola, General Electric, Citibank, and the highly successful Indian exporting company Wipro Corp., as organisations that have reaped major benefits from adopting the Six Sigma approach. Six Sigma, unlike Hammer and Champy's re-engineering, does <u>not</u> require tearing down an existing corporate structure and starting again, but builds on current successes. The first step is having a chief executive with the understanding and vision of Six Sigma, the next step is a common mission of total customer satisfaction, obtained by talking to the customers. Other components include goal directed incentives and assessments for management and staff. Pyzdek (2000) and Erwin et al (2000) stress the importance of an organisational wide change in culture if Six

Sigma is to be effective. It is noted that if Six Sigma was carried through all the problems identified from the survey namely;

1. missions which are not genuine,
2. lack of understanding as to what customers want,
3. shortage of key resources, and
4. inappropriate focus of management appraisal systems,

would be overcome, and harmony in operational decision making would exist.

Change Required

There are two basic types of change. One is the continuous and controlled change as associated with the incremental philosophy of TQM, Deming (1986) and the other is major transformational change brought about by the need to re-engineer to meet strong external forces as recommended by Hammer and Champy (1993).

La Rooy (1998), Basu and Wright (2005), Knuckey et al (1999), and Erwin et al (2000) find that lagging companies if wishing to adopt the continuous improvement approach of TQM or Six Sigma will require a major change in management attitude and vision to start the journey to being world class performers.

Carnall (2003) says that unless carefully managed any change will lead to confusion. He found that when managing change managers themselves are under pressure. This pressure undermines their own performance.

'Some organisations (perhaps many organisations) have taken an ad hoc approach to change with a series of knee jerk reactions to major external threats and/or opportunities. With others there has been a reluctance to change and, as a compromise, matrix type solutions have been superimposed on existing bureaucratic structures. In other cases rushed major changes, in the guise of re-engineering, have been forced through without adequate planning and with very little appreciation of what the long term effects might be. In most cases, what ever the approach to the changing environment has been, there has been a general lack of understanding of the magnitude of the changes that have occurred in the last ten years, and little appreciation of what is entailed in the management of change', Wright and Race (2004) p.309.

It is considered that change of a major nature cannot be limited to one department. For example it is not possible to increase service by concentrating on efficiency in one back room department in isolation from the rest of the organisation, Basu and Wright (2005). Effective change has to be organisation wide at all levels, and the structure has to be such that it supports the intended changes, Obeng and Crainer (1994), and Kaplan and Norton (1996).

Large organisations are still generally structured in the traditional hierarchical manner with defined functions, such as Human Resources, Accounting, Marketing, Sales, and Operations, with each clearly separated into vertical departments. Typically each functional department is budget driven, and each divisional manager guards their department from other departments and tries to get as large a share as possible of the budget irrespective of the legitimacy of other departments requirements. This departmentalisation can be compared to bunkers or silos where each department considers itself distinct and closed off from the other departments. In some cases departments become suspicious of the motives of other departments, power is jealously guarded and, in short, a bunker mentality emerges. Departments tend to become inward looking with their main concern being to meet the budget. Apart from the duplication of effort and wasted time in fighting other departments and in guarding borders and responsibilities, it is equally likely that customers seeking information will be passed from department to department with no one wanting to accept responsibility, Basu and Wright (2005).

The main problem, where the hierarchical structure of functional silos or bunkers is retained, is that improved communications technology has only served to speed up data collected within the silos, but communication blocks between departments have not broken down, Creech (1994). In short the silos or bunkers now have more data, but information dissemination is at best no better than previously, and the power of each department has been most assiduously retained. Drucker (2000) refers to the need for knowledge management to overcome this phenomenon. While organisations retain functional departments the benefits of improved communication and the real progress offered by becoming more open and more team orientated will be squandered, Basu and Wright (2005).

'Re-engineering' means breaking down the silos and re-organizing around the process to gain real advantages from the investment in technology. This might sound dramatic, and it is. Indeed, Hammer and Champy (1993) describe their book 'Re-engineering the Corporation' as a manifesto for business revolution. The term re-engineering emerged during the nineties but many managers appear to be confused as to what the term means. A number of companies, especially in the United States, claim to be re-engineering but are, in reality, using the term to describe cost reduction and major restructuring. Major restructuring, involving the elimination of several layers of management and the creation of massive redundancies, is not re-engineering if the basic functional silos are still retained. Obeng et al (1994).

Re-engineering, properly applied, means that any activity that doesn't add value to the product, or any organisational or communication block that gets in the way of satisfying the customer, or anything that costs money without truly adding value is eliminated. This means the whole organisation has to be questioned and re-aligned. It means getting a blank piece of paper and starting from the beginning as if nothing existed. The problem is that of course something will exist, (the paper won't be blank), and that people at all levels will have a vested interest in maintaining the present structure, Devine (1993). It therefore seems sensible to follow the Six Sigma approach and to build on existing strong points, but at the same time hypothetically take a blank sheet of paper, perhaps using the Total Operations Solution gap analysis approach, to determine weak points with the intention of re-building or incorporating these points into the whole, Basu and Wright (2005) .

People can change. Too often the business process engineering approach has led to the scrapping all the middle managers (and then subsequently hiring young graduates straight out of university). Many organisations are now regretting this approach. Loyalty and knowledge are hard to recreate, Carnall (2003). Many organisations believe the only way to get a new culture is by getting rid of the existing staff (it is thought that they will be set in their ways) and to hire new people with open minds. The belief being that it is human nature to resist change or in many cases it is simply not possible for people to change. McGregor (1960) would term these managers as being 'type X', negative people, who see workers as naturally being lazy and unreliable. The people who hold these sentiments don't believe that they are 'X' people, as of course they are the enlightened ones - they can change, it is everyone else who can't.

The only thing that happens if managers are fired without anything else changing (assuming that the managers who are dispensed with were actually doing something) is that, given time, the layers of management will return. Changing titles and changing people doesn't change anything, it is like re-arranging the deck chairs on the Titanic, an exercise in futility.

Re-engineering can however mean some redundancies, and definitely some restructuring, and it is likely that a more horizontal and flatter structure with fewer levels of managers will result. With re-engineering, the structure is designed to support the process. For instance it might take on a circular form with several teams, each supporting a process, loosely connected, and communicating electronically. Obeng and Crainer (1994) suggest re-engineering produces a fist-full of dynamic processes more akin to a basket of writhing snakes.

The essence of re-engineering is an appreciation that the focus is the satisfaction of the customer through increased quality and by the reduction of costs that don't add value. Work is organized around processes and outcomes and not around tasks. Hammer and Champy (1993).

The old organisations were organised around functions and the flow of information was important for people at the top to have information of what was happening down the line. The bigger the organisation, the further the information had to flow. Information was pushed up the line until it reached a person in the organisation who had the authority to make a decision, Lewis, Goodman and Fandt (2001). Today with cell phones, faxes, electronic mail and its derivatives information is instant, accurate, global and cheap. This gets rid of one structural shibboleth. As Obeng and Crainer (ibid) point out the structure of the organisation no longer needs to be the same as the information or reporting structure.

Likewise, in most organisations, control is managed by setting departmental budgets and targets and by the allocation of resources to departments. Departments therefore were organized to fulfil a function and were usually groupings of specialists, such as accountants plus various levels of bookkeepers in one group, marketing people in another group, and so on. The result being that each individual was set targets and then measured against these

targets by their managers. Thus the aim was to keep to budget and to meet management requirements and the first priority was the function and not the overall process. (The process was only completed and the service supplied to the customer after each of several functions had had a direct or indirect input). The way in which these inputs occurred was partly to comply with the system and partly through informal networks, Jones et al (2000) and Lewis et al (2001).

The relevance to this paper is that even if the organisation chart does not change it is likely that the informal network will take over if the customer focus culture is strong enough. However, it would seem prudent to review the structure and consider the relevance of the structure, if a genuine change to a total quality system is being made. With open communication and clear objectives a formal structure is no longer required.

With re-engineering, one of the approaches is first to determine the key processes, secondly to recognise what has to be done and what resources and inputs are needed, and then to make those processes happen as efficiently as possible, always with the customer in mind. Attention will be paid to what really happens, and how the information networks exchange information and become meshed to make the process happen. In doing this, suppliers are regarded as part of the process. The functional structure is ignored in the analysis, the aim being not to let the existing structure inhibit but to determine where value is being added. Porter (1985), Ross (1998), Basu and Wright (2008).

Adding value - quality of service and efficiency of operations - is seen as everybody's responsibility. Churchill once said that war is too important to be left to the generals. So too with adding value, everyone in the organisation has to be involved and everyone, in the words of Peters, et al (1986), must have a passion for excellence. But efficiency is more than an in-house concern, it is the concern of all involved in the extended supply chain. The supply chain begins with the suppliers of material and flows through the process to the customer. Anything in the process where value is added to the product or service, makes up the supply or value chain. Anything that doesn't directly add value to the product or service, is outside the supply chain, Basu and Wright (2008).

With the supply chain approach, not only are all members of the organisation involved in quality and have the aim of making a daily improvement to the level of quality, but the

suppliers are also expected to be imbued with the same enthusiasm. Likewise, if customers can be involved in advising and specifying what changes of improvements they would like, they too are a part of the supply chain and consequently are expected to be an integral part of the quality culture. 'In this sense, the suppliers and the customers will, along with the in-house people involved in adding value to the product, be expected to incrementally force quality improvement on a daily ongoing basis. This is the basis of Deming's Total Quality Management. Quality is everybody's business - not just the managers', Wright and Race (2004) p.316.

Ross (1988) is adamant that the organisation has to be structured around the whole extended process from supplier through to customer - ever mindful of technological changes and the competition - with the focus on adding value and the elimination of non value adding activities.

With change, nothing is sacred. This can be a problem. Organisations that have been successful tend to look backwards for what is tried and true. Pendlebury (1987) describes this as the creative destruction /population ecology view of the firm 'where the better a business performs, the more its decision makers believe they are right, and become complacent; failures are seen as aberrations; and decisions based on judgement and experience become routine policies and procedures', p.37. The only problem is that conditions that apply today are not the same as those of even five years ago, as evidenced by the recent financial recession.

No organisation can afford to be complacent. Change is here to stay, Carnall (2003) and Axelrod (2001).

Vision
As Erwin et al (2000) and Pyzdek claim for Six Sigma, so does Wright and others claim for Total Quality Management (TQM) 'The vision of TQM must begin with the chief executive. If the chief executive has a passion for quality and continuous improvement, and if this passion can be transmitted down through the organisation, then paradoxically, the ongoing driving force will be 'from the bottom up rather than enforced from above, and with everyone sharing the same vision', Wright and Race (2004) p. 318. For similar view

points re TQM see Crosby (1979), Ishikawa (1985), Schonberger (1986), Albrecht (1988), Collins et al (1991), Creech (1994), Dulewicz et al (1995) and Gabor (2000).

The word 'vision' suggests almost a mystical occurrence (Joan of Arc), or an ideal (such as expressed by Martin Luther King "I have a dream"). The same connotation is found when looking at vision in the organisational context. A leader with a vision is a leader with a passion for an ideal. But, unless the vision can happen, it will be nothing more than a dream Wright and Race (2004), also see El Namaki (1992), and Langeler (1992). To make a vision happen within an organisation, there has to be a cultural fit. Corporate culture is the amalgam of existing beliefs, norms, and values of the individuals who make up the organisation ('the way we do things around here'), Peters et al (1982, 1986). The leader may be the one who articulates the vision and makes it legitimate but, unless it mirrors the goals and aspirations of the members of the organisation at all levels, the vision won't happen, Albrecht (1988). As Stacey (1993) says 'the ultimate test of a vision is if it happens' p 234.

Culture and values are deep seated and may not always be obvious to members. As well as the seemingly normal aversion to change by individuals, often there is a vested interest for members of an organisation to resist change. Middle management often is more likely to resist change than are other members. Machiavelli (1513) wrote 'It must be considered that there is nothing more difficult to carry out, nor more doubtful to success, nor more dangerous to handle, than to initiate a new order of things'. Human nature hasn't really changed much since the 16th century!

Organisations are made up of many individuals, each with their own set of values. The culture of an organisation is how people react or do things when confronted with the need to make a decision. If the organisation has a strong culture, each individual will instinctively know how things are done and what is expected. Conversely, if the corporate culture is weak, the individual may not react in the manner that management would hope, Peters et al (1982, 1986) and Carnall (2003).

To engineer or change a culture there has to be leadership from the top. Leading by example might seem to be a cliché but, unless the chief executive can clearly communicate and demonstrate by example a clear policy, how will the rest of the people know what is

expected? Leadership does not have to be charismatic, but it has to be honest. Leadership does not rely on power and control. Basu and Wright (2007) find that real leaders communicate face to face not by memos.

Mission statement to signal change

A new mission statement would seem to be a logical way for a chief executive to signal a change in direction for an organisation. Ideally the mission statement should be a true statement as to the reason for being of the organisation. It should be realistic and state the obvious. Profit is not a dirty word, Friedman (1970). Customer service is important, Zeithaml et al (1990), Kotler and Keller (2006). The key resource lacking in many organisation is quality people Barlett and Goshal (1994), Mintzberg (1996) and Knuckey et al (1999). Therefore it would seem obvious for any mission to say we are in business to make a profit, and we will make a profit by providing the customers with what they want, and that we recognise that our most important resource in making this mission happen is our people. It is important that the new mission be in tune with what the people of the organisation believe (the culture). To achieve a mission that fits the culture it would seem sensible to get the involvement and interest of all the staff in writing of the new mission. Thus in this manner a change in culture could begin with the determination and the buy in by staff into the new mission.

From the mission the strategy should be derived, Collins and Porras (1996). The first step being to determine what the customer wants, and then to establish if the organisation can afford to provide the customer with what they want in terms of specification, cost and timing, Wild (2002). If the resources (machinery, reliable supply chain and the people) are not adequate then the mission can't happen Slack et al (2006).

'If employees, organisation wide, are going to accept change, and them-selves individually change, they will need to learn certain skills. Skills such as;
> under-standing work processes,
> solving problems,
> making decisions, and
> working with others in a positive way.

All these types of skills can be taught. The main message that has to be learnt is the need for cultural change, and for people to trust each other. In particular management has to win

the trust of lower level staff and have to learn how to change from autocratic management to coaching and mentoring. Lower level staff, in turn, have to learn to trust management', Wright and Race (2004) p.319, also see Hall (1999) and Axelrod (2001) who express similar views.

Change is painful

Change will be painful and it will not happen overnight. Most writers and management consultants agree that to change a corporate culture will take at least three years, Turner (1993), Wright (2004) Knuckey et al (1999). Research by Kreigsman (1996a and 1996b) found where a company has to change its culture to develop into a world class firm will take 8-12 years!

Most organizations cannot afford to wait 8 to 12 years.

Not with standing it is generally agreed that change requires careful planning, harmonious collaboration and a willingness to listen and to accept criticism and suggestions. The first step for a chief executive will be to win the Board over, and then senior managers have to be convinced. Until there is whole-hearted agreement and a determination at senior management level it won't be possible to sell the changes to the lower levels. At this stage, it is likely that some senior managers will opt for early retirement or will move on. Change and the 'giving up' of power will be too difficult for them to handle. As the change cascades down through the organisation, it will also be found that some middle managers and quite a few supervisors will also opt to leave. The problem is that organisations have been for too long built around those who give orders and those who take orders and it is hard for people to give up power and to trust the lower echelons to get things right. Some, too, will find it difficult to give up the trappings of power, Basu and Wright (2005) Wright (2004), Perry, Davidson and Hill (1995) and Knuckey et al (1999).

As the re-engineering process takes hold together with the philosophy of total quality and value adding, and is accepted at all levels, executive privileges will become less important. 'A leader leads by example; a leader does not need a separate office; a true leader will want interaction and will want to be where the action is', Wright (2004) p.320. Also see Crosby (1979) Deming (1986) Carlzon (1989) Juran (1989), and Oakland (1999).

The action is in the front line

'The action is not to pore over figures and budgets and draw up new mission statements; the action is in the front-line. With a quality culture, there is no room for people or for expenses that do not add value to the process. It is best to let people go who don't want or who can't change. This will be one of the hard decisions that will have to be taken', Wright (2004) p.321.

The method for obtaining commitment and acceptance of change is, first, for senior management to agree on the need for change. Once the need is agreed, understood and accepted, the changes can be rolled down through the organisation. This will involve strong leadership, discussion and agreement at all levels.

Thus to achieve a quality culture will require a vision of total quality from top management. Top management has to sell the vision and the rank and file has to buy into its vision. Once the rank and file is won over they will be the force driving the quality bandwagon. Once the culture of quality has been firmly entrenched within the organisation it will permeate outwards to embrace suppliers and customers. Once this happens management will no longer be attempting to dictate the level of quality and directing how the level might be achieved. Customers, suppliers and in-house lower-level staff will be making daily incremental improvements and giving suggestions to management for larger, far-reaching improvements. The drive will now be from the bottom up rather than enforced from above and with all sharing the same vision, Deming (1986), Wright (2004), Bart (1999), Hall (1999) and Pyzdek (2000). Creech (1994), believes that structural teams provide the best means of distributing authority and accountability as they facilitate leadership that operates bottom up as well as top down. Creech believes that a decentralized team approach permits empowerment at all levels, especially at the front line, so that enthusiastic involvement and common purpose are realities, not slogans. He contends that it doesn't matter how often the word empowerment is used in the annual report, as long as centralised control is retained, leadership will not be able to operate from the bottom to the top.

Schein (1988) points out that any change process involves not only learning and believing in something new, but unlearning something that is already present. Thus, no change will take place unless there is a motivation to change and the need for change is fully

understood. All changes have to be negotiated, that is agreed to, before a stable change can take place.

If it is accepted that change has to be organisation wide, and requires the development of a strong corporate culture, and that people can change, what then is required of management? Managers will have to learn how to make the transition from being autocratic to become a mentor and coach. What of staff? Staff have to be given the opportunity to learn new skills and new technology. They also have to develop skills of working with people and working as a team, La Rooy (1998) and Wright (2004).

Many organisations start a change program without going through the earlier stages of identifying the real requirements. A change program that is not carefully planned and managed is doomed to failure, because not only is it likely that the improvement strategy will be wrong but also the necessary commitment and culture will not have been developed, Carnall (2003).

Making changes and improvements should be a continuous process, but to sustain continuous change is as difficult as initiating and implementing change. To keep the momentum going, it is necessary to evaluate if the change process has produced results and to keep developing ongoing improvement activities, Ishikawa (1985), Masaaki. Imai (1986), Perry et al (1995), Kaplan and Norton (1996), Basu and Wright (2003), and Wild (2002)

The success of any project is underpinned by management commitment, organisation and resources. Building a commitment for all the stakeholders, inside and outside the company, involves the understanding of why improvement is needed and the nature of improvement. It is a common phenomenon for various factions to appreciate why a change is required but at the same time to believe that the need to change does not necessarily apply to them. The culture of the organisation has to be such that everyone from the cleaner to the chief executive believes that they have a personal part to play in making changes. The prerequisite for change is the vision and the will to change based on a culture that will accept change, Wysocki, Beck and Crane (2000).

It is vital that detailed discussion and agreement occurs throughout the company as to what, how, when and where change should take place and whom should be involved, Turner et al (1996).

The model for change given below is based on that developed by Basu and Wright (2005) and consists of four stages:

> Start up.
> Self analysis.
> Making changes.
> Follow up.

Start Up

The key task for senior management is to decide what improvement opportunity areas have the greatest impact for the business. However a significant number of companies that initiate a change program do so because either they feel threatened for survival. Our recommendation is before any improvement is attempted that self analysis to identify the weaknesses and the gaps in performance take place. A self analysis process does not start on its own. Any benchmarking program requires full commitment, preparation and planning. It is vital that top management and the board wholeheartedly recognise the need for a change program. This recognition may be prompted by a reaction to current company performance, threat from a new competitor, or a strategic change (e.g. merger or an internal report from any of the key stakeholders). The Board and Management must believe that serious action has to be taken.

Major panic driven changes can destroy a company. Poorly planned change is worse than no change. Change has to be planned, methodical and relentless. At this stage it may be helpful to conduct a limited number of consultation workshops with key stakeholders to acquire agreement and understanding about the need to change. The outcome of this will be the full commitment of top management and the support of the stakeholders.

Self Analysis

It is important for organisations to be sure of what their vision and mission and key values are, and to honestly ask 'how well are we performing against our stated vision and mission?' The basic concern being are resources, organisation structure, and people

capable of meeting the mission. For TQM and Six Sigma the philosophy includes internal and external quality measures. Internal measures are the amount of waste and scrap, reworks, and the identification and costing of any non value adding activities. External measures revolve around customer satisfaction and the reliability of suppliers. Measures include the number of late deliveries, failure to meet specification, recalls and the cost of putting right. Wild (2002) categorises quality costs as being; investment, prevention, appraisal, correction, usage (replacement, failure, disruptions), and consequent costs of management overhead and market reputation.

Internal analysis should not only be to determine shortcomings but, as per the Six Sigma approach, it is important to determine strengths and strong points and to celebrate successes. The aim is to foment a positive culture, not to be negative or to condemn.

Making Changes
Communication and training of people throughout the organisation is essential.
Key communication benefits and needs are:
1. The objective is to share information and change processes among the stakeholders at all levels of the organisation:
2.   Top management, and the Board, must understand enough about the improvement programs to know how the changes will affect the business. They must be able to know what is happening and to show leadership so things will happen.
3. Middle Management and Staff Education - While everyone cannot be on project teams everyone has a role to play in the improvement program. Therefore everyone on the staff must be informed of how their work will be affected
4. .Employee Training - No change process will work if the employees in the front office oppose it either directly or indirectly. Employee involvement and training is vital for an implementation.
5. Communication to trade unions. It is critical that the representatives of unions and other staff representative bodies are kept informed at critical stages of the implementation of how the change process will affect their members.
6. The communication among the stakeholders should be full and open. A change program cannot be built upon any false pretence. Success depends on trust. Secret agendas don't remain secret for long. Leaked information is always more damaging than official information. Damage control can be costly and time consuming.

7. Learning programs should be properly structured:

      a. There should be a learning manager with a focused role.

      b. On the job learning should be accomplished through team leaders.

      c. An external human resources consultant may be valuable to guide the learning and to effect a culture change.

The installation of the changes involves the planning and physical actions necessary for putting the changes into place. This stage consists of a large number of concurrent and parallel activities including selection of equipment, revising layout, improvement of process capability, commissioning, training and so on. It is useful to prepare a project schedule showing the critical path and all the necessary resources.

Some people understand a system conceptually but cannot accept it unless they can see it in action. Pilot projects can demonstrate results and validate the purpose of the change. It can be a great advantage to move along the learning curve by a trial at a group of branches rather than going organisation wide in one hit.

Follow up

Follow up involves the continuous need to sustain what has been achieved and to identify further opportunities for improvement. It is at least as difficult to sustain changes as it is to design and install them. Keeping the change process going by regular feedback is a different process from that of making changes. This phase contains two inter-related milestones - evaluation and continuous development.

The progress of the changes should be monitored at regular intervals usually by comparing the actual results with target performance levels.

All the people of the organisation have to understand the purpose of the changes, believe in them and give whole-hearted support. The lead must come from the top of the organisation.

The above model for change is for organisations that are not currently working in harmony. The findings of the survey were that up to 60% of organisations are not in harmony.

The recommendation is not for total revolution that tears down structures as and which results in wholesale redundancies and restructuring. It is considered naïve to believe an

organisation can start with a blank sheet of paper, it has to be recognised that a rather grubby piece of paper already exists! It is recommended that by structured self analysis that organisations discover not only their weaknesses but their strong points and should build on these strong points. However, it is not recommended that lagging organisations can change by adopting a continuous improvement approach. First a major change in culture will be needed, everyone in the organisation has to appreciate that change is necessary to survive in a world class market. Such recognition, and change in culture, has to be led from the top.

This paper builds on the findings of the survey and the literature and recommends a holistic approach to achieve organisational harmony.

The problems highlighted in the survey were:

1. Missions which are not genuine.
2. Lack of understanding as to what customers want.
3. Shortage of key resources.
4. Inappropriate focus of management appraisal systems.

It was noted that all these issues are inter linked. It was therefore considered that a total approach was needed to effect changes. The need for organisations to move to world class performance was considered. Various total approaches to improve operational performance including TQM , Six Sigma, Re-engineering, Balanced Score Cards, and Total Manufacturing Solutions were considered. Drawing on these approaches a model was developed as to the components of a world class organisation. These were found to be;

1. vision and leadership from the top,
2. an honest mission with a genuine customer focus,
3. customer involvement,
4. a quality culture,
5. an appraisal/incentive system that supports the mission,
6. the elimination of all non value adding activities, and
7. a supply chain approach to determine the organisational structure.

 It was recognised that many organisations have adopted a whole systems approach, and include IBM, Toyota, Motorola, and General Electric. Some use a score card approach,

others the Six Sigma approach. Despite these well publicised successes it was found that many organisations are lagging behind world class performance. It was accepted that for a lagging company the concerns were with day to day operations and that total organisation change could well appear to be daunting. It was therefore recommended that organisations identify strong points and build on these. At the same time weak points have to be identified and strengthened and non value adding activities identified and eliminated. The recommendation being that a revolution will be needed for the laggers, but a revolution of the culture rather than initial major restructuring.

From the literature it is universally found that the most important element for success in an organisation is the people. People include management and staff at all levels. It is contended that if the overall culture is right then there is very little that an organisation cannot achieve. The mission of the organisation has to begin at the top, and has to be accepted by the staff. If the mission is to become reality resources and assessment systems have to be in place to support the mission.

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