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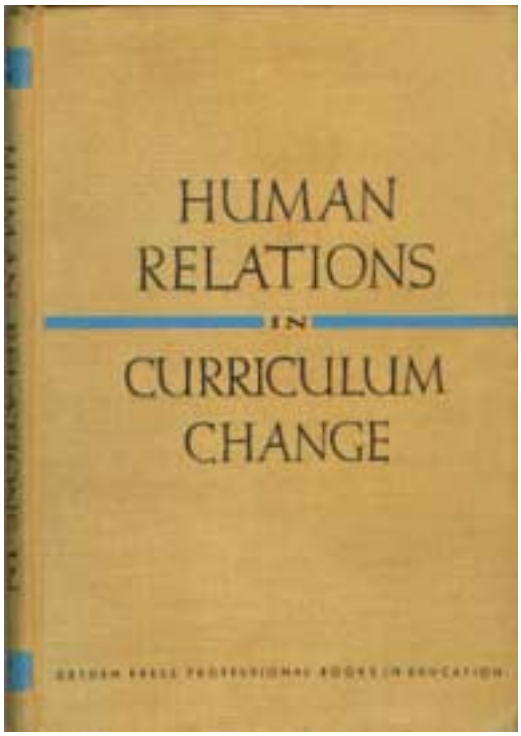

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HUMAN RELATIONS IN CURRICULUM CHANGE

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[Title page:]

SELECTED READINGS WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON GROUP DEVELOPMENT

HUMAN RELATIONS IN CURRICULUM CHANGE

KENNETH D. BENNE
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THE DRYDEN PRESS NEW YORK, N. Y.

[Pages V to VI:]

FOREWORD

IN RECENT YEARS more and more attention has been focused on ways and means of effecting changes in school programs. In the Secondary School Curriculum Program in the State of Illinois, for example, a great deal of effort has been directed toward utilizing the best that is known regarding procedures for individual and group development. The present volume exemplifies this effort, having been originally issued as a bulletin published for use in Illinois, under the sponsorship of the Office of Public Instruction in cooperation with institutions of higher learning, industry, agriculture, labor, and twenty-nine other lay and professional groups and organizations.

HUMAN RELATIONS IN CURRICULUM CHANGE has proved its value for individuals and groups interested in the improvement of education. It has been received with enthusiasm and is being used extensively by the faculties of many schools, by parent and other lay groups, and by undergraduate and graduate students in institutions of higher learning. The volume presents a clear-cut theory basic to effective group procedures together with many practical suggestions regarding ways and means of implementing this theory.

Too much cannot be said regarding the help received from this publication by teachers, administrators, pupils, parents, and citizens who are not parents of children in school who have been working on projects sponsored by the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program. Practice of the good group procedures suggested in this book has led to increasingly effective work in furnishing the best possible educational opportunities for the youth in schools. Certainly this volume has made a very significant contribution to progress in Illinois schools and communities. It is hoped that all educators, both in service and in training, will find it similarly useful and significant.

VERNON L. NICKELL
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State of Illinois

PREFACE

TEACHERS, ADMINISTRATORS AND LAYMEN who have sought seriously to produce changes in the program of the school recognize the central importance and difficulty of managing the "human factors" inescapably involved in such changes. For, whatever else it may include, a change in the curriculum is a change in the people concerned—in teachers, in students, in parents and other laymen, in administrators. The people concerned must come to understand and accept the different pattern of schooling. This means change in their *knowledge* pertinent to the school and its programs and purposes. Typically, people involved who were loyal to the older pattern must be helped to transfer their allegiance to the new. This means change in their *values* with respect to education. Moreover, the people concerned must do some things differently from the way in which they did them before the change. This means changes in their *skills*. And, most difficult to predict and control, are changes in the relationships among personnel which changes in the program typically require. A changed way of working for the teacher in the classroom, for example, means changed expectations on the part of the teacher with respect to the students and their behavior as well as changed expectations on the part of the students with respect to the teacher and his behavior. If the change is a sizable one, new reciprocal relations between teachers and parents, students and parents, teachers and supervisors will also have to be worked out. This means changes in the *relations* of people.

As those who seek to change the curriculum recognize that this involves interrelated changes in the *knowledge, values, skills* and *relations* of the people concerned, many baffling questions are bound to arise. Some of these questions have to do with the *nature of change* in people and in social systems such as the school. What underlies resistance to change on the part of people, even when

the change seems well supported by facts and evaluated experience? Why do changes in the school, even though enthusiastically launched in the beginning, often slip back into the older patterns? Who are likely to be the leaders in any particular change? And what actually is "leadership"?

Other questions center on the *technology* of bringing about change, questions of how to accomplish it. It is widely recognized that changes in the school program cannot be brought about without the organization and use of groups—committees and meetings of various kinds and sizes—for discussion, study, planning and decision about changes which are possible and desirable. Who should be on a committee called to plan a given change? How big should a committee be? How can committees be helped to function more productively than they often do? How can faculty meetings or meetings of students, faculty anti parents generate more light and less heat?

Frequently, educational leadership is worried about the *ethics* of deliberately setting out to change people, their ideas, their values, their skills and their relationships. Under what conditions does leadership in change function democratically? What right has a teacher to try to change students and parents? How can groups and individuals be protected from undemocratic manipulation?

Still other questions focus on the discipline which leaders in change need in order to stimulate and coordinate changes, ethically, cooperatively and ethically. These questions usually have to do with the *methodology* to be used in reaching decisions, in making policies and in reconstructing points of view. How can valid decisions and policies be best reached by a group? And what is validity with respect to a decision or policy? How can people think together validly when they differ markedly in their points of view?

Questions about the nature of change, the technology of change, the ethics of change and the methodology of change are being asked widely by teachers, administrators and lay leaders today. What materials are available to help them answer these questions?

In the last few years there has been accumulating a small but growing body of investigations and writings in the fields of "human engineering" and "group development." These investigations and writings, from which the selections in this

book have been drawn, have at least four distinctive characteristics. (1) They attempt to focus the resources of various social sciences, including

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psychology, upon the problems of inducing and controlling changes in social systems, including the face-to-face group. The principles and concepts involved thus represent a fusion of resources from several social sciences. (2) They involve the collaboration of social scientists and social practitioners, including educators, in their formulation and testing. *No hypothesis in this body of writings has been fully tested*. Nor will it be tested fully until it has been used widely in thoughtful experimentation with actual social changes. The school offers an important potential laboratory for the development of a truly experimental social science. *Experimentally minded school workers can develop and improve the hypotheses suggested in these readings as they put them to the test in planning and evaluating changes in the school program*. (3) The approach to social change which these readings incorporate is not the approach of an observer who stands apart from on-going change and attempts to formulate its "necessary" and "inevitable" sequence and direction. The approach is rather that of the participant in change who is seeking dependable relationships between his own actions and the resulting effects upon the groups and social systems which he is trying to influence and improve. (4) Finally, the approach to human engineering which has guided the editors in compiling this volume is not a "value-free" approach. No attempt to engineer changes in people and social systems is without some value system, whether explicit or implicit. The value system which these readings on leadership and change incorporate is a *democratic* one. The further assumption is made that democratic values will be safeguarded in a process of change only as these values become conscious and explicit in the operating methodology of leadership and planning employed in the process.

The Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program, a statewide project sponsored by the Office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, has for several years tried to keep local school leadership in the state of Illinois in planning and carrying out changes in the secondary school curriculum. Leaders in the Program came to recognize that school people, as they grappled with the problems of curriculum change, were asking such questions as those suggested above. These leaders, also aware of the growing body of investigations and writings in the fields of human engineering and group development, requested the editors of the present volume to prepare a book of readings which would focus selections from these writings upon the ques-

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tions typically confronted by leaders in curriculum change. The result was Bulletin Number 7 of the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program Series, which was released to the schools of Illinois in 1950. The wide demands for this bulletin both from within Illinois and from outside the state soon exhausted the original printing. This demand encouraged the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program to release the bulletin for general publication.

The present volume is a slightly revised edition of Bulletin Number 7. We hope that it will help prospective teachers and administrators, teachers and administrators in service, and lay leaders concerned with education to see the important bearings of recent and continuing studies of group development upon the pressing task of improving the programs of our schools.

We wish to acknowledge the helpful criticisms and suggestions which Professor C. W. Sanford, Director of the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program, and Professor B. Othanel Smith, College of Education, University of Illinois, have given to us.

Two recent lines of intellectual development with which one of the editors has had the good fortune to be closely associated have contributed fundamentally to this book. The analysis of "practical judgment," by Professors R. Bruce Raup, B. Othanel Smith, George Axtelle and Kenneth D. Benne, has helped to make clear the interrelations of the method of science and the method of democracy in the intelligent management of decision and policy-making. The work of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development, sponsored by the National Education Association and the Research Center for

Group Dynamics, University of Michigan, has helped to advance our understanding of group development in the interrelated contexts of training, research and social action. This latter work has built in some large part upon the frontier theorizing of Kurt Lewin and his associates.

The editors make special acknowledgment to Dr. J. L. Moreno, who has pioneered in the areas currently referred to as psychodrama, sociodrama, role-playing, action dynamics, warming-up technique, group psychotherapy and sociometry, and who first introduced these terms into the literature, with some of the meanings emphasized in the present volume. To a great extent, the basic impetus for certain new trends in group and action research can be traced to the work of Moreno and his numerous associates, to such books as *The Theatre of Spontaneity* (German edition, 1923), *Who Shall Survive?* (1934), *Sociodrama* (1943), and *Psy-*

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chodrama (1945), and to the journal *Sociometry* (1936-1951).

To Beacon House, Inc., publishers of *Psychodrama Monographs*, *Sociometry* and *Sociatry*, the editors record their thanks for permission to reprint the following six articles:

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May 1951

KENNETH D. BENNE
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Kenneth D, Benne, George E. Axtelle, B. Othanel Smith, and R. Bruce Raup, "The Discipline of Practical Judgment in a Democratic Society" (This work, originally published as a yearbook of the National Society of College Teachers of Education, has been reissued in a revised edition by Harper

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National Education Association:

Report of the Second Summer Laboratory Session of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development, "Functions of the Group Observer"

Princeton University Press and *Public Opinion Quarterly*:

Kurt Lewin, "The Special Case of Germany"

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PART ONE

Human Relations — A Neglected Factor in Curriculum Change

Few, if any, of those who are closely associated with the conduct of the schools today are satisfied with the school program as it is now operating. They have come to feel that the world our students face is a vastly different world than that faced by students in the period when the major patterns of the school program in America took shape. It is at once a smaller and more interdependent world and a more complex, confusing and conflicting world. They have come to feel, further, that a program designed to help students face this world resolutely and responsibly must represent a revision and a rebuilding of the traditional school. This dissatisfaction points directly to the need for curriculum change. The slogans which have served as recent rallying cries for dissatisfied educators indicate both the magnitude and the focus of school leaders' dissatisfactions with the present school program—"Education for the Air Age", "Education for the Atomic Age", "Education for One World," "Education for an Age of Plenty", etc., etc. All of these slogans underline some need for curriculum change. Even those who operate under the educational banners of "Back to the Three R's" or "Forward to the Middle Ages" are dissatisfied with the present program. They too demand curriculum change.

It is virtually impossible for anyone with educational responsibility to avoid strong pressure, indeed many and conflicting pressures, to initiate, to induce, changes in the curriculum of the school. During the past several decades, under these pressures, widespread programs of curriculum revision and curriculum development have been launched in local communities and in states throughout the nation. Undoubtedly, these efforts have resulted in some lasting changes, some improvements, in the school program. But few are satisfied with the extent or the quality of the changes which have resulted from these heroic efforts. Many changes, we can see now, resulted from opportunistic and sometimes inconsistent adjustments in the school program to pressures of various interest groups in the profession and in the community; seldom have changes represented the fruits of cooperative and deliberate planning by all concerned. Many programs of change have broken on the rocks of deep resistance to change from teachers, administrators, parents, citizen groups, even students. Not a few promising changes, temporarily adopted, "withered on the vine". After a period of excited support of one or another changed pattern, the school slipped back, slowly or in a dramatic backswing, to its old ways.

It is the belief of the authors of this Introduction that the frequently encountered "failure" or "partial" success of efforts to engineer changes in the school curriculum have resulted from inadequate or partial answers to the question "What things need to be changed, if stable changes in the program of the school are to be effected?" *It is our further contention that, however else the problem of curriculum change may have been formulated, it has not been generally seen as a problem of changing the human relationship structure of the school seen and analyzed as a social system.* To fail to see the school in this way, as curriculum change is attempted, leads almost certainly to partial and "abstract" answers to the problem of curriculum change. The purpose of this Introduction is to develop this contention further and to show generally how the materials of this book of readings contribute to the essential equipment of educational leaders who have come to see changes in the curriculum as changes in the social system of the school and community—to accept curriculum revision as a species of planned social and cultural change.

Section A of this Introduction will attempt to

show that the usual answers to the question "What is it that must be changed if we are to change the curriculum?" have not tended to deal with the entire problem of curriculum change but only with certain abstractions from it. To do this, the authors will develop a definition of the curriculum so that the meaning of the term as it is employed here will become clear. Some of the usual conceptions of the curriculum which have operated in programs of curriculum revision will be reviewed. That these were focused on fragments of the curriculum change problem, although important ones, will be established by reference to the previously formulated definition. In Section B a more direct answer to the question of what is being changed when we change the curriculum will be attempted in two parts. It will be maintained, first, that groups formed to carry on any set of common activities, comprise a social system, a complex pattern of relationships. The school is identified as one of these. From this perspective, a curriculum change is explained as a change in the system of relationships and roles which constitute the structure of the school and in the processes or activities which these roles and relationships support and permit. Next, a social system will be considered from a social-psychological point of view to suggest that, for the individuals and groups involved, acting out the interrelated roles of a social system represents available and "authorized" ways of

need satisfaction. It will be claimed that in this context curriculum change means that the group involved must shift its approval from the old to some new set of reciprocal behavior patterns and that the members must accept the replacement of some of the old roles with new ones that promise more readily available or greater need satisfactions to them. On the basis of the foregoing analysis, Section C attempts to suggest four dimensions of the discipline needed by educational leadership committed to induce and control deliberate changes in the social system of the school. These four dimensions provide focal emphasis for Parts II to V of this book of readings.

SECTION A

The meaning of the term "curriculum" can be formulated adequately only when the school is seen in relation to its surrounding culture. For the school is an instrument which adult society uses in its deliberate attempt to direct the growth of children and young people in such a way that the knowledge, attitudes, values, habits, and skills to which this growth leads will be those that are prized in that society. Through the experiences which it develops for the young, the school helps to produce the kind of men and women wanted by the adult society which supports it. What these experiences will be depends in part on what resources of meaning, of knowledge, value, and skill, are available in the culture. It is not possible, of course, to enact and undergo all of the experiences of the wider community within one of its institutions. Hence, people concerned with managing the school must select from the total culture those experiences which they see as necessary for guiding the growth of the young. The experiences selected, the content of the school program, will ultimately depend on the interpretation put by those doing the selecting upon the central attitudes and values of their culture, since they must turn to these for guidance in formulating the objectives of the school. In addition, since there must be some form of social control under which learners are to develop their school experiences and some effective way of aiding and directing the interaction between the school and the learner, education must have methods as well as objectives and content. It is true that methods employed will be partly determined by the values of the society which the school is serving. But teaching and learning methods are also grounded on the psychological study of the growth and development of learners and in the

methods of thinking which the society accepts as ways of settling intellectual doubts and confusions. These, objectives, content and method, then, are important factors, but they are not the only ones that determine what experiences will be available in any given school. They are the

ones, however, which have been traditionally and variously emphasized in various definitions of the "non-teaching" school personnel, the school-community relationship, and the personality structures and non-school membership characters of all involved in the school. Finally, there are the human relationships—between teacher and teacher, student and teacher, administrator and teacher, to mention only some—that regulate the group life of the school, that determine what the various factors emphasized above actually mean and how the interaction between them in the school program will go on. *It is the interaction of all these factors that determines what experiences learners will have and, consequently, what they will learn. This leads to our definition of the curriculum as a selection of experiences which the school as a social system influences significantly and which learners enact and undergo in the process of their deliberate induction into the culture.*

If this definition is acceptable, what is it that must be changed in order to effect lasting changes in the "curriculum"? That the answer is not what it has been frequently assumed to be becomes obvious upon examination of a few familiar definitions which have served as a basis for attempts to revise the curriculum. The curriculum has been variously defined as: a body of subject matter, the school's way of helping children grow and develop, courses of study, desired learnings, the school's entire program, specific materials taught in various courses, and the sum of activities through which children learn. The differences between these various definitions seem to be, at least in part, in the degree of emphasis which each puts upon objectives, or upon content, or upon teaching method. These are indeed important parts of any thoroughgoing consideration of the curriculum. But as we have noted, they are only some of the interacting factors which actually determine the school experiences of learners. Consequently, efforts to change the curriculum which are built upon such definitions and assumptions have been directed primarily toward making changes in one or more of these three factors, with first one and then another of them receiving major attention. Some have tried to see these three factors in interrelationship. For example, in Reorganizing Secondary Education, a publication of the Progressive Education Association, we find: "The argument of this volume proceeds upon the postulate that educational experience in the secondary school must be relevant to the needs of young people growing up in the contemporary social and cultural scene. In so doing, it accepts a fundamental tenet of progressive educational theory and explores the meaning of adolescents' needs as the basis for planning their education.[1] With this objective in mind, the authors identify "four crucial areas of needs", both personal and social in reference, and proceed to suggest the changes that are needed in content and method if the school is to realize this objective.

Other workers for curriculum change have been impressed with the lack of social cohesion in our society. They, too, want a change in objectives—a change toward the development an understanding and an appreciation of the central values of our democratic tradition and a deep commitment to them. They, also, have suggested changes in content and method and have gone on to indicate the "core", the "common learnings", or the "general education" part of the program which all students should experience as a way of learning to live the common life in our kind of world.

To still another group, one which has been impressed by the need for specialized skills in earning a living in our specialized society, changing the curriculum has meant primarily adapting the content so that it would be suitable to training for vocational skills. Sometimes the demand for change has been aimed especially at modifications of method: either in that aspect of method which determines the form of social control under which learners have their school experiences or in that aspect of it which is primarily concerned with the most; effective conditions under which learning goes on.

Curriculum leaders have come increasingly to see that actual changes in the objectives of the school, for example, will be accomplished only

by changing the aims which *actually* operate as teachers and administrators select content; of instruction and initiate and organize learning experiences. And, similarly, for

88 Thayer, V. T., Zachry, C. B., and Kostinsky, R., *Reorganizing Secondary Education*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1939, p. 25.

actual changes in "content" and "method". We must change the people who manage the school program, it is frequently said, if we are to change the "curriculum". Thus Miel has remarked, "To change the curriculum of the school is to change the factors interacting to shape that curriculum. In each instance this means bringing about changes in people—in their desires, beliefs, and attitudes, in their knowledge and skill. Even changes in the physical environment, to the extent that they can be made at all, are dependent upon changes in the persons who have some control over that environment. In short, the nature of curriculum change should be seen for what it really is—a type of social change, change in people, not mere change on paper."[2]

Now this type of statement helps to bring the human aspect of the curriculum change problem into focus. It helps us to see the relation of abstract and impersonal elements like "objectives", "methods", and "content" to the human dimensions of the process of change. It helps us to identify in-service education of school personnel as an integral aspect of curriculum revision. However, in itself, it is not without certain ambiguities which, we believe, need to be cleared up if educational leadership is to approach the problem of engineering changes in any clear-eyed and deliberate fashion. First of all, it emphasizes the re-education of personnel in knowledge, skills, and attitudes. But it gives us little insight into the interrelationship between these aspects of personality structure in processes of stable re-education. Until this is done, we are in danger of vicious abstraction again as we move to organize the "in-service re-education aspect" of curriculum change. Do we first re-educate our attitudes by formulating our philosophy? Do we do a factual survey first to increase and change our knowledge of school affairs? Or do we organize skill-training courses in "new" methods of teaching? Each of the "abstractions" from the total required re-education of school personnel has been attempted in various school situations, seldom with clear and convincing consequences in changed operation of the school program. Again, this emphasis on changing people is ambiguous in failing to clarify the relationship between changes in the social structure of the school and changes in the behavior of personnel. How far can we produce stable changes in school personnel, teachers, for example, while leaving the structure of interrelationships among people and roles in

2 Miel, Alice, *Changing the Curriculum*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. Inc., 1946, p. 10.

the school unchanged? Put differently, how far can stable change in personnel, with respect to operating objectives, methods, selection of content, etc., be accomplished without a concomitant change in "the culture" of the school?

We conclude that, until such questions are clarified, educational leadership will have no clear conception of what needs to be changed in order to effect stable changes in the curriculum. And we conclude further that, while attention to the "social change"—the "human relations"—aspect of curriculum development has not been entirely absent from the theory and practice of curriculum revision, it has not been adequately clarified as a focal element in accomplishing stable change in the school program.

Before turning to a brief attempt at such clarification in Section B, we would like to emphasize that we are not asserting the unimportance of specialized study of curriculum "objectives", "method", or "content". Far from it. We maintain that such studies when they are perceived properly are essential in changing the relations of the school to contemporary society and culture. What we are rather saying is that until the problem of changing the school as a social system, along with changes in the personnel whose in-

terrelated behavior constitutes that system, is faced and, in a measure, solved, the most carefully worked out prescriptives for method or content will find little acceptance as hypotheses for actual trial and adequate testing in the actual life of the school. It is because we believe that considered changes in the "objectives", "method", and "content" of the school program are so essential today that we insist that the problem of curriculum change as social change be seen and studied in its concrete totality, not in disjointed parts.

SECTION B

That curriculum change is a form of social change becomes apparent when we observe how a society carries on its group life. It does so through a network of social systems each of which is a structure of mutually adapted patterns for reciprocal behavior. [3]

3 Linton, Ralph. *The Study of Man*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1936, Ch. VII and XV. Analysis of Section B based in part on these chapters.

There is a great variety of size and purpose among these systems, examples of which "may be classroom groups, faculties, factories, schools, communities, nations . . ."[4] Each of them has in it a number of positions. Each position involves appropriate behavior patterns which shape the role of anyone occupying that position in the system. In the school, for example, we have the positions of teacher, student, principal, etc. Each position implies different but related roles for the people in it. This relatedness enables a system to carry on the processes for which it is designed. Thus, in, one kind of teacher-dominated classroom students know that their role is quietly to listen to recitations and explanations, to participate only when called upon, and to get the next day's assignment. The role may include safely rebellious behavior on minor issues. Their submissiveness is part of the total social pattern in which the position of the teacher is dominant over that of the student. The teacher, in turn, would not be surprised at a staff meeting if the administrator announced a major change in school policy which only he and the Board of Education had planned. In this case, the teacher's submissive role is complementary to the dominant one of other positions in the system. From this point of view, changing the curriculum means redefining the roles associated with the various positions within the system. But which of the positions are to undergo change? Obviously all of them will be involved, to some degree, in the change of any one, since no position has any meaning out of its relationships to the others. To return to the above example, the administrator cannot function as a "democratic leader" in the matter of policy formulation unless the teachers change with him by learning the role of democratic participants. Students will have to make similar changes in student roles if their teacher is to effect stable changes in his own behavior in terms of democratic control in the classroom.

However, taking account of needed adjustments in the related behavior patterns within one system is not enough. For no social system is an autonomous entity; it is always part of a larger pattern of overlapping and related systems. To modify the processes and roles of one system alone simply means that it is no longer geared to the larger complex of which it is a part.

4 Thelen, Herbert. "Engineering Research in Curriculum Building", *Journal of Educational Research*, April, 1948, p. 579.

For example, a high school decided that its varsity athletes had all of the participation in competitive sports that an adolescent can safely take. To protect the boys from overexertion, they made a rule that a varsity athlete would become ineligible if he took part in other organized sports activities in the community. But other youth training agencies in town, which depended on same of the same boys for the success of teams which they sponsored, not only objected to the rule, but ignored it whenever a boy was willing to risk being caught. In another town the big question every spring was whether the community would change to daylight saving time. On one occasion, the city hall voted for standard

time. But the town's industries and stores changed to daylight time and the workers naturally did the same. The school, however, decided to abide by the official city hall ruling. This meant that in all cases where both parents worked they had to leave home before their children were out of bed. It meant that according to the school clock children returned home by four o'clock but according to the time at home, it was five. It meant, according to the clocks in the homes that all evening events at school started and finished an hour later than usual. Many parents refused to allow their children to participate. It was an impossible situation, and the school eventually abandoned the city hall's official time and joined the rest of the community. Obviously, a change attempt will fail if it is centered on too narrow an area of the social structure taken as the unit of change. No part of the total configuration of systems can be treated as if it were independent and unrelated to the rest. Which parts will need major modification will depend, of course, on the social ramifications of the change being considered.

Now when we shift our attention from the relationships of the "normal" behavior patterns within and between social systems to the individuals and groups whose lives go on in terms of these relationships, we get another part of the answer to the question of "What is it that is being changed when there is a change in the curriculum?" Individuals have certain basic psychological and biological needs, and their purposive behavior is aimed at the satisfaction of these needs. But their satisfaction is possible only through participation in group life by means of roles associated with positions in various social systems. In this way an individual becomes a member of various groups and of the larger society of which these are a part. Thus, he satisfies his biological needs as well as his need for security, for belong-

ingness, for recognition, and for response from others. To develop competence in the performance of a role within any of the systems is to add that much to one's security and recognition within the group. To accept group standards and attitudes within the various systems is to gain that much belongingness to group and response from its members. But to participate successfully means that one learns to define the situation as it is perceived by the group functioning in that system or in a given position in the system. For a social system is more than a pattern of related behavior for carrying on some phase of group life. It is also an expression of attitudes and values in terms of which the group within the system selects and defines the situations it must face, in terms of which its patterns of behavior are considered appropriate activities for meeting these situations, and in terms of which it evaluates the results of these activities. Thus an individual's knowledge, attitudes, and skills are the products of interaction in established ways of group life. This does not mean that the individual is completely passive. The way he perceives a situation, for example, is not something that is built anew in each system in which he participates. For he brings with him the effects on his perception of his participation in numerous other systems. The kinds of roles and memberships that are available to him in other associations, the skill and ability with which he performs these roles, and the degree to which he meets his needs by such participations are elements in his "personal structure" and factors in shaping his way of perceiving situations here and now in the school in which cooperative or other "social" activities are going on.

New ways of performing a role within a system will be attempted, new attitudes and values will be proposed, and new ways of perceiving the situation will occur when they seem to offer greater satisfactions to the needs of the persons concerned. Yet each of these alternatives in effect must stand, whether consciously or unconsciously, as a new proposal before the group and seek its acceptance. For if it is to serve as a new stable way of behavior for need satisfaction, it must have the group's approval. What, then, does a curriculum change mean from the standpoint of the persons and groups involved in the school as a social system? It means a change in the established ways of group life and, therefore,

a change in the social standards that support it. If there is to be any "permanence" for a change in the reciprocal behavior patterns of a system, it will come with a shift; of

group attitudes and values away from the old and toward the support of the new relationships established by the group involved. For the individual it means giving up old ways of participating which led to security and recognition in the group; it means that if he is to continue to participate, he must develop the new competences required by the changed behavior patterns around his position in the system; it means changing his perception of the situation and his relationship to it; it means nothing less than a restructuring of his knowledge, attitudes, and skills in a new pattern of human relationships.

SECTION C

What are some of the kinds of equipment which educational leadership should have, if it is to operate effectively in initiating and controlling changes in the curriculum seen, as the last Section has tried to see them, as changes in the social structure and in related processes and roles within the social system of the school and in overlapping social systems in the community? To initiate and work out such changes deliberately involves the use of a theory of social engineering. If leaders in curriculum development are to engineer changes in the school program, they need certain relevant engineering concepts as part of their working equipment. These concepts will not be useful if they remain "theories" which furnish only a certain abstract understanding of what is happening "outside" of educational leadership. They must come to function in the strategy thinking of educational leaders as basic tools in analyzing the possibilities for change in the social structure of school and community, in mapping out and estimating the forces and factors which need to be modified if desired changes are to be effected, in planning appropriate processes of re-education for teachers and others who must be changed if curriculum changes are to be established, and in developing and spreading throughout the social systems involved in the changes the leadership skills required to manage and stabilize change processes effectively. Part II includes readings which attempt to sharpen some of these required conceptual tools.

In the last Section it was also maintained (a) that the individual's behavioral norms, values, and perceptions are shaped as he participates in the related activities of group life and (b) that he offers the least resistance to change in these reciprocal

behavior patterns, and the attitudes that sustain them, when the group itself shifts its support to new relationships within and between social systems. From this point of view, curriculum change strategy will be most successful not when it is focused directly on changing individual teachers but when it attempts to induce the group involved to accept the change. Now a group resists change attempts which it perceives as external pressures and accepts those which it sees as resulting from its own decisions. Plainly, the problem is not "How does a 'strong leader' change the group?" but rather "How can a group be helped to change itself?" The knowledge and skills necessary for giving a group such help are another important kind of equipment needed by all who are working for a change in the curriculum. Of course, it has often been assumed that the skills for working together effectively in groups dealing with the problem of changing human relationships can be learned "just naturally" by participating in group discussions. Undoubtedly people have learned, by this "natural" method, some of the skills and attitudes necessary for carrying on the group process. Yet teachers and principals readily admit that too often the groups in their staff and committee meetings do not function very successfully in thinking and planning together as they face their common problems. So they are beginning to ask "What can be done to increase a group's effectiveness to reach better decisions on curriculum change, to develop its ability to act upon these decisions, and to add to its skill in evaluating the results of such action?" They are asking "What are the lead-

ership and membership functions in the group process?" They are asking, too, "How does one develop and maintain, a democratic group of strong morale and high productivity?" Part III contains readings which attempt to answer these and other questions about the group process by analyzing it, by diagnosing some of its difficulties, and by describing some devices for dealing with these difficulties. The selections are not presented as final and completely tested answers to these questions but, rather, as promising hypotheses to be further tested and developed by those who use them.

We have indicated two aspects of the discipline needed by educators if they are to engineer changes in the school and in the persons and groups that this involves, both in the school and in the community. We have said that educators need a social

engineering theory which provides conceptual tools for diagnosing the possibilities for change, for locating the forces which support it, and for devising change procedures for those which oppose it; that they need certain social-psychological understandings if they are to be effective in re-educating the persons and groups involved in the change; that they need an understanding of the group process, of its leadership and membership skills and of how these are used to induce and stabilize the restructuring of a social system such as the school. To have such knowledge and skills is to have control of the tools and process for initiating and directing change. But a process is neutral; it may serve authoritarian as well as democratic purposes. How can we be sure, then, that the democratic values which the school serves will be recognized and honored in the functioning of the group process and the changes which it produces? This question points to a third dimension of the necessary discipline for educators and others in the role of change agents. What they must have is a method of social engineering whose operating procedures incorporate both democratic ideas and values and the knowledge and skills relevant to initiating and controlling the change process. Part IV of the book identifies five basic democratic norms and translates them into operational elements of a social engineering methodology.

Now there is a fourth of equipment needed as part of the discipline for democratic change agents in the school and community. For in a highly industrialized society, with all ever increasing scientific technology, the conditions under which group life must be lived are constantly changing. Groups within the various social systems of the wider community frequently find that, the established relationships for cooperative activity are no longer an adequate way for dealing with the situations for which they were designed. The cause is obvious; the situations have changed. A group then faces the problem of reinterpreting the implications of its basic attitudes and values in the context of the new situation and, consequently, of restructuring the human relationships by which it carries on its pattern of mutually related activities. It needs a problem-solving method. But when the problem involves changing human relationships, the method must include the "scientific method" and something more. For it must also be grounded in the disciplines we have already mentioned: the social-psychological understandings, the dynamics of

the group process, and the democratic ethic. Only a method of such scope can deal with the problem of changing human relations; for, inevitably, it must consider not only what "is" and what "can be" but also, what "ought to be". A problem-solving method of such breadth is necessary to give educational leadership the criteria for locating and defining needed changes, for planning the means to execute them, for weighing the adequacy of proposed solutions, and for evaluating the consequences after acting upon these proposals. Part V of the book gives the main outlines of such a problem-solving method.

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PART TWO

Conceptual Tools for Analyzing Change Situation

[Page 18:]

1
INTRODUCTION

If leaders in curriculum change are to discover and to build motivation for change in the school program, they must work with a sound and applicable theory of human motivation. McGregor attempts to summarize the main elements of such a theory, in the first reading of this Part, in terms of "need-satisfaction". Teachers, for example, will change their teaching behavior only if they see the change as a way of "augmenting" the satisfaction of their perceived needs or of avoiding the "reduction" of such satisfactions. Some of the human effects of change through "augmentation" of need satisfactions as compared with those of change through "reduction" are made clear. McGregor's statement is especially useful for curriculum changers in two respects. First, he attempts to fuse the approach of students of "dynamic psychology" to the problem of motivation with the approach of "applied anthropology and sociology" to the same problem. Second, his theory of motivation is worked out in the setting of "organizational" change, not in terms of abstract "individual" motivation or motivation in "laboratory" situations. His use of examples from industrial organizations in no way invalidates his theory for application to behavior in educational systems.

All of us who have tried to induce changes in a school program know that change in the knowledge of those concerned (teachers, for example) is not enough to change their behavior. Nor are changes in "philosophy", in value outlook, enough. Similarly, changes in skill and technique are insufficient by themselves. Yet we are rightly convinced that changes in each of these three aspects of personality must be accomplished if teachers or principals or parents or students are to change their conduct in relation to the school programs and if such changes

are to persist. Lewin and Grabbe in their "Principles of Re-education" attempt to deal with the interrelationship of these three aspects of re-education and with some of the baffling problems of thinking through "a correct sequence of steps, correct timing, and a correct combination of individual and group treatments" in the re-education process.

Often, resistance to proposed changes in a school system, changes which seem fully "reasonable" from an "outside" point of view, proves very baffling to educational leaders. Some of this baffling quality is cleared up and the problem of reducing resistances to change is seen more clearly when we note with Bavelas, in "Problems of Organizational Change", the functioning of a largely unconscious "cultural frame" in the behavior of people in any organization. What is seen by them as reasonable" change is shaped by this "frame" and its related "rituals". Without changes in the cultural frame on the part of teachers and other educational workers, many abstractly "reasonable" practices and theories will continue to be resisted and rejected by them as absurd and "impractical".

If an educational leader is to plan changes strategically, he must find some way of mapping and estimating the strength of "all" forces supporting and "all" forces resisting a given change in the school program. Strategy on such a view becomes a process of planning steps to increase supporting forces and to reduce resisting forces, in the light of such a mapping of the change situation. A promising tool for such strategic analysis is suggested by Lewin in his concept of "present practice" as an "equilibrium in move-

ment" held in its present grooves by a balance of social-psycho1ogical forces, some resisting change of practice to a "higher" level of functioning, others acting to depress practice "below" its present level. This approach to analysis of a situation for its changeability is developed by Lewin in "General Aspects of Cultural Change" and in "Quasi-stationary Social Equilibria and the Problem of Permanent Change". Jenkins applies this type of analysis to a problem of change in classroom methods in the school.

It is generally recognized that the development of "leadership" is one key to effective organizational change. And "leadership training" is often urged and practiced as a beginning point in programs of organizational change. What is frequently not clear is the meaning of the "leadership" to be developed through

projects of "leadership" and in-service training. When we stop to think about it, most of us will admit that the problems of "leadership" center in the relationships between "leader" and "led", between members of an organization or of subgroups in it, between formal and informal leadership. Knickerbocker suggests a way of thinking about the *relationships* of people in the general context of "leadership" and "organizational change". In his "Techniques of Changing Culture" Lewin points to the relationship between "leadership" and the re-training of the "groups" in which this leadership is to function. Changed leadership requires a changed group. (Further discussions of "leadership" and "leadership training" are included in Part III, Sections A and B.)

If change in behavior is related closely to perceived opportunities for need-satisfaction, areas of dissatisfaction with the school program would seem to offer strategic points for initiating changes in that program. Miel conceptualizes some of the processes involved in inducing and utilizing dissatisfaction in promoting curriculum change.

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2
BASIC CONCEPTIONS ABOUT HUMAN MOTIVATION

(From Douglas McGregor, "The Staff Function in Human Relations", *The Journal of Social Issues*, 4:3 : 10-13, Summer, 1948)

[Editors' Note: Original numbering of footnotes retained.]

. . . 1. All human behavior is directed toward the satisfaction of needs.[3] From birth to death the individual is engaged in a constant attempt to satisfy his varied, complex, and sometimes conflicting needs. Any given behavior is a resolution of forces arising in part within him and in part in the environmental situation.

2. It follows from the first assumption that the individual will change his established ways of behaving for one of two reasons: to gain increased need satisfaction or to avoid decreased need satisfaction. Changes in his behavior for either of these reasons are inevitably a consequence of the way he perceives the situation. The expected increase or decrease in need satisfaction may be illusory (from the observer's point of view). The individual may rationalize, delude himself, ignore or misinterpret facts. Nevertheless, he behaves always in accordance with his perception of his own needs and of the possibilities for satisfying them in the environmental situation.

3. Therefore, if an individual, A, wishes to bring about a change in the behavior of another individual (or group), B, he can do so by effecting an "augmentation" in the possibilities of

3 The point of view expressed here stems from current "dynamic" psychology, from modern psycho-analytic theory, and from our own efforts to develop a workable, integrated theory of human behavior in organizations. We have been materially influenced by such people as Kurt Lewin, H. A. Murray, Thomas French, Franz Alexander (and their many associates and students), Margaret Mead, Gardner Murphy, Edward Bibring, Walter Langer, John Dollard, Carl Rogers.

need satisfaction as *B sees them*, or alternatively by effecting a "reduction" in the possibilities of need satisfaction as B sees them.[4] The many variants of method for inducing a behavior change—suggestion, threat, promise, physical force, reward, punishment, propaganda, education, etc.—resolve themselves ultimately into these two.

4. *A* can utilize augmentation or reduction to induce a behavior change only if *from B's point of view* he possesses or controls means which *B* can use for his own need satisfaction. There are many such means, of course. Among the more common ones are money and other material possessions, knowledge, skill or specialized abilities, prestige, approval, love. A pay check, a promotion, a threat of disciplinary action, praise, criticism, an order, a request—all such things are possible ways of influencing *B*'s behavior provided *A*, who uses them, controls means which B regards as important for satisfying his own needs. The pay check (or money) is a direct means for *B*'s need satisfaction. *A* can provide or withhold it. The threat of disciplinary action depends for its effectiveness upon *A*'s control of other means which *B* desires—for example, the job and its attendant rewards.

5. In every-day usage "authority" is equated with the reductive control of means. Thus to exercise authority is to attempt to induce a behavior change by the threat (implied or stated) to withhold, or by the actual withholding of means for *B*'s need satisfaction. Whether it is the policeman, the priest, the boss or the parent who exercises authority, he does so by reduction, insofar as our common-sense notions of authority are concerned. The inference which *B* draws is that he must obey, or else suffer a reduction in need satisfaction.

It makes little difference how we define authority so long as we understand our use of the term. I shall use the phrase "reductive authority," first to remind the reader of the common usage, and second to distinguish this method of influencing behavior from methods involving augmentation. In most situations, *A* can utilize his control of means either augmentively or reductively. Actually he usually does both, but the emphasis is such that *B* perceives the one and ignores the other.

6. . . . There is plenty of evidence (both experimental and com-

4 This symbolic notation is adopted to prevent later confusion. A refers to the individual (or group) who is attempting to induce a behavior change, and B always refers to the individual (or group) whose behavior is affected.

mon-sense) that emphasis upon reduction frequently does not induce the behavior desired by *A*. If one is riding a horse, it is wise to use the whip only if one holds the reins. Otherwise the horse may run, but not necessarily in the desired direction. When *A* utilizes reduction, he must remember that all behavior is directed toward need satisfaction. Unless *A* controls every alternative form of behavior available to *B*, the resulting behavior may satisfy *B* but not *A*! A threat often serves to eliminate a particular kind of undesirable behavior, but another equally undesirable behavior (from *A*'s point of view) may be substituted for it. Moreover, reduction tends to be frustrating, and frustration typically creates aggression. *B* gets angry at *A*, which does not help the relationship, or increase *B*'s docility.

Many industrial managements [school administrations]* have emphasized reductive methods, deliberately or unwittingly, in attempting to modify workers' [teachers'] behavior, only to discover (I) that the desired behavior does not occur but undesired alternative behaviors do, and (2) that unexpected aggressive reactions occur. A good example is the, emphasis on a purely reductive approach to discipline, or to the problem of obtaining conformity to standards of performance. Many so-called "protective clauses" in labor agreements are illustrative of the consequences.

There is today a growing recognition that success in inducing behavior change requires marked emphasis on augmentation. This is particularly true if *A* wants to continue the relationship with *B*. While it is impossible to eliminate the potentiality of reduction from any relationship in which *B* is at all dependent, it is almost always possible

to throw the emphasis upon augmentation.

Reduction is an easy and natural method which is particularly likely to be over-emphasized when *A* possesses much power in the relationship (i.e., when *A* controls important means which *B* requires for need satisfaction. The boss, for example, usually can replace a given worker with less reduction in his own need satisfaction than the worker will suffer if he "replaces" his boss). Excessive reliance upon reduction, however, is likely to be disappointing to *A*. The desired behavior too often does not occur, or the consequences in terms of aggression are unfortunate, and *A* discovers he has defeated his own purposes.

* [Editor's Note: This and all subsequent statements in brackets have been added by the editors.]

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the successful use of augmentation is neither simple nor easy. It requires considerable ingenuity. For example, the direct provision of means for *B* (high wages and other material benefits) such as is typical of paternalistic managements, is far less effective than the provision of opportunities by means of which *B* can through his own efforts achieve greater need satisfaction. . . .

3
PRINCIPLES OF RE-EDUCATION

(From Kurt Lewin and Paul Grabbe, "Conduct, Knowledge, and Acceptance of New Values", *The Journal of Social Issues*, 1:3 : 56-64, August, 1946)

[Editors' Note: The first two principles developed by Lewin and Grabbe and not reprinted in full here are: (1) The processes governing the acquisition of the normal and abnormal are fundamentally alike. (2) The re-educative process has to fulfill a task which is essentially equivalent to a change in culture.]

. . . The re-educative process affects the individual in three ways. It changes his *cognitive* structure, the way he sees the physical and social worlds, including all his facts, concepts, beliefs, and expectations. It modifies his *valences and values*, and these embrace both his attractions and aversions to groups and group standards, his feelings in regard to status differences, and his reactions to sources of approval or disapproval. And it affects *motoric action*, involving the degree of the individual's control over his physical and social movements.

If all three of these effects (and the processes which give rise to them) were governed by the same laws, the practical task of re-education would be much simpler. Unfortunately they are

not, and the re-educator, in consequence, is confronted with certain contradictions. For instance, treatment involving the training of a thumb-sucking child in certain roundabout hand movements, designed to make the child aware of his thumb-sucking and thereby giving him more control over these movements, may set the child apart from other children and undermine his emotional security, the possession of which is a prerequisite for successful re-education.

How these inner contradictions may be avoided is one of the basic problems of re-education. A correct sequence of steps, correct timing, and a correct combination of individual and group treatments are presumably essential. Most important, however, is a thorough understanding by the re-educator of the way in which each of these psychological components—the cognitive structure, valences and values, and motoric action—are affected by any specific step in re-education.

The discussion that follows touches but two of the main problems here involved, one related to a change in cognition, the other, to the acceptance of new values.

CHANGE IN THE COGNITIVE STRUCTURE

The difficulties encountered in efforts to reduce prejudices or otherwise to change the social outlook of the individual have led to a realization that re-education cannot merely be a ra-

tional process. . . . We know that lectures or other similarly abstract methods of transmitting knowledge are of little avail in changing his subsequent outlook and conduct. We might be tempted, therefore, to think that what is lacking in these methods is first-hand experience. The sad truth is that even first-hand experience will not necessarily produce the desired result. To understand the reasons, we must examine a number of premises which bear directly on the problem.

3. Even extensive first-hand experience does not automatically create correct concepts (knowledge).

For thousands of years man's everyday experience with falling objects did not suffice to bring him to a correct theory of gravity. A sequence of very, unusual, man-made experiences, so-called experiments, which grew out of the systematic search for the truth were necessary to bring about a change from less

adequate to more adequate concepts. To assume that first-hand experience in the social world would automatically lead to the formation of correct concepts or to the creation of adequate stereotypes seems therefore unjustifiable.

4. Social action no less than physical action is steered by perception.

In any situation we cannot help but act according to the field we perceive; and our perception extends to two different aspects of this field. One has to do with facts, the other with values.

If we grasp an object, the movement of our hand is steered by its perceived position in the perceived surroundings. Likewise, our social actions are steered by the position in which we perceive ourselves and others within the total social setting. The basic task of re-education can thus be viewed as one of changing the individual's social perception. Only by this change in social perception can change in the individual's social action be realized.

Let us assume that inadequate information (knowledge) has somehow been replaced by more adequate knowledge. Does this suffice to change our perception? In answering this question, let us again take a lead from the field of physical perception by asking: How can false physical perception, for instance, visual illusions, be rectified?

5. As a mile the possession of correct knowledge does not suffice to rectify false perception.

Our insight into the conditions which determine the correctness or incorrectness of perception is still very limited. It is known that some relation exists between visual perception and knowledge. However, the lines which appear curved in an optical illusion do not straighten out as soon as we "know" that they are straight. Even first-hand experience, the measuring of the distances in question, usually does not eliminate the illusion. As a rule, other types of change, such as the enlarging or the shrinking of the area perceived or a change in the visual frames of references are needed to straighten out the lines.

When we consider resistances to re-education we usually think in terms of emotional obstacles. It is important, however, not to underestimate the difficulties inherent in changing cognition. If we keep in mind that even extensive experience with

physical facts does not necessarily lend to correct physical perception, we will be less surprised at the resistances encountered when we attempt to modify inadequate social stereotypes. . . .

[French and Marrow tell the story of a forelady's attitude toward older workers. She clings to the conviction that older workers are no good, although she has older workers on her floor whom she considers very efficient. Her prejudices stand in direct opposition to all her personal experience.]

This example from industry is well in line with studies on Negro-White relations dealing with the effect of common schooling and with observations on the effect of mingling. They indicate that favorable experiences with members of another group, even if they are frequent, do not necessarily diminish prejudices toward that group.

Only if a psychological linkage is made between the image of specific individuals and the stereotype of a certain group, only when the in-

dividuals can be perceived as "typical representatives" of that group, is the experience with individuals likely to affect the stereotype.

6. Incorrect stereotypes (prejudices) are functionally equivalent to wrong concepts (theories).

We can infer, for instance, that the social experiences which are needed to change improper stereotypes have to be equivalent to those rare and specific physical experiences which cause a change in our theories and concepts about the physical world. Such experiences cannot be depended on to happen accidentally.

To understand the difficulties in the way of changing conduct, an additional point has to be considered:

7. Changes in sentiments do not necessarily follow changes in cognitive structure.

Even if the cognitive structure in regard to a group is modified in an individual, his sentiments toward this group may remain unchanged. The analysis of an opinion survey on the Negro problem, involving white respondents with varying educational backgrounds, . . . shows that knowledge and sentiment are independent to a marked degree. The sentiments of the individual toward a group are determined less by his knowledge about that group than by the sentiments prevalent in the social

atmosphere which surrounds him. Just as the alcoholic knows that he should not drink—and doesn't want to drink; so the white American soldier who observes a Negro dating a white girl in England may feel that he should not mind—and he might consciously condemn himself for his prejudices. Still he may frequently be helpless in the face of this prejudice since his perception and emotional reaction remain contrary to what he knows they ought to be.

Re-education is frequently in danger of reaching only the official system of values, the level of verbal expression and not of conduct; it may result in merely heightening the discrepancy between the super-ego (the way I ought to feel) and the ego (the way I really feel), and thus give the individual a bad conscience. Such a discrepancy leads to a state of high emotional tension but seldom to correct conduct. It may postpone transgressions but is likely to make transgressions more violent when they occur. . . .

A factor of great importance in bringing about a change in sentiment is the degree to which the individual becomes actively involved in the problem. . . . Lacking this involvement, no objective fact is likely to reach the status of a fact for the individual concerned and therefore influence his social conduct.

The nature of this interdependence becomes somewhat more understandable if one considers the relation between change in perception, acceptance, and group belongingness.

ACCEPTANCE OF NEW VALUES AND GROUP BELONGINGNESS

Since action is ruled by perception, a change in conduct presupposes that new facts and values are perceived. These have to be accepted not merely verbally as an official ideology, but as an action-ideology, involving that particular, frequently non-conscious system of values which guides conduct. In other words,

8. A change in action-ideology, a real acceptance of a changed set of facts and values, a change in the perceived social world—all three are but different expressions of the same process.

By some, this process may be called a change in the culture of the individual; by others, a change of his super-ego.

It is important to note that re-education will be successful, i.e., lead to permanent change, only if this change in culture is sufficiently complete. If re-education succeeds only to the degree that the individual becomes a marginal man between the old and new system of values nothing worth while is accomplished. . . .

One of the factors which has been shown to have a very important bearing on the success or failure of the re-educative process is the manner in which the new super-ego is introduced; The

simplest solution seems to lie in outright enforcement of the new set of values and beliefs. In this case a new god is introduced who has to fight with the old god, now regarded as a devil. Two points may be made in this connection, illustrating the dilemma facing re-education in regard to the introduction of a new set of values.

a. Loyalty to the old and hostility to the new values. An individual who is forcibly moved from his own to another country, with a different culture, is likely to meet the new set of values with hostility. So it is with an individual who is made a subject of re-education against his will. Feeling threatened, he reacts with hostility. This threat is felt all the more keenly if the individual is not voluntarily exposing himself to re-education. . . . A comparison of voluntary and involuntary migration from one culture to another seems to bear out this observation.

One would expect this hostility to be the more pronounced the greater the loyalty of the individual to the old system of values. Accordingly, persons who are more socially inclined, therefore less self-centered, can be expected to offer stronger resistances to re-education, for the very reason that they are more firmly anchored in the old system.

In any event, the re-educative process will normally encounter hostility. The task of breaking down this hostility becomes a paradox if one considers the relation between acceptance of new values and freedom of choice.

b. Re-education and freedom of acceptance. . . . Much stress is laid on the creation, as part of the re-educative process, of an atmosphere of freedom and spontaneity. Voluntary attendance, informality of meetings, freedom of expression in voicing grievances, emotional security, and avoidance of pressure, all include this element. Carl Rogers' emphasis on self-decision by

the patient stresses the same point for the psychotherapy of the individual. [3]

There seems to be a paradox implied in this insistence on freedom of acceptance, and probably no other aspect of re-education brings more clearly into the open a basic difficulty of the process. Since re-education aims to change the system of values and beliefs of an individual or a group, to change it so as to bring it in line with society at large or with reality, it seems illogical to expect that this change will be made by the subjects themselves. The fact that this change has to be enforced on the individual from outside seems so obvious a necessity that it is often taken for granted. Many people assume that the creation, as part of the re-educative process, of an atmosphere of informality and freedom of choice cannot possibly mean anything else but that the re-educator must be clever enough in manipulating the subjects to have them think that they are running the show. According to such people, an approach of this kind is merely a deception and smoke-screen for what to them is the more honorable, straightforward method of using force.

It may be pointed out, however, that if re-education means the establishment of a new super-ego, it necessarily follows that the objective sought will not be reached so long as the new set of values is not experienced by the individual as something freely chosen. If the individual complies merely from fear of punishment rather than through the dictates of his free will and conscience, the new set of values he is expected to accept does not assume in him the position of super-ego, and his re-education therefore remains unrealized.

From this we may conclude that social perception and freedom of choice are interrelated. Following one's conscience is identical with following the perceived intrinsic requirements of the situation, Only if and when the new set of values is freely accepted, only if it corresponds to one's super-ego, do those changes in social perception occur which, as we have seen, are a prerequisite for a change in conduct and therefore for a lasting effect of re-education.

We can now formulate the dilemma which re-education has to face in this way: How can free acceptance of a new system of values be brought about if the person who is to be educated

3 Rogers, Carl, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1942.

is, in the nature of things, likely to be hostile to the new values and loyal to the old?

9. Acceptance of the new set of values and beliefs cannot usually be brought about item by item.

Methods and procedures which seek to change convictions item by item are of little avail in bringing about the desired change of heart. This is found to be one of the most important experiences for those engaged in the field of re-education. Arguments proceeding logically from one point to another may drive the individual into a corner. But as a rule he will find some way—if necessary a very illogical way—to retain his beliefs. . . . No change of conviction on any specific point can be established in more than an ephemeral way so long as the individual has not given up his hostility to the new set of values as a whole, to the extent of having changed from hostility at least to open-mindedness.

Step-by-step methods are very important in re-education. These steps, however, have to be conceived as steps in a gradual change from hostility to friendliness in regard to the new system as a whole, rather than as a conversion of the individual one point at a time. Of course, convictions in regard to certain points in the total system may play an important role in the process of conversion. It is, however, important for the over-all planning of re-education not to lose sight of the fact that efforts directed toward bringing about a change from hostility to open-mindedness and to friendliness to the new culture as a whole be given priority over conversion in regard to any single item or series of items of the re-educative program.

How, then, can acceptance of the new values be established if not by an item-by-item change in conviction?

CREATION OF AN IN-GROUP AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF A NEW VALUE SYSTEM

One of the outstanding means used today for bringing about acceptance in re-education, as discussed above, is the establishment of what is called an "in-group," i.e., a group in which the members feel belongingness. Under these circumstances,

10. The individual accepts the new system of values and beliefs by accepting belongingness to a group.

. . . Allport formulates this point as a general principle of teaching people when he says, "It is an axiom that people cannot be taught who feel that they are at the same time being attacked."

. . . In other words, in spite of whatever status differences there might be between them, the teacher and the student have to feel as members of one group in matters involving their sense of values . . . the normal gap between teacher and student, doctor and patient, social worker and public, can be a real obstacle to acceptance of the advocated conduct.

The chances for re-education seem to be increased whenever a strong we-feeling is created. The establishment of this feeling that everybody is in the same boat, has gone through the same difficulties, and speaks the same language is stressed as one of the main conditions facilitating the re-education of the alcoholic and the delinquent. . . .

When re-education involves the relinquishment of standards which are contrary to the standards of society at large (as in the case of delinquency, minority prejudices, alcoholism), the feeling of group belongingness seems to be greatly heightened if, the members feel free to express openly the very sentiments which are to be dislodged through re-education.. This might be viewed as another example of the seeming contradictions inherent in the process of re-education: Expression of prejudices against minorities or the breaking of rules of parliamentary procedures may in themselves be contrary to the desired goal. Yet a feeling of complete freedom and a heightened group identification are frequently more important at a particular stage of re-education than learning not to break specific rules.

This principle of in-grouping makes understandable why complete acceptance of previously rejected facts can be achieved best through the discovery of these facts by the group members themselves. . . . Then, and frequently only

then, do the facts become really their facts (as against other people's facts). An individual will believe facts he himself has discovered in the same way that he believes in himself or in his group. The importance of this fact-finding process for the group by the group itself has been recently emphasized with reference to re-education in

several fields.[1] . . . It can be surmised that the extent to which social research is translated into social action depends on the degree to which those who carry out this action are made a part of the fact-finding on which the action is to be based.

Re-education influences conduct only when the new system of values and beliefs dominates the individual's perception. The acceptance of the new system is linked with the acceptance of a specific group, a particular role, a definite source of authority as new points of reference. It is basic for re-education that this linkage between acceptance of new facts or values and acceptance of certain groups or roles is very intimate and that the second frequently is a prerequisite for the first. This explains the great difficulty of changing beliefs and values in a piecemeal fashion. This linkage is a main factor behind resistance to re-education, but can also be made a powerful means for successful re-education.

1 See the following reports:

Allport, Gordon. "Psychology of Participation," *Psychological Review*, 1945. 53 : 117-1 3 2.

Hendry, C. E., Lippett, R., Hogrefe, R. Camp As A Laboratory for Scoutmaster Training, New York: Boy Scouts of America, Research and Statistical Service.

Lippitt, Rosemary. Camp Fire Girls Program Study (Part 1). New York: Camp Fire Girls, Inc.

Lippitt. Ronald and Hendry, C. E. "The Practicality of Democracy," *Human Nature and Enduring Peace*, Edited by Gardner Murphy, New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1945, pp. 313-319.

Zander Alvin. "Centerville Studies Itself" (mimeographed). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, The Adult Education Program, 1941.

4
PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

(From Alex Bavelas, "Some Problems of Organizational Change", *The Journal of Social Issues*, 4:3 : 48-52, Summer, 1948)

Every growing organization faces once or many times the problem of making substantial internal changes. . . . The required changes may be local or wide-spread, may consist of work re-

organization, or of the re-definition of executive and administrative functions. As a general rule, such changes are painful, and are usually dreaded as much by those who feel it necessary to initiate them as by those who will find it necessary to adjust to them. It is not uncommon to find situations in which obvious and vital changes have been long delayed for this reason—a practice which often has as its chief result the increasing of the eventual discomfort. . . .

It is the aim of this paper to discuss certain psychological aspects of change that may help to relate the disturbances which invariably accompany it to factors of group life and process rather than to the poorness or excellence of the preceding planning or to the amicability or perversity of the individuals involved.

In any organization of human beings there accumulates through time a common fund of experience. Out of it develop proper ways of behaving—ways of working; ways of loafing; ways of cooperating; ways of resisting; etc. The routine of living and working as a group becomes, even though not formalized, sensibly stabilized within limits. Altogether, there emerges a kind of "culture" peculiar to the organization. A newcomer to such an established culture will encounter countless "rituals" which may seem to him amusing and trivial. However, he may find, to his embarrassment that they are quite "serious."

In a well-known engineering firm it was a cus-

tom of long standing that the head of the drafting department was called "Mr. McWilliams" by the clerical help, and "Mac" by the draftsmen and the time-clerk. A young man hired as a filing clerk by Mr. McWilliams was re-interviewed by him a month later and offered the position of time-clerk, which carried with it a substantial increase of pay. The young man accepted with alacrity and was told that he would assume his new duties a week hence. The next day, the young man, carried away with enthusiasm for his imminent rise in status, so forgot himself as to address Mr. McWilliams as "Mac." He was promptly reminded by Mr. McWilliams that he was assuming an undue familiarity. Although that incident was considered closed by Mr. McWilliams, subsequent, and partly consequent events led eventually to the young man's seeking work elsewhere.

This is admittedly an extreme case, but it is extreme in de-

gree and not in kind. By and large, the comfort and effectiveness of the newcomer to an industrial organization depends to a considerable extent upon the ease with which he can adopt the established culture of his environment—unless he is one of that rare group who in fact change the world they live in. Industry as a whole, however, is not notorious for its tolerance of world-changers in the lower echelons.

This cultural frame, so easily perceived by the sensitive observer from the outside, is often unfelt by the individuals who are a part of it. While they may be acutely conscious of the special characteristics of individuals and of specific actions, they may be totally unaware of any overall patterns. In spite of this unawareness, there is good evidence that the framework serves as a guide to thinking and action—perhaps to a greater extent than deliberate reasoning. It is not unusual for an individual to make grave errors as a result of a stubborn disregard of such "instinctive" social perceptions in favor of a purely "intellectual" basis for action. Respect for "intellect" is so universal in our society that it is not uncommon for an executive who operates with consistent brilliance largely by "feel," to conceal the supposed inferiority of this method behind an ad hoc rationale.

Obviously, a well established cultural frame must be a rich source of security for the individual well integrated to it. In such a setting, many of the choices and discriminations which he must make are almost automatic—and, for the most part, automatically right. Also, entirely apart from the individual as such, the cultural framework serves the same function for the group as a whole. The tenacity which groups exhibit for their "culture" is ample evidence that it must serve effectively as means for coping with the complex problems of group living. It should not be surprising that imposed alterations of such a system of dynamic balances invariably "rock the boat" and often threaten to swamp it.

There is another aspect of an established social organization which should be mentioned. In addition to serving as a system for regulating behavior, it may he viewed as a system of reference within which instances of behavior are understood. It serves, in effect, to give a particular set of meanings to events.

It is this aspect of social organization that so often leads to an impasse in "foreman training" [in-service teacher training]

Specific behaviors which are "bad" according to general principles may, to a given foreman, [teacher] appear to be "good" actions because in the social setting in which he has used or observed them, they are actually "good." A case in point is that of a consultant who was leading a series of foreman-training meetings. After a long and careful development of the logic and psycho-logic of the art of leading men, he proposed that sound human relations are not possible if a superior directs his subordinates with profane and abusive language. The following dialogue ensued:

Trainee: "Well, how about Bill White?"

Expert: "Bill White?"

Trainee: "Yes. He was superintendent of the machine shop here until he retired last year. Boy!

When he talked to you every other word was a curse—and each one hotter than the last!"

Expert: "Aha! And how did the men feel toward him?"

Trainee: "Cripes, they'd do anything for him. He was a great guy!"

(Over the rest of this scene we will draw a merciful curtain.)

The men who worked for Bill White cannot be dismissed as freaks, nor is the situation abnormal. In such a case the words used obviously derive their meaning not from the trainer's frame of reference, but from the total system of relationship within which the utterance is interpretable.

* * * *

It is the thesis of this paper that much of the anxiety and disorganization which accompanies changes is due to the serious dislocation of this social frame work that serves both as a guide to action and as a reference system for meaning. Small changes may, with little or no disturbance, be assimilated into the existing culture, the process of assimilation itself modifying the change to a tolerable "fit." Large changes, however, may so shake up the system that there remains no stable network into which the new ways, the changes, can be assimilated. No longer may the individual rely upon the traditional ways of behaving which in the past tended to safeguard him. It becomes difficult for him to make a valid appraisal of the meaning of the changes instituted. Also, in the "new" situation he may misunderstand what

would previously have been easily and effortlessly comprehended. In the extreme case of disorganization, the individual may display behavior which might well be designated as paranoiac. In short, the meanings framework has been so disturbed as to interfere seriously with the ordinary functioning of social perception.

From this point of view, the chief cause of the trouble is the dislocation of the social framework for action and meaning. One might assume, therefore, that if this problem could be met satisfactorily, many of the difficulties which accompany change would be reduced, or largely eliminated. At least two lines of action toward this end have been attempted in the field of industrial operations. One involves the use of a long period of gradual accommodation to the idea of the change before the change itself is introduced; the other involves a process which has been called "group decision."

A detailed discussion of these approaches will not be attempted here; however, a brief comparison of the two should be useful.

The "accommodation" approach rests fundamentally on the common sense notions that slow change is less threatening than rapid change, that many of the problems attendant on change can be worked out more leisurely and more coolly before the change itself occurs, that people will by and large "get used to the idea" if you give them enough time, etc. A typical case might be that of installing a new machine in a manufacturing process. First, the idea of a new machine and the need for it might be introduced. After a time, the machine itself might appear on the work floor but left to one side and not installed. At this time many of the problem's related to its installation might be explicitly discussed. A third step might be the installing of the machine for trial operation, etc. This general approach, although far from universal and certainly not infallible, has been used rather widely and with considerable success.

The second approach, "group decision," has been used for the most part with small groups and mostly with local changes. The method rests fundamentally upon the psychological concept of decision rather than upon a concept of gradual accommodation. The essence of the technique lies in the achieving of acceptance

of the change by the group as something that the group itself will do rather than something that will be done to it; and in the establishing of a new frame of reference by decision, and using that decision as the binding force for maintaining the new framework until it "sets". . . .

5
GENERAL ASPECTS OF CULTURAL CHANGE

(From Kurt Lewin, "The Special Case of Germany", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 7:4 : 555-59, Winter, 1948)

. . . ***1. Culture as an equilibrium***. A culture is not a painted picture; it is a living process, composed of countless social interactions. Like a river whose form and velocity are determined by the balance of those forces that tend to make the water flow faster, and the friction that tends to make the water flow more slowly—the cultural pattern of a people at a given time is maintained by a balance of counteracting forces. The study of cultures on a smaller scale indicates that, for instance, the speed of production or other aspects of the atmosphere of a factory has to be understood as an equilibrium, or more precisely, as an "equilibrium in movement."

Once a give level is established, certain self-regulatory processes come into function which tend to keep group life on that level. One speaks of "work habits," "established customs," the "accepted way of doing things." Special occasions may bring about a momentary rise of production, a festival may create for a day or two a different social atmosphere between management and workers, but quickly the effect of the "shot in the arm" will fade out and the basic constellation of forces will re-establish the old forms of everyday living.

The general problem, therefore, of changing the social atmosphere of a factory or of German culture [an organization] can be formulated somewhat more precisely in this way: How can a situation be brought about which would permanently change the level on which the counteracting forces find their quasi-stationary equilibrium?

2. ***Changing the constellation of forces***. To bring about any change, the balance between the forces which maintain the social self-regulation at a given level has to be upset. . . .

3. ***Establishing a new cultural pattern***. Hand in hand with the destruction of the forces maintaining the old equilibrium must; go the establishment (or liberation) of forces toward a new equilibrium. Not only is it essential to create the fluidity necessary for change and to effect the change itself; it is also imperative that steps be taken to bring about the permanence of the new situation through self-regulation on the new level. . . .

6
QUASI-STATIONARY SOCIAL EQUILIBRIA AND THE PROBLEM OF PERMANENT CHANGE

(From Kurt Lewin, "Group Decision and Social Change" in *Readings in Social Psychology*, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley, Co-Chairmen of Editorial Committee, Henry Holt and Co., 1947, pp. 340-44)

[Editors' Note: Original numbering of footnotes retained.]

1. ***The Objective of Change***. The objective of social change might concern the nutritional standard of consumption, the economic standard of living, the type of group relation, the output of a factory, the productivity of an educational team. It is

important that a social standard to be changed does not have the nature of a "thing" but of a "process." A certain standard of consumption, for instance, means that a certain action-such as making certain decisions, buying, preparing, and canning certain food in a family—occurs with a certain frequency within a given period. Similarly, a certain type of group relations means that within a given period certain friendly and hostile actions and reactions of a certain degree of severity occur between the members of two groups. Changing group relations or changing consumption means changing the level at which these multitude of events proceed.

In other words, the "level" of consumption, of friendliness, or of productivity is to be characterized as the aspect of an ongoing social process.

Any planned social change will have to consider a multitude of factors characteristic for the particular case. The change may require a more or less unique combination of educational and organizational measures; it may depend upon quite different treatments or ideology, expectation and organization. Still, certain general formal principles always have to be considered.

2. ***The Conditions of a Stable Quasi-stationary Equilibrium***. The study of the conditions for change begins appropriately with an analysis of the conditions for "no change," that is, for the state of equilibrium.

From what has been just discussed, it is clear that by a state of "no social change" we do not refer to a stationary but to a quasi-stationary equilibrium; that is, to a state comparable to that; of a river which flows with a given velocity in a given direction during a certain time interval. A social change is comparable to a change in the velocity or direction of that river.

A number of statements can be made in regard to the conditions of quasi-stationary equilibrium. (These conditions are treated more elaborately elsewhere.[7])

(A) The strength of forces which tend to lower that standard of social life should be equal and opposite to the strength of forces which tend to raise its level. The resultant of forces on the line of equilibrium should therefore be zero.

(B) Since we have to assume that the strength of social forces always shows variations, a quasi-stationary equilibrium

7 Lewin. K., "Problems of Group Dynamics and the Integration of the Social Sciences: I Social Equilibris." *J. Hum. Relations* [vol. 1. no. 1, 1947].

presupposes that the forces against raising the standard increase with the amount of raising and that the forces against lowering increase (or remain constant) with the amount of lowering. This type of gradient which is characteristic for a "positive central force field "[8] as to hold at least in the neighborhood of the present level. . . .

(C) It is possible to change the strength of the opposing forces without changing the level of social conduct. In this case the tension (degree of conflict) increases.

3. ***Two Basic Methods of Changing Levels of Conduct***. For any type of social management, it is of great practical importance that levels of quasi-stationary equilibria can be changed in either of two ways: by adding forces in the desired direction, or by diminishing opposing forces. If a change from the level L, to L, [the present to a new level] brought about by increasing the forces toward L, [the new level) the secondary effects should be different from the case where the same change of level is brought about by diminishing the opposing forces.

In both cases the equilibrium might change to the same new level. The secondary effect should, however, be quite different. In the first case, the process on the new level would be accompanied by a state of relatively high tension; in the second case, by a state of relatively low tension. Since increase of tension above a certain degree is likely to be paralleled by higher aggressiveness, higher emotionality, and lower constructiveness, it is clear that as a rule the second method will be preferable to the high pressure method.

The group decision procedure which is used here attempts to avoid high pressure methods and is sensitive to resistance to change. In the experiment by Bavelas on changing production in factory work (as noted below), for instance, no attempt was made to set the new production goal by majority vote because a majority vote forces some group members to produce more than they consider appropriate. These individuals are likely to have some inner resistance. Instead a procedure was followed by which a goal was chosen on which everyone could agree fully.

It is possible that the success of group decision and particularly the permanency of the effect is, in part, due to the attempt to bring about a favorable decision by removing counterforces

8 *Ibid.*

within the individuals rather than by applying outside pressure.

The surprising increase from the second to, the fourth week in the number of mothers giving cod liver oil and orange juice to the baby can probably be explained by such a decrease of counterforces. Mothers are likely to handle their first baby during the first weeks of life somewhat cautiously and become more ready for action as the child grows stronger.

4. ***Social Habits and Group Standards***. Viewing a social stationary process as the result of a quasi-stationary equilibrium, one may expect that any added force will change the level of the process. The idea of "social habit" seems to imply that, in spite of the application of a force, the level of the social process will not change because of some type of "inner resistance" to change. To overcome this inner resistance, an additional force seems to be required, a force sufficient to "break the habit," to "unfreeze" the custom.

Many social habits are anchored in the relation between the individuals and certain group standards. An individual P may differ in his personal level of conduct. . . from the level which represents group standards . . . by a certain amount. If the individual should try to diverge "too much" from group standards, he would find himself in increasing difficulties. He would be ridiculed, treated severely and finally ousted from the group. Most individuals, therefore, stay pretty close to the standard of the groups they belong to or wish to belong to. In other words, the group level itself acquires value. It becomes a positive valence corresponding to a central force field with the . . . [forces] keeping the individual in line with the standards of the group.

5. ***Individual Procedures and Group Procedures of Changing Social Conduct***. If the resistance to change depends partly on the value which the group standard has for the individual, the resistance to change should diminish if one diminishes the strength of the value of the group standard or changes the level perceived by the individual as having social value.

This second point is one of the reasons for the effectiveness of "group carried" changes[9] resulting from procedures which approach the individuals as part of face-to-face groups. Perhaps one might expect single individuals to be more pliable than groups of like-minded individuals. However, experience in

9 Maier, N. R. F., *Psychology in Industry* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946).

leadership training, in changing of food habits, work production, criminality, alcoholism, prejudices, all indicate that it is usually easier to change individuals formed into a group than to change any one of them separately.[10] As long as group standards are unchanged, the individual will resist changes more strongly the farther he is to depart from group standards. If the group standard itself is changed, the resistance which is due to the relation between individual and group standard is eliminated.

6. ***Changing as a Three-step Procedure: Unfreezing, Moving, and Freezing of a Level***. A change toward a higher level of group performance is frequently short lived: after a "shot in the arm", group life soon returns to the previous level. This indicates that it does not suffice to define the objective of a planned change in group performance as the reaching of a different level. Permanency of the new level, or permanency for a desired period, should be included in the objective. A successful change includes therefore three aspects: unfreezing (if necessary) the present level . . . moving to the new level . . . and freezing group life on the new level. Since any level is determined by a force field, permanency implies that the new force field is made relatively secure against change.

The "unfreezing" of the present level may involve quite different problems in different cases. Allport[11] has described the "catharsis" which seems to be necessary before prejudices can be removed. To break open the shell of complacency and self-righteousness, it is sometimes necessary to bring about deliberately an emotional stir-up. . . .

The experiments on group decision reported here cover but a few of the necessary variations. Although in some cases the procedure is rela-

tively easily executed, in others it requires skill and presupposes certain general conditions. Managers rushing into a factory to raise production by group decisions are likely to encounter failure. In social management as in medicine there are no patent medicines and each case demands careful diagnosis.

One reason why group decision facilitates change is illustrat-

10 Lewin, K. and Grabbe, P. (eds.) *op. cit.* [Editors' Note: Quoted in part in these readings as "Principles of Re-education", pages 29-37.]

11 Allport, G. W., "Catharsis and the Reduction of Prejudice" in K. Lewin, K. and Grabbe, P. (eds.) *op. cit.*, 3-10.

ed by Willerman.[12]. . . [Willerman's study was concerned with] the degree of eagerness to have the members of a students' eating cooperative change from the consumption of white bread to whole wheat. When the change was simply requested the degree of eagerness varied greatly with the degree of personal preference for whole wheat, In case of group decision the eagerness seems to be relatively independent of personal preference; the individual seems to act mainly as a "group member.". . .

12 Lewin, K., "Forces behind Food Habits . . . and Methods of Change", *Bull. Nat. Res. Coun.*, 1943, CVIII. 35-65.

7
FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS APPLIED TO A SCHOOL SITUATION

(From David H. Jenkins, "Social Engineering in Educational Change: An Outline of Method", *Progressive Education*, 26:7 : 193-197, May, 1949)

. . . In this article we would like to explore one approach toward problems of social engineering and to see how it might apply to the kinds of problems we find in the school setting. Suppose, for example, we feel that there is not enough teacher-pupil planning in the classrooms in our high school, and we want to see a change from the more teacher-centered methods of working with a class to methods using more pupil participation in planning, As a group of interested teachers, how can we begin to tackle a problem such as this?

STEPS IN SOCIAL ENGINEERING

There seem to be four general steps which must be taken if the changes which are desired are to be effected: (1) Analyzing the present situation; (2) Determining the changes which are required, (3) Making the changes indicated by the analysis of the situation; and (4) Stabilizing the new situation so that it will be maintained. Let us look at these steps in detail to see what they may imply.

ANALYZING THE PRESENT SITUATION

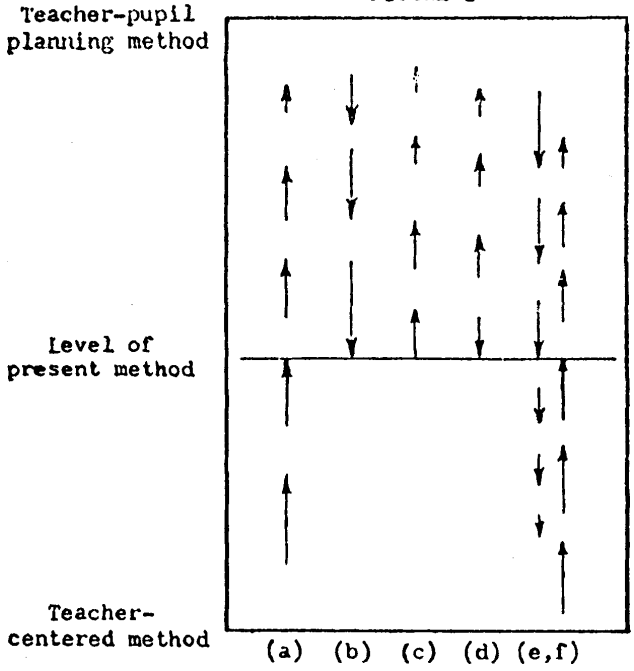
Before effective plans for change can be made the present state of affairs must be defined as accurately as possible. This is the step familiar to most of us under various names such as "diagnosis" or "definition of the problem." The specific question that we might ask about our problem is, "Why don't we change our teaching methods, or *what are the forces which are keeping our methods in their present 'groove'?"* At first glance we often feel that the present condition exists because no one has the energy to make it any different—there is just too much "inertia." Yet, as we explore further it becomes clearer that there may be some very strong forces preventing substantial changes of any kind from occurring, [as well as equal forces pressing toward change].

In our example, there might be several forces which point toward more teacher-pupil planning in the classroom: (a) a generally progressive philosophy of education may be accepted by a large number of teachers; (b) the teachers want to train students in the ways of living as citizens in a democracy; (c) the pupils desire some freedom in making decisions.

But there are also some forces which seem to be opposed to changes in that direction, such as: (a) many teachers lack training and skill in methods of planning cooperatively with pupils; (b)

leaving the present methods and experimenting with the unknown" makes us, like anyone else, feel insecure; (c) criticism may be directed against the school by the more conservative parents; (d) pupils have little skill in planning together. Forces like these which oppose each other determine the present level of methods which are used in the classroom.

FIGURE I



DRIVING FORCES AND RESTRAINING FORCES

Forces such as those above seem to be of two kinds. *Driving forces* are those forces or factors affecting a situation which are "pushing" in a particular direction; they tend to initiate a change and keep it going. One's desire to be a more effective teacher is an example of a driving force; one is continually trying to improve regardless of his present skill.

Restraining forces may be likened to walls or barriers. They only prevent or retard movement toward them. . . . Any lack of skill we may have in using teacher-pupil planning methods in the classroom may be termed a restraining force against practicing this method.

As we see later, these two types of forces become particularly important when we attempt to stabilize a new condition to be sure it is continued.

THE FORCE FIELD

A group of forces such as are shown in Figure 1 may be called a "force field". The top of the figure may be designated as teacher-pupil planning method, and the bottom of the figure as teacher-centered method. The arrows pointing downward represent the restraining forces which are keeping the methods from including more pupil participation and the driving forces toward more teacher-centered methods. The arrows pointing upward represent the restraining forces which are keeping the methods from becoming more teacher-centered and the driving forces toward more pupil participation. The length of each arrow represents the relative strength of the force at that particular point—the longer the arrow the stronger the force.

As we see, the force field is made up of several forces of varying strengths which oppose each other. The strength of a particular force may itself vary at different levels (force (a) in Figure 1 is weak at levels near teacher-pupil planning but strong at levels near teacher-centered method). *The present condition (the present level of the method) is at that level where the sum of all the downward forces and the sum of all the upward forces are equal.*[1] It is represented for our example by the line near the center marked "level of present methods". This means that all the forces which are affecting the methods being used in our school are such that our methods are being maintained at a level about half way between teacher-pupil planning and teacher-centered methods—we are probably doing some of each. If we analyze our situation and find that the opposing forces do not seem to be equal we may have overlooked some important factors.

SOME EXAMPLES OF FORCES

Let us look briefly at some examples of the different kinds of forces we might find in our situation:

If the teachers in our group have a generally progressive philosophy of education it might be described by force (a) in Figure 1. This is a driving force having some effect throughout all levels of teaching method, but the more teacher-centered the current method (i.e., the lower the level

of equilibrium) the

[1] This type of analysis of the "equilibrium of change" was developed by the late Kurt Lewin in a pioneering article, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept. Method. and Reality in Social Science; Social Equilibria and Social Change," *Human Relations* vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1947, pp. 5-41.

greater pressure this force would exert toward increasing the amount of teacher-pupil planning.

If we lack skill in using pupil participation in planning, it might; look like force (b). Here is a strong restraining force effective only at levels above our present level.

Force (c) represents our belief that as teachers increase the pupil participation in planning they will gain greater personal satisfactions from their teaching. These satisfactions will stimulate them to increase their use of this method. This force, one which acts as a driving farce after some change has occurred, is described by the statement, "If I can only get them started, I know they will like it."

Sometimes we might find that the administration in a school is hesitant to make changes because of the administrative procedures involved. However, once changes are decided upon, they may take a very active part in seeing that they are carried through. The hesitancy to make changes might be represented as a restraining force which reverses its direction when the change is decided upon and becomes a driving force when a change has been initiated. It would look something like force (d).

In our community there would be wide differences of opinion among the parents toward teacher-pupil planning. Some might feel that it was a valuable experience, others-might feel that it was time wasted. Forces (e) and (f) together could represent these influences. As more parents come to feel that teacher-pupil planning is valuable, force (e) would be reduced, and force (f) would be increased.

These are some examples of a few of the different kinds of forces we might discover in any particular situation. They may be either driving or restraining forces in either direction, of varying strengths, and effective throughout the entire field or only a portion of the field. All of these characteristics help us do a thorough analysis of the present condition.

PLANNING FOR CHANGE

Carrying through such an analysis as we have started, in terms of a specific situation, supplies the basis for planning change, When we have determined the nature of the forces

which are affecting the present state of affairs we can think more clearly in selecting the forces or factors which should be modified if the conditions are to change in the direction we desire. *Changes will occur only as the forces are modified so that the level where the forces are equal is changed*.

As we wish to change our teaching methods in the direction of increased use of teacher-pupil planning, our task then becomes either to increase the total strength of the driving forces in that direction (upward in Figure I), or to decrease the total strength of forces opposing that direction (downward in Figure 1) or both.

WAYS FORCES CAN BE CHANGED

The component forces can be modified in the following way: (1) reducing or removing forces; (2) strengthening or adding forces; (3) changing the direction of the forces.

In our example, one important force which almost necessarily requires reduction or removal is lack of skill in ways of using the methods of teacher-pupil planning. As we increase our skill in these methods we will, in effect, be reducing or removing a restraining force like (b) from being effective at the present level.

If we come to feel that these methods are essential if we are to put into effect our philosophy of education we have probably added a new driving force or strengthened one which was already present.

When it is possible, one of the most efficient ways to get change to occur is to change the direction of some of the forces. For instance, all teachers probably hold a common goal of train-

ing students to be good citizens in a democracy. However, there may be differences of opinions about the best way to do it. Many teachers may feel that an "efficient" classroom, directed by the teacher, will make the greatest contribution to good citizenship. For these teachers, the force representing their goal of good citizens would be in the downward direction in Figure 1. If these teachers come to believe, instead, that better citizens are trained through cooperative planning between teachers and pupils, this force toward citizenship training would be reversed in direction, now pointing upward toward teacher-pupil planning. A change in the direction of a driving force has something like

a double effect—it acts as a removal of the force in one direction, and an addition of a force in the opposite direction.

SELECTION OF THE FORCES TO BE MODIFIED

After we have analyzed a situation we are still faced with the problems of selecting which forces it will be possible and strategic to modify.

From the analysis, *the first step may be to determine what forces, if any, must be dealt with before a change can occur*. In our example it seems very likely that the restraining force representing lack of skill in actually using pupil participation in planning is one which must be removed before change can occur in that direction. We probably would find this force is of "infinite" strength and could not be overcome by adding strong driving forces. It must be reduced or removed.

When we have become aware of the forces which must be modified, we can then determine which of the remaining forces can most efficiently be modified to encourage a change in the level of present procedures.

Are there some forces whose direction can be reversed? How do we look at teacher-pupil planning? Do we see it as a means for training pupils for good citizenship in a democracy? Do we see it as a way to encourage more creative development and ideas? How do the parents look at pupil participation in planning? If they question it as a worthwhile method can their questions be satisfied?

Which opposing forces can be reduced with the least effort? Does the administration encourage alterations in classroom procedures such as might be suggested by this method? Are there opportunities for getting increased experience and skill in using such methods in the classroom? How much of a job would it be to retrain the students to accept planning as a part of their responsibility in the classroom? How can we reduce our own insecurities which seem bound to arise whenever we try to do something a different way?

Which augmenting or upward forces can be increased? Do all of us feel that one of the legitimate tasks of the classroom is to help the class pain maturity in making decisions for itself? Do we feel, as teachers, that we have freedom to experiment with

new methods in the classroom and to participate in decisions with the administration in establishing new procedures?

Questions like these represent the kinds of forces which will need to be considered when we make plans to initiate change in our classroom methods. They are the ones from which the forces to be modified in securing changes will be selected.

We might select, as a first step, for instance, getting parents interested in having more pupil participation in planning in the classroom. As a result there may be no immediate change in classroom methods but, as the parents become interested, we, as teachers, may feel encouraged toward increasing our skill in these methods. With increased skill and increased parent interest two important forces in the situation have been modified and the level of equilibrium of forces (the level of present method) should move upward toward more teacher-pupil planning.

The criteria in selecting forces to be modified, then, are: (1) what forces, if modified, will be most likely to result in changing the level of the present condition in the desired direction, and (2) what forces can be modified most easily or quickly? When we take action on a sound analy-

sis of the forces in the situation we are most likely to move effectively toward the desired results. The ineffectiveness of many of our attempts at change which may be due to the "shotgun" approach is removed.

MODIFYING THE FORCES

When we are ready to modify a particular force we may find it necessary, of course, to analyze that particular force in the same manner as has been done for the more general problem. If we wish to train ourselves in the skills of securing pupil participation in planning we may find some specific forces which are directly related to the training program. Some of these might be a general resistance to being in a "training" situation, confusions of philosophy, and time limitations. Analysis of these problems, in turn, becomes the step required.

Clearly this process of analysis in planning change is a continuous one. We are able to make from our first analysis intelligent judgments or taking action. This action leads to the change in the situation and a change to the new level of equilibrium calls for renewed analysis.

STABILIZING THE NEW CONDITION

Often, when changes in a situation have been achieved we "rest on our oars" and feel that the job has been completed. Later, upon examination, we may be surprised to find that the old situation has gradually returned and the changes need to be made all over again. *Whenever change is planned one must make sure that the new condition will be stable*. We need to develop in our analysis as clear a picture as possible of the forces which will exist when the new condition is achieved.

If we have secured a change by overcoming restraining forces, we can be assured that the new condition will continue. The restraining forces which have been overcome will not "push it back" to the old level. Such is not usually the case, however. More often the change has been made by overcoming some driving forces. In this instance there must be careful planning to make sure that the forces which support the new condition are stable, otherwise there will be a return to the old condition because of the opposing driving forces.

For example, we may become stimulated by a visiting teacher to try out some new methods. After she has left, however, we may run into difficulties, become discouraged, and return to our usual ways. If the change which has been initiated by this visiting teacher is to continue there will need to be some other force ready, when she leaves, to take the place of her stimulation. . . .

The method which we have discussed here is a general method which can be applied to any problem of changing human behavior. It supplies a framework for problem solving. We have used a problem of classroom technique to illustrate our discussion, but the method can be equally well applied to problems of changing the curriculum, changing pupil behavior in the classroom, school-community relations, administrative problems, etc. Clear analysis of any problem is the first step in problem solving.

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8
THE DYNAMIC ASPECTS OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PEOPLE

(From Irving Knickerbocker, "Leadership: A Conception and Some Implications", *The Journal of Social Issues*, 4:3 : 26-28, Summer, 1948)

[Editors' Note: Original numbering of footnotes retained.]

. . . We need some schema which will emphasize this relationship between leader and led as a dynamic pattern. As an aid to thinking about such relationships, we have developed the following simple schema:[7]

1. Existence for each individual may be seen as a continual struggle to satisfy needs, relieve tensions, maintain an equilibrium.

Each of us uses many different means for the satisfaction of his needs. We use muscular skills,

personal appearance, intelligence, knowledge. We use tools, food, money. The means we habitually use may become needs themselves. In each specific case, however, some means is used for the satisfaction of a need or of a pattern of needs.

2. Most needs in our culture are satisfied through relationships with other individuals or groups of individuals.

This assumption points up the fact that people and our relationship with people constitute the means upon which we rely most heavily for the satisfaction of our needs. Other people as it were possess the means which we would use to satisfy our needs. We do not grow our own food, make our own clothes,

7 In the interests of brevity, only three of a half dozen or more interrelated generalizations are here mentioned. The reader will discover that they are closely integrated with others outlined by McGregor. [See pages 21-24 of the readings for a selection from McGregor's article.]

dividuals to provide him with means for the satisfaction of his own needs.

* * * * *

This approach furnishes us with the bare essentials of a schema for considering the dynamic aspect of the relationship between people. That relationship—appears to consist essentially in an active striving to procure through other people the means for need satisfaction. The relationship is of course bilateral, each party seeking means through the other. We should expect an individual to attempt to establish a relationship only when it appears to promise means and to maintain it only so long as it continues to do so. We might also predict that the greatest number of individuals would attempt to establish a relationship with that individual who in their perceptual field gave greatest promise of providing means.[8] Finally, we might predict that individuals would attempt to break off relationships with and avoid those individuals who threaten to reduce their means, and if they could not do so would react protectively and possibly aggressively .

8 Jennings. H. H., in *Readings in Social Psychology*, (ed. Newcomb & Hartley) New York. Henry Holt and Company, 1947, 412.

9
TECHNIQUES OF CHANGING CULTURE

(From Kurt Lewin, "The Special Case of Germany", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 7:4 : 560-562, Winter, 1948)

. . . ***Some general positive principles***. The studies of group life in various fields suggest a few general principles for changing group culture.

(a) The change has to be a change of group atmosphere rather than of single items. We have discussed this problem already. Technically, it means that the change cannot be accomplished by learning tricks. It must be deeper than the verbal level or the level of social or legal formalities.

(b) It can be shown that the system of values which governs the ideology of a group is dynamically linked with other power aspects within the life of the group. This is correct psychologically as well as historically.[2] Any real change of the culture of a group is, therefore, interwoven with the changes of power constellation within the group.

(c) From this point it will be easily understood why a change in methods of leadership is probably the quickest way to bring about a change in the cultural atmosphere of a group. For the status and power of the leader or of the leading section of a group make them the key to the ideology and the organization of the life of that group.

. . . ***The change from autocracy to democracy***. Experiments on groups and leadership training suggest the following conclusions:

(a) The change of a group atmosphere from autocracy or laissez faire to democracy through a democratic leader amounts to a re-education of the followers toward "democratic followership." Any group atmosphere can be conceived of as a pattern of role playing. Neither the autocratic nor the democratic leader can play his role without the followers being ready to play their role ac-

cordingly. Without the members of the group being able and ready to take over those responsibilities which are essential for followership in a democracy, the democratic leader will be helpless. Changing a group atmosphere from autocracy toward democracy through a democratic leadership, therefore, means that the autocratic followers must shift toward a genuine acceptance of the role of democratic followers.

(b) The experiments show that this shift in roles cannot be accomplished by a "hands off" policy. To apply the principle of "individualistic freedom" merely leads to chaos. Sometimes people must rather forcefully be made to see what democratic

2 Lewin, K., "Constructs in Psychology and Psychological Ecology." In *Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology III*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1944.

responsibility toward the group as a whole means. It is true that people cannot be trained for democracy by autocratic methods. But it is equally true that to be able to change a group atmosphere toward democracy the democratic leader has to be in power and has to use his power for active re-education. There is no space here to discuss in detail what to some might appear as one of the paradoxes of democracy. The more the group members become converted to democracy and learn to play the roles of democracy as followers or leaders, the more can the power of the democratic leader shift to other ends than converting the group members.

(c) From what has been said up to now it should be clear that lecture and propaganda do not suffice to bring about the necessary change. Essential as they are, they will be effective only if combined with a change in the power relations and leadership of the group. For larger groups, this means that a hierarchy of leaders has to be trained which reaches out into all essential subparts of the group. Hitler himself has obviously followed very carefully such a procedure. The democratic reversal of this procedure, although different in many respects, will have to be as thorough and as solidly based on group organization.

(d) By and large the same principle holds for the training of democratic leaders as for the training of the other members of the group. Democratic leaders cannot be trained autocratically; it is, on the other hand, of utmost importance that the trainer of democratic leaders establish and hold his position of leadership. It is, furthermore, very important that the people who are to be changed from another atmosphere toward democracy be dissatisfied with the previous situation and feel the need for a change. There are indications that it is easier to change an unsatisfied autocratic leader toward democratic techniques than to change a laissez faire type of leader or a satisfied half-democratic leader. This may be contrary to the popular notion that a change is the more easily accomplished the greater the similarity between the beginning and the end situation. From the general theory of cultural change it is, however, understandable why after small changes the tendency to return to the previous level of equilibrium might be stronger than after great changes. . . .

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10
UTILIZATION OF DISSATISFACTION

(From Alice Miel, *Changing the Curriculum*, App1eton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1946, pp. 40-47)

Much more promising in most cases than philosophizing as a way of securing initial interest in deliberate social change is capitalizing upon dissatisfaction. Men do not change their social arrangements so long as they are perfectly satisfied with them. Dissatisfaction with existing conditions seems to be a prerequisite for intentional change. Now it is easy to see that the present period is one in which the *sources* of dissatisfaction are not lacking. Maladjustments in our culture are numerous, varied, arid on the increase. Yet, it is not a simple matter to make dissatisfaction function actively as a motivating force in our complex modern society. Dissatisfaction may be present in greater or lesser amounts in different social groups or in different individuals within the same group. The quality of the dis-

satisfaction, that is the degree of urgency associated with a possible change, will also vary greatly from person to person and group to group. At various times and in relation to various problems different individuals and groups may be arranged on a scale stretching all the way *from* a tendency to be controlled by tradition, habit, inertia, social pressure, fear of and hostility to innovation *to a tendency* to become bored and discontented with the old and curious about innovation.. . .

In utilizing dissatisfaction as a factor in producing change the student of society must learn to deal with these two types of conservatism, the conservatism of those with a stake in present arrangements and the conservatism of those who do not wish to be bothered with change. Then, too, the scale seems not to provide a place for our honest skeptic, who realizes full well the

undesirability of present; arrangements but who has no confidence that change for the better is likely to come about.

Nevertheless, what Lynd calls a "general emotional receptivity to change" is closely related to the extent and intensity of dissatisfaction present in the population. The problem is partly one of helping people to arrive at a "common definition of the situation" through analysis of conditions and making explicit the maladjustments involved. In the case of the more apathetic persona, much new information and many new experiences will be necessary if they are to become actively dissatisfied. It will be a matter largely of converting a vague sense of discomfort and unrest into strong convictions that certain specific ills should be attacked.

Mary P. Follett believed there was really no such thing as the apathy of the average citizen of which people talk. "Every man has his interests, "she wrote; "at those points his attention can be enlisted."[9]

In case of those who cling to established ways because they are the only security they have for maintaining the social power they have acquired there is involved the delicate task of helping them to become dissatisfied with their present definition of self-interest. As for the skeptical, dissatisfaction is already present but will not operate as a positive force unless there is some assurance of success in reducing cultural maladjustment.

Fortunately for human progress, there is a fourth group of persons in whom already exist dissatisfactions of such nature that they are ready to be utilized at once as motivations toward action, other conditions being favorable. This group can be counted on as a nucleus for hastening the process of change.

Dissatisfaction—Implications for Curriculum Change. As with attitudes toward social change in general, emotions with regard to curriculum change are mixed, The wise administrator will study the teachers, learners, and community adults with whom he is in direct contact and will attempt to determine in what stage of readiness for change they are. He will likely find two rough groupings at first—those who are rather dissatisfied with the present school curriculum and those who are apparently

9 Mary P. Follett, *Creative Experience* (New York. Longmans; Green and Ca., 1924). p. 230.

rather complacent about it. It will soon be apparent that both of these groups may be subdivided.

Persons Dissatisfied and Willing to Work for Change. Among the dissatisfied are those who are so convinced of the imperative need for curriculum revision that they are willing to make rather drastic changes over a short period of time. Toward this group the administrator has two responsibilities. First, he should determine who are the members of this group and should learn as much as possible concerning their reasons for desiring change and the nature of the changes they would like to see brought about. These persons can furnish valuable support in the initial stages of a program of curriculum development. Second, he must help such individuals to recognize differences in toleration of change and thus secure understanding and patience with a process that may be somewhat slower than they would like. He should be ex-

tremely careful, however, not to use these human differences as an excuse for a do-nothing policy. He has a responsibility for hastening the process all he can.

Persons Dissatisfied but Skeptical. The second subdivision of dissatisfied persons contains those who show no great interest in participating in curriculum improvement because previous experience has rendered them skeptical of the productiveness of energy expended in that direction. Perhaps, if they are teachers, they have taken part in earlier curriculum programs that failed to produce satisfying results. Perhaps, if they are learners or community adults, they have received only rebuffs on any occasion when they offered a suggestion with regard to the school program.

It is not surprising that parent and teacher and student groups should contain a goodly number of skeptics. A great many administrators have become able to use the "brush-off" technique with remarkable finesse whenever proposals for change have come from any of the groups mentioned. But even in the cases where administrators have shown an interest in change by inaugurating curriculum programs, the process employed has often been so inept and so contrary to principles of social psychology that the program has defeated its own purpose in the long run.

Toward the skeptical, one responsibility of administrators is, again, to learn who the skeptics are, for they represent a potentially powerful force for chance if once they can be convinced

that the curriculum can actually be improved through cooperative effort. The administrator should also study their experiences with curriculum development in order to avoid repeating mistakes made in the past. Finally, the administrator should demonstrate that he welcomes their suggestions for change and their help in bringing it about.

Persons Satisfied with Things as They Are. As we turn to the complacent group who exhibit no major dissatisfaction with things as they are in schools, our subdivisions prove to contain, first, those with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo as far as curriculum goes. For example, department heads, special supervisors, and teachers who have specialized in some school subject see that if changes are made in the organization of the curriculum, they may have to make a difficult vocational readjustment. Parents whose children seem destined for college usually desire a high school with a good academic standing and view many changes proposed for the modern high school as a threat to their own children's best interests as they see them.

A second subdivision of the satisfied group contains the persons who are naive with regard to social realities and uninformed about principles of human development. These individuals live in a sheltered world and are functionally ignorant both of the extent to which maladjustment in our culture is mounting and of the increasing ineffectiveness of the traditional curriculum.

Like all others, persona in the satisfied group should be studied to determine their present motivations. Then, somehow, they must be helped to acquire ever stronger convictions as to the need for changes in the schools. When they have arrived at that state of dissatisfaction, fear of personal inconvenience will already have been greatly reduced. Growth in socialization will have occurred as self-interest became more identified with group interest.

Various means may be employed to carry on the study here advocated as a basis for planning experiences that will awaken and mobilize individuals. Questionnaires, interviews, and observations of behavior in different situations all are valuable techniques if correctly used. If teachers are invited to show in some way the changes they would like to see made in the school, a rough indication of the amount and nature and location of dissatisfaction may be secured. This may or may not be a wise

step to take with community adults and learners at a given stage in their experience with directing change. But certain it is that theses persons will not have come into full partnership in the process of curriculum change until they have regularized opportunities to register dissatisfaction.[10]

Methods of Arousing Dissatisfaction. There seem to be three worthwhile methods for helping people to begin to see need for curriculum change. One promising approach is through a study of the social scene. There is much evidence that both teachers and administrators are in need of such a study on a continuing basis. If the study also engages the attention of community adults and learners, it will be that much more effective in stimulating interest in curriculum change on the part of all who must be sympathetic with change in order for that change to be its most effective.

Now study of the nature of society may be as remote and abstract as the formulation of philosophy to which objection was raised earlier. In that case, it will be more academic than motivating. Rather, people should approach community study as amateurs, not sociologists. The study should be begun on a familiar and meaningful level. In other words, social phenomena should be observed and data gathered in the local community. In that event curriculum implications of the findings should be so obvious that they will furnish strong drives for curriculum change. . . .

A second promising approach to curriculum change is to encourage study of human development. A better understanding of the learning process, of principles of mental hygiene, and of the nature of growth should in itself motivate much curriculum change. In the case of teachers it probably is better for study to begin at the local level with children whom they knew. Generalizations and principles can emerge from such a study and carry fuller meaning as a result.

In the case of the lay person, it may be desirable to depend more largely upon generalizations and principles in any group study of human development. Individual adults should then be helped to make application to the young people they know best.

10 While wailing far teacher, students, and community adults to come to the point where they feel free to raise questions and made suggestions without fear of reprisal, the suggestion box as used in industry might be tried. Ultimately participation on a higher level is, of course, greatly to be preferred.

A third approach is to utilize some dissatisfaction felt by the persons associated with the school to motivate interest in group problem-solving. Some persons object to this approach on the ground that it results in the expenditure of energy on insignificant enterprises. Yet experience has shown that this is not an inevitable result. Many groups, who have had the benefit of skillful, evocative leadership have moved rapidly from their early "low" level of concern to consideration of more basic sources of difficulty. Since some things are easier to change than others and since early success is important to high morale, it seems wise to tackle the simpler problems first.

Choice among the three methods of approach in utilizing dissatisfaction as a motivating factor in curriculum improvement will depend upon a number of circumstances. In some instances people need the satisfaction of moving on problems of real concern to them, minor as they may be. In other situations, where there has been a tendency to amplify petty criticisms into major issues, dissident factions may be united in working toward some goal that is beyond and larger than the trifling irritations of the moment. . . .

Cautions to consider. Two cautions are in order before we leave the matter of dissatisfaction. It is one thing to help groups of cooperating individuals to identify problem areas and it is another to make a teacher or group of teachers feel inadequate if a problem cannot be produced immediately upon someone's request. Much time has been wastefully expended on problems "manufactured" to save the face of individuals put in the embarrassing position of having to have a "problem."

A second caution is that dissatisfaction should not be regarded merely as a factor operating to furnish initial motivation. It should be utilized at all stages of the process to keep crystallization from setting in. Groups should be encouraged to make use of valuable solutions to problems only so long as they serve a useful purpose. The process of curriculum change should provide for periodic review and evaluation of such solutions as well as regularized opportunities for expression of dissatisfaction at any time by any participant in the process. . . .

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PART THREE

Groups and Group Methods in Curriculum Change

SECTION A
The Nature of the Group

[Page 66:]

1
INTRODUCTION

Parts I and II have suggested the key place which *groups* play in thinking through, in carrying out, and in evaluating changes in an educational system or in any other organization. As a school system organizes for curriculum revision, many groups are formed to study, to discuss, to formulate recommendations and plans, to collect evidence, to re-educate personnel for new roles and functions, to evaluate and revise program plans, etc. It seems important for leaders in curriculum change to increase their understanding of groups and the ways in which they operate, since many of the key problems of curriculum change center in the formation of properly representative groups and in helping such groups to develop and to increase their productive efficiency. Section A of Part III is an attempt to bring together selections from some of the more promising recent treatments of group functioning and group development for the use of curriculum workers.

Group thinking is best thought of as an organized effort on the part of the membership of a group to locate, define, and solve its common problems. The first selection in this section uses this approach to the understanding of group operation. What sort of social-psychological conditions must a group create and maintain in order to define a common problem, to solve such a problem realistically and successfully, and to evaluate the effectiveness of the solution which it has produced? This treatment of group discussion and thinking also takes account of the leadership helps which an inexperienced group requires at various stages of problem-solving,

In Thelen's "Theory of Group Dynamics", an attempt is made to pull together several approaches to the study of face-to-face groups, Although Thelen's discussion is difficult, it is one

that well merits careful study by all who wish to increase their ability to analyze difficulties in the operation of a group and to prescribe for the improvement of its functioning. Thelen's treatment includes an analysis of (a) the processes or interactions which go on in every group, (b) the structure of a group, the relationships between members and sub-groups, including the tricky problems of informal ("clique") and formal structure, and (c) the factors which make for group productivity (or failure) in terms of "morale", "goals", and "achievement".

Benne and Sheats use another approach to the analysis of group functioning. What roles or functions do and must members enact in order for a group to function adequately? What "individual-centered" roles must be eliminated if a group is to grow and to solve problems effectively?

It seems to be clear that a group goes through some kind of a process of development as it changes from a collection of individuals to a social organism capable of common purposing, feeling, and thinking,. Dickerman and Thelen report four stages in the development of one closely observed group and identify the concepts concerning "the group", "members" and "leader", which characterize the thinking of group members at various stages of group development. This selection offers important clues for the diagnosis of the stage of development attained by any observed group and also suggests useful criteria of group "maturity".

The concept of "leadership" was introduced by Knickerbocker and Lewin in the discussion of "change" in Part II. In this section, Benne gives an analysis of some leadership functions in the face-to-face group, in terms of (a) services to group growth and (b) services to efficient group operation. This treatment suggests that; effective leadership training cannot be divorced from the

training of group membership in a more effective way of behaving as a group. Lippitt and Bradford analyze four types of group leadership and indicate the effects of each type of leadership upon the behavior of group members and upon the group climate. Miel deals with the functions of "status" leadership—leadership possessed by virtue of office (principal, supervisor, etc.)—in the development and release of democratic leadership in all parts of a school system—leadership by teachers, students, parents, etc.

How large should an efficient group be? This question confronts all who have responsibility for forming and developing study, discussion, and action groups. Thelen attempts to give an answer in terms of his "principle of least group size!" The fact that Thelen develops his statement in relation to a classroom setting should increase its direct usefulness for those concerned directly with problems of instructing students. But this fact should not interfere with the application of Thelen's principle to work groups of teachers or of teachers and parents in a setting of curriculum development and in-service training, if we remember the re-educative function which all such work groups must perform if they are to contribute to curriculum change.

2
STAGES IN THE PROCESS OF GROUP THINKING AND DISCUSSION

(From an unpublished manuscript by K. D. Benne, L. P. Bradford, and R. Lippitt, to be published and distributed through JEA channels)

Pattern and Purpose of Group Thinking and Discussion

Put briefly, group thinking and discussion refer to the entire process by which a group of people surveys the problems facing it, clarifies these problems, selects a problem which the group comes .to feel is important and which it can hope to solve, formulates an acceptable common solution, devises ways in which the solution may be tried and decides upon the trial. In certain cases, where the group remains together after the trial of the solution, evaluation of the success of the problem-solution as thought through and tried and rethinking of the problem insofar

as it remains unsolved and of other related problems are integral parts of the process of discussion. Group thinking and discussion, as used in this treatment, are focused upon the definition and solution of common problems by a group of people. They are, therefore, oriented in some degree at all stages toward action, designed to solve the problem or problems being discussed. They move continually toward the clarification of goals, the definition of barriers to these goals and the devising of action to reach the goals through overcoming the barriers as studied and defined. The purpose of discussion involves, therefore, the remolding of habits, attitudes, understandings and ways of working of members appropriate to the problem being confronted and the solution devised. Though people do discuss in order to serve one or another stage of this process only, e.g., definition of common problems, clarification of goals, etc., the function of these "partial" discussions are best seen in relation to the process of problem definition and solution as a whole.

Clarification of Group Procedures

A newly assembled group will probably have vague and varied expectancies as to the way the leader and the group are going to operate. It is important that the group establish some workable procedures so that they can get started on the discussion quickly with some feeling of security and confidence. It is equally important that the group come early to feel that it makes its own rules of procedure and can remake them whenever it seems wise to do so. The leader should bring up early in the first meeting such procedural matters as the time limitations within which they are working, the problem of the size of the group and what this means in terms of realistic progress, the time and place at which the meet-

ings should be held, the extent to which the group may want to break up into smaller subgroups for part of their work, etc. The leader must exercise a nice discrimination as to which matters of procedure he should open up definitely for group decision, and which he should present to the group as usual procedures which he assumes this group like other groups will wish to follow. In the latter event, he should make clear that these are matters which the group is free to change when they find it important to do so.

If every matter of procedure is open for discussion and decision by the group, the group may spend extended time on matters of procedure, lose confidence in the leader and react

against delay in getting to the problem area which they expect to discuss with "What a waste of time! I don't think he (the leader) knows what he's about." On the other hand, if the leader suspects that there is a genuine difficulty for part or all of the group in some matter of procedure, it should be raised as a problem for the group to solve. For example, he may have heard some members saying before the meeting started that they thought this was a rather difficult time for them to meet. The following illustrates how relatively settled problems of procedure can be presented as relatively settled but open to change by the group and how genuinely problematic elements of procedure may be opened for group discussion and decision.

> *Leader*: I understand we are to meet for two hours. Most groups like to start and stop promptly at the agreed upon times. I presume we will want to work that way too. Some groups like to have a short intermission in the middle of their discussion but I'm guessing we won't need one in a two-hour session. Of course, when we've tried it a while we may want to decide differently.
>
> Now I am not at all sure that we are meeting at the time most convenient for all of us. What do you think about that?

It should be remembered that procedural decisions which are important to the group offer a new group early opportunity to make common decisions concerning their own behavior. This is the best way in which a collection of individuals can grow into a democratic group. It should also be remembered that group members want to get quickly into the content of their discussion, A procedural structure that is set quickly will help them get started with confidence. If the leader is careful to leave open any procedural matter which he decides for later revision by the group, opening up for group decision those that seem to involve some difficulty for members of the group, he will be able to serve both values.

No elaborate set of procedural rules should be adopted by the group to begin with. Democratic leaders should always be aware that rules set early before the group understands the limitations which these rules apply to the discussion, even though set by formally democratic means, may serve autocratic ends later in the discussion. After the discussion gets going, an interesting

point is raised and the group starts following it. Then some member or the leader says, "No, we can't go into that area. Don't you recall that we democratically decided to follow these rules?" Rules of procedure should be reduced to a minimum and adopted by the group only after it sees the need for them. All rules should be regarded by the leader and by the group as subject to change by the group which originally adopted them.

Building a Feeling of Permissiveness to Have Problems

Many group leaders pass over this point too lightly. Many people would say that of course people are permitted to have problems in discussion groups, that's why they come to discuss, isn't it? But careful observation of discussion groups raises the question of whether people in a "young" group typically do feel free to bring forward the problems and difficulties which they feel and see themselves. Many group members feel timid about raising some difficulty which looks to them like a problem for fear that the leader or some other member will rule it out as not realty a problem at all or will judge it or evaluate it in a way that will make them feel em-

barrassed or a little silly. It is in part because of this lack of permissiveness to have problems that many leaders face a dead silence when they raise the question, "Well, do you have any problems to bring up now?" Or the leader may find people bringing up stilted, "bookish" problems tailored to meet the demands of what the contributors feel the leader and other members are making upon them. It takes time in any group to develop a feeling among group members that our difficulties are important to the leader and to other participants in contributing to an understanding of the larger problem we axe trying to face together. A leader, especially with a group inexperienced in group discussion method, must work deliberately to build up an atmosphere of permissiveness in the group.

There are a number of things that any leader can do to contribute to a permissive atmosphere in early meetings of a group. First, informality and ease on the part of the leader will do much to reduce any tension present in the group and to bring a sense of relaxation which is close to a feeling of freedom. Second, we have already noted, in discussing the establishment of group procedures, that using early opportunities for group decision helps to convince the group that this is a meeting for all the group and not one in which the leader is going to ride his pet ideas.

Third it is important in developing this feeling of permissiveness to spend sufficient time in getting people to talk about their gripes and difficulties without any effort to evaluate them. If the leader, for example, shows interest in every person's problem without concern for its magnitude or importance as he may judge it, he will do much to free people from this fear of being judged for the problems they happen to have. The leader should not say, "That problem hardly belongs in our discussion now," or "I don't think that's really a problem. If you did this or that your problem would disappear." He can say, "That's an interesting point. Let's list it here on the board and we will see later how it fits into our total picture." There is no need for the leader to fear that his time will be wasted by a host of irrelevant problems. In the first place, he can go no faster than the group thinking can carry him. His problem is to help the group members grow in ability to select and define important problems. To reject initial gripes or problems offered to the group may cause the members to withdraw from participation and to be fearful of contributing to later sessions. Problems which are very simple or irrelevant will either be solved by the individual as he develops in ability or will be grouped with other problems which will bring out neglected aspects of the problem or its irrelevance as originally stated.

A final important point for the leader to observe carefully is that of being careful that people's initial gripes and problems are not evaluated or judged negatively by other participants. When this happens, it is the function of the leader to stand by the person whose problem has been pooh-poohed by the other participants. The leader defends the right of people to have whatever gripes or problems they may have and to express them. By taking this role, he is building awareness in the group that it will operate successfully as a group only as it maintains itself as a full working group without the loss, psychologically or physically, of any member. As the leader defends the right of every person to contribute, he is doing much to develop the feeling of permissiveness and freedom to belong to the group. The leader and the group will find that evaluation, judgment and elimination of problems will find a place later in the discussion and will occur at a higher level of sensitivity and objectivity if he does not eliminate simple or "mistaken" ideas and gripes too quickly from group consideration.

Getting the Problem Out

If a feeling of permissiveness to have problems and state them has been developed, the blackboard will soon be filled with problems and gripes offered by the members for consideration by the group. The leader at this stage of discussion is in effect taking a *problem census of the group*. And, like any census, if it selects only from a few, it is not an adequate census. Like that of the census taker, the leader's function at this point is

not that of organizing, classifying or evaluating the problems suggested. He is rather getting out the raw material out of which the group will later in the course of discussion construct their common problem. It is a mistaken notion that the leader must get an equal number of problems from every individual. Some will always be more vocal and ready than others, some more reticent than the rest. The leader's main concern is to be certain that every member of the group feels that he is represented in some of the suggestions of problems for discussion, whether in those stated by himself or by somebody else.

Now a blackboard or a number of sheets of newsprint filled with suggested problems for discussion can appear terrifying and frustrating to a group when they stop to look at the list. Members of any group may react to a list of 20 to 30 items as candidates for their consideration with the feeling, "We can never get through all of these. What's the use of trying?" This is the feeling for which the leader should be watching. When such discouragement becomes somewhat evident, he can suggest to the group, "Perhaps we can go over these problems and find that they will boil down to a smaller number of related problems. Now numbers 3, 4, and 6 seem to go together. I wonder if we can And others that are quite similar when we look at them carefully." If much group time is available, the leader and group can work further on classifying the problems into fewer and more manageable categories. If time is short, the leader can offer to try the job of categorizing the problems as his homework, stating that he would be glad of the help of volunteers in the job, if anyone has time for it.

Boiling the Problems Down and Selecting a Common Problem

The placing of suggested problems into categories has much more value than that of helping the group over the feeling of

frustration because of having more problems than they can hope to deal with adequately, important as this may be. It serves also to show the interrelations of problems that have come from various individuals. As the members of the group come to see that their individual problems are interrelated aspects of larger problems, their insight into the isolated problems is deepened. What may have been seen when offered as gripes about which nothing could be done are now seen as aspects of a problem which the group may help to solve. Deepened insight into problems facing various members is an important step in building an appreciation of the *common* problem on which the group is to work together. This development of a sense of common problem is one of the most essential steps in building a *group* out of a collection of individuals.

It is important that the leader (with or without help from group members) in making a grouping of suggested problems does not reword individual contributions so that they are no longer recognized by those who made them as *their* contributions. His grouping is not a final grouping but one to take back to the group for their judgment as to whether the categorization is a correct one. The leader may put the suggested grouping on the black- board in the meeting room or, if facilities are available, he may duplicate the suggested grouping with a copy for each group member.

It is important that the suggested grouping be offered as something for the group to remake. The group should be invited to supply new groupings, to add additional problems in any of the categories, to find which, if any, suggestions have been omitted or wrongly classified. As the group works on this task each member is getting a deeper view of what his problem means and is also learning to see what the other fellow meant by his suggestion, This latter skill is so essential that the problem of its development will be stressed later. Each member is also seeing how individual suggestions integrate into a product which is common to the group.

When all are satisfied with their grouping of the problems, the next step is for the group to select some problem or problem area as a beginning point for their further thought and discussion. Ideally, if the group has attained a sufficiently common attitude at this point, a consensus may be reached quickly as to

which problem area is the best common beginning point for the group. If differences appear in the group as to which problem is the best place to begin, the leader or some group member may offer a compromise. "I'm sure we agree that both problem areas are important and as we discuss one we will likely get some help on the other. Suppose we begin with this one and turn to the other when we think we've done a good job with the first. Is this satisfactory?"

Most healthy groups are anxious to *do something* to solve the problems which they discuss. One criterion which the leader should encourage the group to use in selecting its beginning problem is "Which of these can we hope to do something about?" In other words, the group should be encouraged to select a problem to begin with which they feel it is in their "power field" to solve. If the group chooses to work on some problem about which they think "nothing can be done", the discussion may be "interesting talk" but it will not be oriented to decision and action; it will not be "realistic" discussion. The leader may not feel that the problem chosen as realistic for them by the group is the most important of all problems suggested. But the leader is committed to the growth of the group as a group. And successful experience in tackling small problems which they can hope to solve is perhaps the best way for them to widen their view of what problems the group can do something about.

Developing and Maintaining Group Direction

The group that has no direction in its discussion is the group which covers the waterfront and ends up with feelings of small accomplishment and great frustration. The first step in developing direction lies in the group's definition and selection of a problem which is genuinely common This has already been discussed.

But as discussion proceeds within the accepted problem area, the group still may have difficulty in staying on the beam. A leader can maintain direction autocratically but in the end the thinking accomplished is only his thinking with a few contributions which he has been able to pull out but the product is in small degree a common group product. Maintaining direction is properly the responsibility of both leader and group. The leader's role is that of helping the group find and review and change the direction it is setting for itself. The leader, aware of

this responsibility, can help the group maintain direction in a variety of ways, He or any member of the group may stop discussion occasionally when it seems to be wandering from the direction originally set, to see where we seem to be going and to ask whether we think we are on the right track or whether we want to set another direction. Again, the leader or any member may question the comments or ideas of any participant in terms of whether this seems to be taking us where we want to go. The door is not shut on a new direction but the decision as to whether the new direction is desirable is left to the group. So long as the group reviews its progress in terms of goals previously set. and resets these goals through group re-evaluation, there is little chance that the group will lose direction.

There are two principal dangers to group progress. First, the goals of the group may not be clearly seen by either the leader or the members of the group. Second, the goals as set originally may be so rigid that they do not permit a change. This latter danger usually comes when the leader is fearful of losing control of the group or when he feels that he has the sole responsibility of seeing that the group comes out with something.

Such a leader tends to suggest goals to groups in the beginning and then questions every alternative point in terms of whether it is in the direction of this original goal which is not to be questioned. This leader gradually loses his group because they come to feel that he is trying to do their thinking for them.

If a group is to continue through more than one meeting, it is obviously necessary that the group have both short-run and long-time goals. Each meeting should bring some feeling of accomplishment and some decision and action by the group. This does not mean that the problem set for any meeting must be so minute that it can

be solved entirely in that meeting and that no larger problem can be considered. It does mean that a larger goal is seen as having smaller goals as aspects, each one of which may serve as the problem or goal for a particular meeting. Because the short-run goals are parts of the long-time goal there is continuity from meeting to meeting. The results of the previous meeting may be reviewed and the action taken evaluated at the beginning of the later meeting. This leads back toward a review of the larger goal and a setting of the sub-goal for this particular meeting. In this way, the group has opportunity to measure group and individual progress in terms of how far we have moved

toward our major goal in terms of the number and quality of the sub-goals we have achieved.

Maintaining "Realism" in Group Discussion

It has already been noted that the first step in insuring "realism" in discussion is for the group to select a problem, the solution of which lies within their power field. Choice of a problem concerning which they feel they can do nothing is almost certain to lead to general discussion which at no point deals with goals desired in terms of barriers to be overcome and action designed to attain these goals by overcoming these barriers to their attainment. "Realistic discussion", as we are using the term, refers to discussion oriented to action and this means discussion which takes account of barriers and which focuses on the strategy of overcoming these.

The task of the leader and the group in maintaining realism in discussion becomes largely one of seeing that barriers to conceived courses of action are not ignored and that strategies for dealing with these barriers are thought through carefully in reaching a decision as to what to do. For example, a group is not discussing the problem of adequate recreation facilities for their neighborhood realistically, if it disregards such barriers as lack of funds, indifference of the city park commissioner to the needs of their neighborhood, the opposition of certain church groups to public recreational facilities, etc. Such a group will never close directly with the problem of what can we do to get the playground which we think we need. Or if they do conceive action which neglects these barriers, it is likely to be abortive and frustrating in its effects on the group.

We can also illustrate the conception of sub-goals discussed in the last section from this example. The group may have surveyed existing facilities and found certain deficiencies. It may have set a long-range goal of a playground and a recreation building with certain desired recreational equipment and facilities. But how is it going to be financed? Here is a sub-problem that must be dealt with if they are going to make progress toward their long-range goal. How is the Park Commissioner going to be convinced that our neighborhood isn't getting its share of recreational funds? Here is another sub-problem that calls for thinking in terms of strategy. The step-wise procedure of dealing with sub-problems and attaining sub-goals is very important in

maintaining realism in discussion. If decision and action are too long-delayed, the discussion is likely to lose realism. If step-by-step decisions are made and acted on, the discussion remains geared to action and to the long-range goal, even though its full attainment is long-delayed.

The leader of a group which is trying to discuss realistically must be ready to suggest barriers which the group may be overlooking, he may ask the group if they are neglecting certain obstacles, he may encourage an approach to the larger problem through sub-problems, he may encourage frequent sub-decisions by the group. An important outcome is to develop the ability of the group to think strategically and realistically so that the identification of barriers and the devising of strategies to overcome these become increasingly the habit and expectations of all members of the group.

How A Group Informs Itself

It is noted earlier that discussion leaders often feel frustrated by the difficulty of helping a group see its need for the accurate information necessary to solve its problem intelligently. This frustration often expresses itself in such cynical

comments as "group discussion is a method for building collective wisdom out of individual ignorance." Now it cannot be denied that discussion method encounters a difficult problem at this point. But it is important to recognize that it is a problem soluble by the conscious use of appropriate techniques and not an inherent limitation of discussion method.

It is important to see that the problem and the solution look two ways. It is as much a problem of revising our usual ways of presenting organized information, by lecture and systematic reading, as it is one of handling group discussion so that the need for information will be seen and satisfied by the group when information is needed in its thinking. The solution is first of all the development of our sources of information so that they become usable by a group attempting to solve *its* problems. At the same time the group must develop adequate insight into its need for information and adequate skill as a group in using needed information for serving *its* purposes and solving its problems.

The group must learn to identify which of its difficulties arise out of insufficient facts and know-how. In an inexperi-

enced group, the leader must assume much responsibility for sensitizing the group to this need when it occurs. For example, in the group discussing community recreation mentioned above, it does the group no good to argue what recreational facilities are available at the present time. Facts are needed. The group must get these facts from experts who know them, from published surveys if these have been made or, if the needed facts are not known, the group must do its own research if the facts are necessary to group progress. The leader of an inexperienced group, as their problem is chosen, may choose to canvass pertinent resource people, pertinent reading material, pertinent visual and auditory aids, that is, resources generally pertinent to the problem chosen. He may make the availability of these resources known to the group as they run into need for information. When a discussion bogs down because of insufficient or "conflicting" facts, some or all of the group members must do appropriate "research" until an adequate basis of fact is available to the group. It is always important, if the introduction of fact or expertness into the group process is not to convert that process into a lecture, a conclusion-giving session, that facts and expertness be introduced to meet some clearly defined needs that are seen as needs by all the group. It is important that the group learn to use such resources critically and selectively, not as substitutes for but as aids to group thinking.

It is important that facts and expertness introduced into the group process be prepared, insofar as possible, to fit the problem and purpose of the group. This is often less possible in the case of reading material and visual aids than in the case of resource persons. It may be said, however, that reading materials and visual aids should be selected not for their "general" or "cultural" value and interest but for their relevance to problems being discussed by the group where information is needed. The purpose of a democratic work group is not to become generally informed on a topic but to solve its problems thoughtfully.

Resource persons (experts) may be used profitably at several stages of group discussion-in the definition and selection of problems, in the analysis of barriers and aids to group goals and in deciding on a program of action. The type of help needed by the group should determine the choice of resource person. The group should definitely discuss and decide what use it is going to make of outside experts who may be called in. The outsider

comes in to answer the group's questions not to lecture them on what he believes they ought to know. The leader should help the group insist that the expert function in this way.

It is equally important that the resource person be briefed by the leader or some member prior to his coming into the group. The expert should understand where the group is in its discussion of its problem and what the group wants to learn from him. He should also learn how the group conceives his role, his way of working, when he comes into the group. If preparation is made a two-way process in which both group and expert

are "trained" for the experience, the know-how of the expert will become an aid to group thinking and not an interruption of this process.

Making Group Decisions

A group becomes a group fully only as it forms a common purpose and decides on a course of action appropriate to that purpose. Common decision is, therefore, an important measure of the maturity of a group. And groups achieve this maturity only through successful experience in making decisions together. Decision is the bridge between the discussion of alternatives together with the choice of one of these and action. Any group discussion oriented to action is left dangling and incomplete if it does not culminate in decision.

There is growing evidence also that it is through decision in a group setting that individuals most effectively modify their attitudes and conduct in ways indicated by the meanings of facts and ideas discussed. All of the objectives of group discussion, previously noted, are therefore, best served by a group's pushing thought and discussion through to group decision. The group must answer the question individually and collectively, "What do our discussion and thinking commit us to do?"

We have seen that the effective leader finds opportunities for group decision from the first meeting of the group-decisions on matters of procedure, decision on what problem area to discuss, decision on the agenda (sub-problem) for any one meeting, decisions on use of experts or resource material, decisions on sub-goals discussed and defined in the step-by-step process of problem solving. A group which practices decision in this way is building a group habit and expectation of shaping up its discus-

sion to decision. Moreover, the group and its leader have built the expectation that *no* member is to be excluded from the thought and action of the group. Thus, the ideal of the group has come to be consensus in decision. This practice in small decisions is the only dependable way to develop a group in its ability to make larger common decisions and to carry them through.

The group rightly aims then at consensus in action as the goal of discussion. Can it always be achieved? The answer is obviously "No." At times majority opinion is the best that can be attained. This is usually adequate in procedural matters, e.g., when and where we shall meet, whether we shall break up into smaller groups for certain phases of discussion, whether we shall invite in a certain resource person for a given meeting, etc.

Consensus is much more nearly essential with respect to the problem selected, the goals to be pursued by the group and the solutions of problems to which the group commits itself. Where persistent difference occurs, it is usually better to ask the group to find what it can agree on and where it differs and to commit itself as a group only insofar as it has reached common agreement. Where a group is not committing itself to group action but to personal action by members of the group, a variety of commitments may be invited over and above the common commitment of all members. It is healthy for members to commit themselves publicly to do something about the problem discussed, even if personal commitments may differ. However, the expectation which the group is building as to successful group discussion is toward consensus as the only adequate basis for common action.

Evaluation of Group Progress

Deliberate evaluation of any procedure must be related to the objectives and purposes which the procedure is designed to serve. It will be well to recall here what was indicated earlier as the objectives of group discussion—1) the thoughtful solution of problems considered important by the group; 2) the growth of individual members in the process of discussion in various insights and skills, particularly those essential to participation and cooperation in group thinking and action; 3) the growth of the group as a group. A thorough evaluation of any sample of

group discussion would take account of how well the discussion had promoted these purposes.

It should always be remembered that the even-

tual success of group process can only be judged in terms of the quality of the solution of common problems to which group thinking has led. Thus, the test of good group process lies beyond the process of discussion in an evaluation of the consequences to which action based on group decision leads. For example, in the group trying to improve and extend recreational opportunities for children and adults in their neighborhood, the eventual test of the success of their group discussion is in the extension and improvement of these recreational facilities. The ultimate test of discussion which focuses upon devising action-solutions to problems always lies beyond the process of discussion itself in the consequences of action undertaken.

It has already been suggested that groups operate best by choosing to work on a succession of sub-goals in the service of larger goals. The results of each decision concerning the solution of subproblems are evaluated by the group as a basis both for testing the quality of the decision on which the action was based and for charting further steps in group discussion and action. This ties the discussion to "reality" at every stage of its progress. The method of evaluation is through objective group discussion of the consequences of the action to which their discussion had led. Such evaluation can be objective only if it is based on facts concerning the consequences of any given action.

While recognizing that the full evaluation of discussion lies beyond the process of discussion, it is important that a group recognize that they can find intermediate checks on the quality of their discussion by evaluating from time to time their own group process and the difficulties and problems which it presents. It is also true that the latter two objectives of discussion-growth of members in insight and skill in managing group participation and the growth of the group as a group may also be well-served by a group's evaluation of its procedures. How can a group evaluate the quality of its own group process of thought and discussion?

The time for a group to look at its procedures is when it has felt difficulty with the way discussion is going. The group may come to be concerned that its discussion isn't "interesting" to all members; that the group does not seem able to get together in decision; that the talk seems frequently to wander from the point, etc. Taking time out to look at its own difficulties in thinking together, the group has an opportunity to learn for itself how groups grow and function, what skills and attitudes make for efficient group leadership, what responsibilities members have for making the group function well, etc. It is true that members acquire these skills only by practicing them but it is also true that they become conscious and thoughtful in practicing them only as they become conscious problems for the group. Many groups find an evaluation session so productive in terms of more efficient group work that they decide to set aside a regular short period for evaluation of their group procedures and for practice of skills found to be important and needed but in which they are deficient. The following list of questions offers a brief list of some of the criteria which a group may use in evaluating its ways of working. An answer in each case toward the "yes" end of the scale indicates successful democratic process; and answer toward the "no" end of the scale indicates symptoms of poor process. A group can gauge its growth by noting whether it is moving from the "no" to the "yes" end of the scale in each respect.

1. Does every member make contributions to the discussion?
2. Is every member intensely involved in the discussion at all stages?
3. Does the discussion move toward common agreements in terms of the solution of the problem being discussed? Do all members of the group understand and accept as important the problem being discussed?
4. Is the discussion oriented toward decision and action at all times?
5. Does the group accept and understand the conflicts encountered and move toward their resolution?
6. Does the group recognize its need for information? Does it know how to go about getting such information?
7. Does the group use resource persons or

resource material as an aid to its own thinking, not as giving the final action-solution of its problem?

8. Is the group unduly dependent upon its leader or on some of its members? Does the group use its leadership as an aid to common solutions, not as a source of final solutions?
9. Is the leader accepted as a member of the group, with special functions to perform?

10. Is there an atmosphere of friendly cooperation in the group at all times particularly when conflicts of ideas and points of view are encountered?
11. Does the group resent attempts at domination by its leader, one of its members, a clique of its members or by a visiting expert?
12. Is there a feeling of progress toward common goals?
13. Is the group "realistic" in its choice of problems and in setting its goals?
14. Does the discussion move readily toward decision when decision is required?
16. Does the group find it possible to dispense with the creaking machinery of parliamentary procedure?

3
THEORY OF GROUP DYNAMICS

(From Herbert A. Thelen, "Engineering Research in Curriculum Building", *Journal of Educational Research*, 41:8 : 579-96, April, 1948)

GROUP PROCESSES

. . . A group of people working on a problem represents a very complex situation. A useful first step in studying the interactions involved might be to inquire as to whether there are any general patterns of interactions—processes—which go on in every group. Bales[3] has summarized the empirical evidence from

3 Bales, Robert F, *Memorandum Number 2* (mimeographed), for Social Relations 248; Sociology and Psychology of Small Groups. 15 pp., 1947. Available from author, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University.

studies of group interactions and Couey[4] has boiled down the list to a basic list of six processes which can be expected to be discernible under the conditions of most group problem-solving. Each process will be discussed in this section.

1. Adequate communication must be established; e.g., a common language, common definition of the situation, modes and channels of communication, frequent association, vis-à-vis contacts, etc.—The problem of who should communicate what to whom, when, and by what means is the most important instrumental problem in human relations. Whyte,[5] in analyzing union-management relations, defines the relations of individuals to each other as the frequency with which each individual originates action for each other, and he points out that "the most effective way to change the attitudes of men is to change their relations with one another". He inveighs against the common mistake of a newly-enlightened administration which operates its program of change by bringing the men together and presenting them with "discussion" by the management, thus increasing rather than decreasing the topdown communication which probably aggravated the problem in the first place. The importance of "getting the problem from the group" is emphasized throughout discussions of group planning. Cook[6] cites one school, which, after much cogitation concluded that its major problem was gum-chewing; and so the group began there, but, with skillful leadership gradually began to recognize race relationships as a somewhat more significant problem.

Besides the problems of communication channels and cooperative definition of problems, there is a "reality" factor in communication based upon the fact that attitudes and feelings are involved as well as "ideas". The importance of recognizing feelings is stressed in many discussions of counseling relationships[7] the level of feeling is "deeper", more pervasive, and more closely related to action through anxieties and fears than is the level of words. No problem is "meaningful" until it evokes

a feeling response. "Meaningfulness" means connection with action; and there is no action (except habitual or forced action) which does

4 Reported in *Conference to Initiate Cooperative Work in Group Dynamics*, Chicago, October 11-12, 1947. (Dittoed.) Available from H. A. Thelen, Department of Education, University of Chicago.

5 Whyte, William F., *Pattern for Industrial Peace* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951)

6 Cook, Lloyd Allen, *The College Study Bulletin*, 2, 10, 1947 (mimeo.)

7 For example, Rogers, Carl R., "Significant Aspects of Client-centered Therapy", *American Psychologist*, I, (1946) 415-422.

not require motivation in the form of conviction, anticipated reward, avoidance of pain and the like (i.e., valences of goals have their counterpart in the tension states of the individual).

The "reality" factor in communication may be thought of as its affect content, its attitudinal involvement, and hence its potential action stimulation. The use of movies, drama, field trips, and similar devices for obtaining emotional impact are familiar enough. Far more promising than these is the use of spontaneous drama—an ideal technique, incidentally, for "bringing home" many problems in social studies. In sociodrama, the problem situation and the characters and personalities involved are defined through group discussion; the plot, however, is not described. Members of the group play the various roles, a feat which requires projection to the point of "living" in the situation.

This method of communication seems to be effective through (a) the involvement of feeling, (b) the heightened perceptions, (c) the close relation to action, (d) the sharing of experience, (e) the lack of threat—"not playing for keeps", (f) the objectivity of analysis, and (g) the active participation of the audience.

2. Agreement must be reached concerning value systems; e. g., common norms, relations to each other as persons, applications of norms to aspects of the situation, etc.—Agreement on a value system is intimately related to development of group "belongingness", because the value pattern of a group is in effect its super-ego, When one subjects himself to the controls and accepts the ideals of a group, he "belongs"[8] Lewin and Grabbe include in their list of 10 basic hypotheses: "Acceptance of the new set of values cannot usually be brought about item by item" and "The individual accepts the new system of values and belief a by accepting belongingness to the group."

Whyte,[9] reflecting on mechanisms observed to change the attitude of top management in a particular situation, observed that the manager's feeling of hostility toward a union group was affected by "interaction with people to whom the individual is accustomed to respond, who associate the 'enemy' group with

8 Lewin, K., and Grabbe, P., "Conduct, Knowledge. and Acceptance of New Values", *Journal of Social Issues*, (August 1945). 53-64.

9 Whyte *op. cit.*, pg. 59.

favorable symbols" and "actions of 'enemy' group which conform to symbols highly valued by the individual".

3. Control must be exercised on ooperative efforts, including implicit or explicit agreement concerning limitations to individual power potentials; e.g., delegation of authority, delegation of partial control, etc.—Organized groups with strong we-feeling were found to cooperate better and to disintegrate less rapidly under frustration in problem solving and under fear of being trapped in a burning building than were unorganized groups of strangers.[10] Common agreement on the relative "position" of the individuals in the group acts to reduce centrifugal individual tendencies.

The control exercised on cooperative effort, including the means by which decisions are reached, is the function most commonly associated with group "leadership". Whatever group member undertakes to interpret the social and institutional realities of the group's endeavor is exercising a measure of control and is at that time giving leadership. Probably the most significant aspect of control and limitation of power potentials of individuals is in the determination of life space, i.e.,

the control of the "space of free movement" or, more simply, the alternatives open to the individuals for free choosing.[11] In the long run, this factor determines what progress is possible.

The theory of control and coordination of individual efforts in a group is political, and perhaps for that reason political labels have been used to designate various typical leadership styles. The characteristics of the "hardboiled autocrat", "benevolent autocrat", "laissez-faire", and "democratic" styles of leadership are analyzed in their effects on adequate space of free movement, "basic" human needs (belonging and participation), security ("confidence in personal ability to meet new situations and to predict favorable conditions in the future"), and success (relationship of effort to desirability of attained goal).[12] Behaviors of children in clubs under three styles of leadership manifest apathy or aggression in the "autocratic" atmosphere; boredom, horseplay, and irritability in the "laissez-faire" milieu; and group spirit and friendliness under the "democratic"

10 French, John R. P. Jr. "Organized and Unorganized Groups under Fear and Frustration," University of Iowa Studies: *Studies in Child Welfare*. 28. 1944.

11 Lewin, Kurt, *Dynamic Theory of Personality*, New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc. 1935, Chapter 4. See also Bradford, L. P., and Lippitt, R., "Building a Democratic Work Group," *Personnel*, 22, 3, 1945. 1-12.

12 Bradford and Lippitt, *op. cit.*

conditions.[13] In these cases, the leadership is respectively leader-centered, absent, and group-centered. In the latter case, the individual has the greatest freedom of choice, and this increases with increasing participation in and initiation of consensus-producing activities in connection with group problems affecting the individual's freedom of action. It has often been suggested that successful group progress would be accompanied by diffusion of the leadership function throughout the group. Clear criteria as to which particular functions should be so diffused, under what conditions, to what extent, and with what regard for existing or trainable skills of group members have yet to be established.

4. Efforts and skills must be used by individuals in the group to produce changes in the situation and to avoid frustrations; e.g., division of labor, differentiation of functional roles, application of scientific methods, etc.—There is a minimum of contribution below which the existence of the group as a continuing organic unity is threatened; this is the minimum required to resolve otherwise disintegrating tensions due to frustration. The source of frustration for the group as a whole may be assigned to the objective problem or to the group problem. Trying to choose among alternatives with insufficient evidence illustrates the former; failure to "keep on the beam", or setting too high a level of aspiration, illustrates the group problem, the attainment of a favorable milieu for individual contribution and effort. In a permissive atmosphere of acceptance the chances are increased that a group will be able to "muddle through" in the face of frustration; but the combination of frustration and permissiveness also provides the would-be dictator his golden opportunity, for the escape from frustration lies in re-unifying the group through decisive, immediate, and emotionally-charged action,[14] (which may be directed against out-groups or scapegoats).

5. Group members must be able to distribute satisfactions; e.g., development of priorities in distribution, series of obligations involving reward, equitable access to incentive, etc.—The distribution of satisfactions can be equitable-seeming and morale-producing, or it can splinter the group. The group member's perception of "who gets the credit", his detection of the odor of exploitation-regardless of whether it exists "objectively"—is

13 Adler, D. L., Lippitt, R., and White, R. K., "An Experiment with Young People under Democratic, Autocratic. and Laissez-faire Atmospheres." *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

14 "See "Disintegration and Inaction," Chapter I in de Huszar, George B., *Practical Applications of Democracy*. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945). pg. 140.

the reality here involved. With the distribution of function in coordinated action, it is almost in-

evitable that some positions will be accorded more status than others; that some individuals will play roles more congenial to them; that the contributions of all individuals will not seem equally valuable and will not be equally rewarded. Frank and open group discussion which relates each function to a clearly portrayed broad solution of the problem is of vital importance to forestall grievance. Whyte points out that "American workers, like other Americans, are brought up to believe that all men are created free and equal, and that they are 'just as good as anybody'. Therefore, while they will accept status symbols that seem to them to go naturally with a supervisory job, they deeply resent those which smack of social pretensions".[15]

The words "seem to" are significant; it is the perception, "objective" or not, which functions in guiding behavior.[16] is possible that perceptions are particularly "subjective" when the issue is reward expressed in status, for the stereotype that each man is "just as good as any" is accompanied by the stereotype that success means upgrading of status. In any case, the criterion of objectivity in such matters is agreement throughout the institutional social system, and this is reached only through consensus-getting techniques in open discussion.

6. The group must be able to attain an equilibrium status to achieve solidarity; e.g., persons developing similar roles, coordination of communications, limitations of individual social status, group expectancy, etc.—The concept of "equilibrium status" is closely related to the possibility of change and growth. Other things being equal, if a system (such as the pattern of interpersonal and group-institutional forces) is in equilibrium, the system is sensitive to the influence of relatively smaller forces than when the system id in a disturbed state. The ideal state would be a dynamic equilibrium, maintained and shifted toward the goal conditions by free-and-easy give and take. A static equilibrium, characterized by great resistance to change, displays little give and take because the equilibrium has been pegged by development of traditions and automatic or stereotypic attitudes which make impossible the continuous reappraisal of the situation as it is; the discussion is purely academic and unmeaningful (therefore non-threatening) because it is unrelated to "real" solutions, i.e. action, It seems clear that there should

15 Whyte, *op. cit.*, pg. 14,

16 Cf. Rogers, C. R., *op. cit.*, pg. 417,

be sufficient stability and structuring that prediction by an individual of the response the group will accord his suggestions can be made; that the equilibrium should be maintained in action—dynamically (just as democracy can be maintained only through action); that violent disturbance of this equilibrium should be avoided so that small forces such as individual suggestions can be influential.[17] The parallel with the processes of individual adjustment seems close.

GROUP STRUCTURE

Any phenomenon or event may be usefully viewed as a set of processes which modify a structure. Without the structure or organization of people, or procedures in time, of authority, of status, of forces, it is difficult to explain either the time-depth of a set of conditions (or state of being) on the one hand or the system of motivating tensions and "increments" from previous interactions on the other hand. Structure is a concept of position of parts with respect to each other. The evidence used to locate the relative position of parts of a structure is some descriptive or explanatory aspect of observed process. A number of methods have been used for defining the part entities within the social structure and locating their positions with respect to each other.

Whyte, for example, accepts as the parts of the administrative structure of the factory social system the distinguishable levels of command and the parallel grades in the union organization. But the structure of human relations in factories varied enormously; it is based upon the observed processes of communication, and particularly the criterion of who originates action for whom.[18] The human relations structure is not the same as the administrative structure; both are structural aspects of the factory social system.

Davis points out that people who associate

freely together in our society belong to the same social class. Normally they "(a) eat or drink together as a social ritual, (b) freely visit one another's families, (c) talk together intimately in a social clique, or (d) have cross-sexual access to one another outside the kin-

17 This discussion is an application of the concept of "quasi-stationary equilibrium" described by Lewin, Kurt, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method, and Reality in Social Science; Social Equilibrium and Social Change." *Human Relations*, 1, 1, 1947, 5-42,

18 Whyte, *op. cit.*, pg. 68.

ship group".[19] "Intimate relationships are made concrete and attainable for the individual by his social clique, which is the class unit . . . The rise of an individual in the white or Negro class structure consists of his 'getting to know' a very small group of people (a clique) which is just above his own social position." The clique, then, emerges as the milieu within which the individual can act most freely; it is therefore the environment within which he can most readily discharge tensions and reduce anxieties or fears (or consciousness of them).

The criterion of free association is commonly applied in sociometric studies to identify in-groups through use of some variant of the question "Who are your friends?"[20] The clique structure is distinguished from the "work" structure by the criterion question "With whom would you like to work on this project?" "Work-with" and "play-with" choices describe two structural aspects. Using essentially these criteria for choosing, Bonney found with sixth grade children that the "work-with" criterion distributed the children much more broadly than did the "play-with" criterion, i.e., that there were greater differences in the preferences of children for each other on the former basis of choosing.[21] This suggests that it is easier to find acceptance in the play group than in the work group, possibly because the special skill which would make a person desirable in the work group may be an additional requirement over and above that of congeniality, or it might be so specific as to be quite rarely found; in either case, the requirements for preference in the work group are harder to meet.

Jennings uses the concept of "psychegroup" and "sociogroup" to distinguish the structure of informal leisure-time groups from formulated working groups. There is no common, objectively stated problem for the psychegroup; there is in the sociogroup. With regard to the manner of choosing on psyche-criteria and socio-criteria, she observes that "It is as if the individual could find compatibility best with individuals psychologically located more nearly like himself, but in the sociogroup selects individuals who can importantly create a milieu benefiting many members".[22]

19 Davis, Allison, "Child Training and the Social Class," in Barker. Kounin, and Wright, *Child Behavior and Development*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1943).

20 Prescott, Dan, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*. American Council on Education. Washington, 1945, pp. 265.

21 Bonney, Meil E., "A Study of the Sociometric Process among Sixth Grade Children." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, (Sept. (1946), pgs. 359-372.

22 Jennings, H. H., "Sociometry of Leadership," *Sociometry Monograph* 14, New York, Beacon House, 1947, pp. 28.

The importance of the psychegroup or in-group (or clique as used above) is that it is the group in which the individual's basic needs are best met. A wider, "richer" variety of more impulsive behaviors is possible; wider, because there is no narrowly-defined problem focus, and more impulsive because the attitudes of others are more permissive.

Since tension-reduction is easier to accomplish in the psyche-group than in the sociogroup, one might expect that the individual would devote his efforts first to establishing satisfying psyche-group relations end second to establishing sociogroup relations. In a therapeutic situation described by Bettelheim and Sylvester[23] them tasks are coincidental in time and apace; this is exceptional, but it shows that the distinction is not always marked. Dealing with a more typical case, Jennings says "if 'space' for psychegroups is ruled out by the way his section of sociogroup life in the community is run, the individual will

seek to get himself a psychegroup by forming it *within* some of his sociogroups, It appears as if he must live *as a person* whatever the official community says, and he puts this motivation ahead of sociogroup performance where he must".[24]

It seems reasonable to suppose in the light of all the above material, that there are two basic types of relationship between group structure and the six group processes described in the previous section. (a) In the group organized about a stated problem or objective, the variety of appropriate individual behaviors tends to be limited to just those behaviors (action possibilities) which are perceived to be relevant to the solution of the problem. The facilitation of the six processes becomes in itself an additional problem which may or may not be recognized by the group. The diversity of individual skills required to solve the objective problem and the diversity of individuals concerned with the problem results in heterogeneity of membership, and this aggravates the group or process problem. In this case, then, we start with a group whose membership is determined by the problem to be solved and then have to exert considerable effort to facilitate the processes required for group functioning, This facilitation is the purpose of leadership. (b) In contrast to this mechanism is that of the free association or informal group. The six processes are established, not by training a given group, but *by selecting the group membership* in such a way that the processes go on with great facility and a minimum of conscious expenditure of effort. The fact that such a group tends to be quite culturally homogeneous, for example, could be anticipated readily on this basis. Leadership in this second case is much less a matter of facilitating the processes within this group, and much more a matter of relating this group to the larger society; leadership is more a matter of spokesmanship than of expedition. Furthermore, the variety of approved behaviors is much greater in this group and therefore one can more easily get approval and satisfy basic needs.

23 Betteheim, B., and Sylvester, E., "Therapeutic Influence of the Group as the Individual," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 42, 4, (Oct. 1947), 684-692.

24 Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

A crucial problem in group work is that of finding a relationship between the two structures such that the informal structure best serves the formal. The ideal relationship would enable the individual to move most freely from one structure to the other[25] Theoretically, this would call for an identity of the two structures, but practically this could be expected only in a relationship such as successful marriage.

The above presentation is oversimplified, but may have value as a reasonable first approximation. The identification of psyche- and sociostructures is a product of the two criteria for examination of relationship, and gives us knowledge of too few force structures to explain the complex processes in a group. We are ready now to try to work with many other criteria, to try to identify and classify all the significantly different types of forces in interpersonal relationships. A different structural aspect will probably correspond with each type of force.[26] The theory of group dynamics will be concerned with the relationships and interactions among these structures. Finally, we need to uncover many more techniques such as participant-observation which will enable us to develop methods for describing the forces.

GROUP PRODUCTIVITY

The productivity of a group is described as the amount and quality of relics—e.g., manufactured goods, recordable decisions, or actions taken—over a given period of time.

25 By focusing attention on the pattern of forces to and from a given individual within the structure the concept of "roles" become useful. The forces are both the "own" forces of the individual and also the group-structural forces. Therefore the role also bridges depth and social psychology. The present efforts of Tryon and Henry in the Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, to relate evidence from the "Guess Who" with T.A.T. responses, will, it is expected, throw much light on the usefulness of the "role" concept.

26 Four very different structures were found in a graduate seminar of 9 students when given 4 different choice criteria: do research with, spend leisure time with, feel dependent on, feel rapport with. The "role" of each participant can be viewed as his cross-structure pattern position.

The purpose of this section is to consider some theoretical generalizations which relate process to structure and enable predictions about productivity (and therefore intelligent control of productivity) to be made. In general the theory is concerned with the concepts of motivation: its social quality (morale), its describable ends (goals) and its satisfaction through activity (achievement).

1. In the absence of goal-direction, the working group structure disintegrates; although the informal structure may or may not continue.—This can be illustrated at all levels of social organization. Allen says: "After a war in which the national will is concentrated on an agreed-upon goal, people are likely to be tired, irritable, disputatious, prone to let their responsibilities go, prone to show their pent-up annoyance with people with whom they had to work cheerfully in wartime (their foreign allies, management, labor, or what-not) and prone to indulge in feverish relaxations".[27] The common advocacy of ad hoc problem-solving or grievance committees rather than standing committees reflects understanding of this principle. In the absence of a democratic workgroup which understands the need for long range planning, (see 5, below) this policy is a realistic one.

2. The description of the goal should represent group consensus, not majority vote.—It is the description of the goal that makes individual action meaningful[28] because the proper relationships in time and among the group of individual actions can be understood only in light of the group's purposes. If all members do not feel commitment to the same goal, then there will be continuous friction in working, the capacities of some members will be only partially utilized, there will be ambiguity in the evaluation of contributions (and hence lack of security) and there will be minorities that may induce disintegrative forces. For consensus, the alternatives must be discussed or studied or practiced with until one emerges as being clearly advantageous, (i.e., with more positive valence than the others).

3. The level of aspiration must be selected realistically, with an eye to expectancy of the group in its particular situation.—Barker points out that the selection of the aspiration level rep-

27 Allen, Frederick Lewis, *Only Yesterday*, revised edition. (New York: Bantam Books, 1946), p. 8.

28 The distinction between meaningful (molar) behavior and non-meaningful (molecular) behavior is presented in Barker. R. G., Kounin, J. S., and Wright, H. F., *Viewpoints on Science and the Psychology of Motivation* — first draft, planographed, Chapter I. It is pointed out that when behavior is molar, the individual will act, with or without, "adequate" skill; but all the skill in the world will not make behavior molar and insure action.

resents the action of two conflicting tendencies: to avoid the hurt of failure by keeping the level below probable achievement, and to gain the highest social approval by pushing the level above probable achievement.[29] The level of aspiration should make probable [actual] success [possible] as distinguished . . . from "success without success", "spurious success", and failure.[30] The continual clarification of goals, of group recognition of the extent to which barriers are too high or too low for the individual members, and of provision for evaluation of group and individual progress help in making group participation a success experience.

4. The level of aspiration must be continually revamped in response to changing perception of the changing realities in the situation.—The higher the level of aspiration, the more change is required for success, and therefore the more threat to the group. As long as the group deals with the problem at the "irreal" level of academic debate and speculation, the level can be quite high with a minimum of threat: one can discuss possible desirability of making over the entire social order. But when the discussion becomes a consideration of desirable immediate behavior which is visualizable, the level of aspiration will have to drop considerably if the threat to the group is to remain at the same level.[31] Much of the disappointment and complaint of group members stems from failure to understand and accept this fact.

5. To assure continuity of action beyond the solution of a specific problem, the group must set the problem in a broad conceptual framework. —

The solution of a specific problem through action satiates the need for action and therefore produces a let-down in morale because the social criteria for the importance of individual action disappear when the problem is solved; no further individual action has significance for the group. The anticipation of the let-down after solution of a specific problem is probably in itself threatening, because the group senses an end to its raison d'etre and therefore of the security due to feeling of belongingness. If the conceptual setting is broad and focused, through long range planning, around large issues,

29 Barker, Roger G., "Success and Failure in the Classroom", *Progressive Education*, (April 1942), 19, 4, pp. 221-224.

30 Bradford, L. P. and Lippitt, R., "Employee Success in Work Groups", *Personnel Administration*. 8, 4, (December 1945), pp. 6-10.

31 Barker Roger G., "An Experimental Study of the Resolution of Conflict by Children". Chapter 11 in *Studies in Personality*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1942: pp. 13-34; In connection with choice of which liquid a child would choose to drink from a pair offered him, Barker concludes: that the forces involved in "real conflict" are greater than those involved in "hypothetical conflict".

a sequence of sub-problems can be identified, and the solution of each is prerequisite to the next, This broad orientation, usually implying a multi-objective approach, must of course be the property of each group member, not just of the "planning committee" or leader. The writer suggests this and an additional factor which may help explain the observation that under some conditions people seem to prefer a longer, more "difficult" path to a goal.[32] Other things being equal, one would suppose that the longer a period over which one can anticipate approved action the greater his security and morale.

6. The relationship between group and individual action should be such that the individual perceives his out-of-group action as the resumption of a task set in the group and interrupted by the ending of the preceding group meeting.— This generalization is believed to be a reasonable application of the findings of Zeigarnik and others. Adler and Kounin write: "When a quasi-need and its corresponding tension system, together with a goal, are present in the life-space of an individual, there is said to be a force acting on the individual in the direction of the goal".[33] The role of the group as the motivator of individual activity through the promise of a reward in the form of reduction of tension associated with basic needs of the individual is clear. Through participation in group action, attitudes, and decisions, the individual develops instrumental needs (for specific problem-solving action) which are felt to be an expression (in the particular situation) of basic needs. These instrumental needs (Barker), quasi-needs (Lewin) or acquired drives (Miller and Dollard) call for individual action which is in a very real sense a "completion" of group action; the individual, on his own, "resumes" not the specific activity he engaged in during the group meeting, but an activity which completes it; Lee, which discharges the tensions developed through the group setting of the problem and division of responsibilities. The feeling of some group leaders that it is undesirable to get closure at the end of the group meeting seems justified—insofar as failure to get closure leaves in the individual a tension to act further. It seems clear that the group meeting should go to the precise point at which each individual has maximum impetus to carry through activity which leads to completion of the group-set task. The

32 See Child, Irvin L., "Children's Preference for Goals Easy or Difficult to Obtain", *Psychological Monographs* 60, 4, whole number 280, 1946, p. 31.

33 Adler, D. L., and Kounin, J. S., "Some Factors Operating at the Moment of Resumption of Interrupted Tasks", *The Journal of Psychology*, 1939, 7, 255-267.

proper balance between group participation and individual activity is the one which gets the maximum individual contribution, and the development of criteria for obtaining this balance are sorely needed. The problem is particularly aggravated by the time limits within which most group meetings are conducted.

7. The solution of a problem must involve all the groups in the social system whose overlapping potencies produce conflicts detrimental to individual freedom of action in solving the problem.— The principle that all levels in the human rela-

tions structure may be involved in the solution of a problem by a group at any one level is generally accepted. The issue here is the manner in which the groups are involved. Other levels may be involved directly as part of the environment which needs to be changed; but even when their direct cooperation is not necessary, other groups are involved through the fact that the influence of a group extends in time and space far beyond the actual face-to-face contact. Barker elucidates this point with respect to teachers: "Teachers appear to be placed in conflicting, overlapping social situations to a greater extent than most professional people. Teachers must be highly sensitive to the changing demands of many relatively independent groups: Their classes, their colleagues, their administrators, their communities. Because of their exposed and dependent position, the behavior of teachers is very sensitive to these simultaneously acting, but independent and often conflicting influences. Consider some concrete determinants of a teacher's behavior in the classroom. First of all, there is the classroom situation: the attitude of the pupils, the requirements of the lesson, and the teacher's intentions and ideals with respect to it. At the same time the teacher's behavior is to some extent determined by the facts of the larger school administration; perhaps an uncertainty as to the attitude of the administration toward his work, a feeling of frustration, failure; and abuse because a colleague has received an "unwarranted" salary increase, or a feeling of futility over the small prospect of professional advancement. There is also the community situation which the teacher cannot escape and to which he is particularly sensitive: limitations upon his personal freedom in some political, social, and economic spheres, and coercion in others".[34] The methods of dealing with such group overlappings range from individual therapeutic interview, through perception of the

34 Barker. Roger G., "Difficulties of Communication Between Educators and Psychologists: Some Speculations", *Journal of Educational Psychology*, (September 1942). pp. 416-426.

situation and recognition of limits by the group working on a problem, to actual cooperative action by all groups. . . .

4
FUNCTIONAL ROLES OF GROUP MEMBERS

(From Kenneth D. Benne and Paul Sheats, "Functional Roles of Group Members", *The Journal of Social Issues*, 4:2 : 42-47, Spring, 1948)

. . . The member-roles identified in this analysis are classified into three broad groupings.

(1) Group task roles. Participant roles, here are related to the task which the group is deciding to undertake or has undertaken. Their purpose is to facilitate and coordinate group effort in the selection and definition of a common problem and in the solution of that problem.

(2) Group building and maintenance roles. The roles in this category are oriented toward the functioning of the group as a group. They are designed to alter or maintain the group way of working, to strengthen, regulate and perpetuate the group as a group.

(3) Individual roles. This category does not classify member-roles as such, since the "participations" denoted here are directed toward the satisfaction of the "participant's" individual needs. Their purpose is some individual goal which is not relevant either to the group task or to the functioning of the group as a group. Such participations are, of course, highly relevant to the problem of group training, insofar as such training is

directed toward improving group maturity or group task efficiency.

GROUP TASK ROLES

The following analysis assumes that the task of the discussion group is to select, define and solve common problems. The roles are identified in relation to functions of facilitation and coordination of group problem-solving activities. Each member may of course enact more than one role in any given unit of participation and a wide range of roles in successive participations. Any

or all of these roles may be played at times by the group "leader" as well as by various members.

a. The ***initiator-contributor*** suggests or proposes to the group new ideas or a changed way of regarding the group problem or goal. The novelty proposed may take the form of suggestions of a new group goal or a new definition of the problem. It may take the form of a suggested solution or some way of handling a difficulty that the group has encountered. Or it may take the form of a proposed new procedure for the group, a new way of organizing the group for the task ahead.

b. The ***information seeker*** asks for clarification of suggestions made in terms of their factual adequacy, for authoritative information and facts pertinent to the problem being discussed.

c. The ***opinion seeker*** asks not primarily for the facts of the case but for a clarification of the values pertinent to what the group is undertaking or of values involved in a suggestion made or in alternative suggestions.

d. The ***information giver*** offers facts or generalizations which are "authoritative" or relates his own experience pertinently to the group problem.

e. The ***opinion giver*** states his belief or opinion pertinently to a suggestion made or to alternative suggestions. The emphasis is on his proposal of what should become the group's view of pertinent values, not primarily upon relevant facts or Information.

f. The ***elaborator*** spells out suggestions in terms of examples or developed meanings, offers a rationale for suggestions previously made and tries to deduce how an idea or suggestion would work out if adopted by the group.

g. The ***coordinator*** shows or clarifies the relationships among various ideas and suggestions, tries to pull ideas and suggestions together or tries to coordinate the activities of various members or sub-groups.

h. The ***orienter*** defines the position of the group with respect to its goals by summarizing what has occurred, points to departures from agreed upon directions or goals, or raises questions about the direction which the group discussion is taking.

i. The ***evaluator-critic*** subjects the accomplishment of the group to some standard or set of standards of group-functioning in the context of the group task. Thus, he may evaluate or question the "practicality", the "logic", the "facts" or the "procedure" of a suggestion or of some unit of group discussion.

j. The ***energizer*** prods the group to action or decision, attempts to stimulate or arouse the group to "greater" or "higher quality" activity.

k. The ***procedural technician*** expedites group movement by doing things for the group-performing routine tasks, distributing materials, or manipulating objects for the group, e.g., rearranging the seating or running the recording machine, etc.

1. The ***recorder*** writes down suggestions, makes a record of group decisions, or writes down the product of discussion. The recorder role is the "group memory."

GROUP BUILDING AND MAINTENANCE ROLES

Here the analysis of member-functions is oriented to those participations which have for their purpose the building of group-centered attitudes and orientation among the members of a group or the maintenance and perpetuation of such group-centered behavior. A given contribution may involve several roles and a member or the "leader" may perform various roles in successive contributions.

a. The ***encourager*** praises, agrees with and accepts the contribution of others. He indicates warmth and solidarity in his attitude toward other group members, offers commendation and praise and in various ways indicates understanding and acceptance of other points of view, ideas and suggestions.

b. The ***harmonizer*** mediates the differences between other

members, attempts to reconcile disagreements, relieves tension in conflict situations through

jesting or pouring oil on the troubled waters, etc.

c. The ***compromiser*** operates from within a conflict in which his idea or position is involved. He may offer compromise by yielding status, admitting his error, by disciplining himself to maintain group harmony, or by "coming half-way" in moving with the group.

d. The ***gate-keeper and expediter*** attempts to keep communication channels open by encouraging or facilitating the participation of others ("we haven't got the ideas of Mr. X yet," etc.) or by proposing regulation of the flow of communication ("why don't we limit the length of our contributions so that everyone will have a chance to contribute?", etc.)

e. The ***standard setter*** or ***ego ideal*** expresses standards for the group to attempt to achieve in its functioning or applies standards in evaluating the quality of group processes.

f. The ***group-observer*** and ***commentator*** keeps records of various aspects of group process and feeds such data with proposed interpretations into the group's evaluation of its own procedures.

g. The ***follower*** goes along with the movement of the group, more or less passively accepting the ideas of others, serving as an audience in group discussion and decision.

"INDIVIDUAL" ROLES

Attempts by "members" of a group to satisfy individual needs which are irrelevant to the group task and which are non-oriented or negatively oriented to group building and maintenance set problems of group and member training. A high incidence of "individual-centered" as opposed to "group-centered" participation in a group always calls for self-diagnosis of the group. The diagnosis may reveal one or several of a number of conditions—low level of skill-training among members, including the group leader; the prevalence of "authoritarian" and "laissez faire" points of view toward group functioning in the group; a low level of group maturity, discipline and morale; an inappropriately chosen and inadequately defined group task, etc. Whatever the diagnosis, it is in this setting that the training needs of the group are to be discovered and group training efforts to meet these needs are to be defined. The outright "suppression" of "individual roles" will deprive the group of data needed for really adequate self-diagnosis and therapy.

(a) The ***aggressor*** may work in many ways—deflating the status of others, expressing disapproval of the values, acts or feelings of others, attacking the group or the problem it is working on, joking aggressively, showing envy toward another's contribution by trying to take credit for it, etc.

(b) The ***blocker*** tends to be negativistic and stubbornly resistant, disagreeing and opposing without or beyond "reason" and attempting to maintain or bring back an issue after the group has rejected or by-passed it.

(c) The ***recognition-seeker*** works in various ways to call attention to himself, whether through boasting, reporting on personal achievements, acting in unusual ways, struggling to prevent his being placed in an "inferior" position, etc.

(d) The ***self-confessor*** uses the audience opportunity which the group setting provides to express personal, non-group oriented, "feeling", "insight", "ideology", etc.

(e) The ***playboy*** makes a display of his lack of involvement in the group's processes. This may take the form of cynicism, nonchalance, horseplay and other more or less studied forms of "out of field" behavior.

(f) The ***dominator*** tries to assert authority or superiority in manipulating the group or certain members of the group. This domination may take the form of flattery, of asserting a superior status or right to attention, giving directions authoritatively, interrupting the contributions of others, etc.

(g) The ***help-seeker*** attempts to call forth "sympathy" response from other group members or from the whole group, whether through expressions of insecurity, personal confusion or depreciation of himself beyond "reason."

(h) The ***special interest pleader*** speaks for the "small business man", the "grass roots" commu-

nity, the "housewife", "labor", etc., usually cloaking his own prejudices or biases in the stereotype which best fits his individual need.

THE PROBLEM OF MEMBER ROLE REQUIREDNESS

Identification of group task roles and of group building and maintenance roles which do actually function in processes of group discussion raises but does not answer the further question of what roles are required for "optimum" group growth and productivity. Certainly the discovery and validation of answers to this question have a high priority in any advancing science of group training and development. . . .

It may be useful in this discussion . . . to comment on two conditions which effective work on the problem of role-requiredness must meet. First, an answer to the problem of optimum task role requirements must be projected against a scheme of the process of group production. Groups in different stages of an act of problem selection and solution will have different role requirements. For example, a group early in the stages of problem selection which is attempting to lay out a range of possible problems to be worked on, will probably have relatively leas need for the roles of "evaluator-critic", "energizer" and "coordinator" than a group which has selected and discussed its problem and is shaping to decision. The combination and balance of task role requirements is a function of the group's stage of progress with respect to its task. Second, the group building role requirements of a group are a function of its stage of development—its level of group maturity. For example, a "young" group will probably require less of the role of the "standard setter" than a more mature group. Too high a level of aspiration may frustrate a "young" group where a more mature group will be able to take the same level of aspiration in its stride. Again the role of "group observer and commentator" must be carefully adapted to the level of maturity of the group. Probably the distinction between "group" and "individual" roles can be drawn much more sharply in a relatively mature than in a "young" group.

Meanwhile, group trainers cannot wait for a fully developed science of group training before they undertake to diagnose the role requirements of the groups with which they work and help these groups to share in such diagnosis. Each group which is attempting to improve the quality of its functioning as a group must be helped to diagnose its role requirements and must attempt to train members to fill the required roles effectively. This

describes one of the principal objectives of training of group members.

THE PROBLEM OF ROLE FLEXIBILITY

The previous group experience of members, where this experience has included little conscious attention to the variety of roles involved in effective group production and development, has frequently stereotyped the member into a limited range of roles. These he plays in all group discussions whether or not the group situation requires them. Some members see themselves primarily as "evaluator-critics" and play this role in and out of season. Others may play the roles of "encourager" or of "energizer" or of "information giver" with only small sensitivity to the role requirements of a given group situation. The development of skill and insight in diagnosing role requirements has already been mentioned as an objective of group member training. An equally important objective is the development of role flexibility, of skill and security in a wide range of member roles, on the part of all group members.

A science of group training, as it develops, must be concerned with the relationships between the personality structures of group members and the character and range of member roles which various personality structures support and permit. A science of group training must seek to discover and accept the limitations which group training per se encounters in altering personality structures in the service of greater role flexibility on the part of all members of a group. Even though we recognize the importance of this caution, the objective of developing role flexibility remains an important objective of group member training. . .

5
THE GROWTH OF A GROUP

(From Herbert Thelen and Watson Dickerman, "Stereotypes and the Growth of Groups", *Educational Leadership*, 6:5 : 309-16, February, 1949)

. . . What are these [the common] stereotypes about the operation of groups and how are they related to the stages by which a group grows in productivity? Groups which were in operation for three weeks at the 1948 session of the National Training Laboratory on Group Development[1] serve to illustrate stereotypes at various stages of group growth. We shall try to describe both the phases in the development of these groups and the stereotypes about policies of operation which accompanied these phases. Our data are the sound recordings of the discussions of the eight groups at different stages in their development and the daily written records of the observer in each group.

In the light of what happened in these eight groups at the NTL, a group may perhaps be seen as going through four phases as it grows in ability to operate efficiently. *In the first phase various members of the group quickly attempt to establish their customary places in the leadership hierarchy. In effect, this may be thought of as an attempt to establish the "peck order" of the group. Next comes a period of frustration and conflict brought about by the leader's steadfast rejection of the concept of peck order and the authoritarian atmosphere in which the concept of peck order is rooted. The third phase sees the development of cohesiveness among the members of the group, accompanied by a certain amount of complacency and smugness*. This third phase seems to be characterized by a determination to achieve and maintain harmony at all costs. Insofar as this effort is successful, it results in an atmosphere of deceptive "sweetness and light," which, nevertheless, is sufficiently permissive to enable the members to assess their own positions, modes of interaction, and attitudes in the group. This phase is unstable because it is unrealistic, and it gives way to a fourth phase. *In the fourth phase the members retain the group-centeredness and sensitivities which characterized the third phase, but they develop also a sense of purpose and urgency which makes the group potentially an effective social instrument*.

We turn now to an effort to identify some of the stereotypes about policies of operation which seem to characterize these four phases of the growth of our groups.

PHASE ONE

INDIVIDUALLY CENTERED

Every group needs a strong, expert leader.

Good group membership consists of active, oral participation; those who do not talk are not good group members.

The group is wasting its time unless it is absorbing information or doing something active-listening to lectures, receiving bibliographies, making long lists on the blackboard, role playing, working in sub-committees, passing resolutions.

The group cannot become cohesive or efficient until each member has certain "necessary" information about the other members—occupation, title, job responsibilities, age, education, family, hobbies.

The group's observer makes his assessment of the group's process by using his intuition. He gives the members interesting about themselves.

Any expression of feeling, particularly of aggression or hostility, is bad. It upsets the group and should be squelched.

The chief function of the leader is to manipulate the group toward the goals which he knows are appropriate for it because of his competence and authority.

Each member sees the other members primarily as individuals rather than as parts of a group. Each must be dealt with individually through

1 Report of the Second Summer Session, National Training Laboratory in Group Development, Division of Adult Education Services. NEA, $1.25.

the kinds of appeals which are persuasive for him.

PHASE TWO

FRUSTRATION AND CONFLICT AMONG STEREOTYPES

The stereotypic conflicts which characterize this phase are perceived quite differently by the members of the group at the beginning of the phase and at its end. At the beginning the leader is seen as a frustrating figure because he has refused to fit the stereotypes which characterized Phase One. This results in the direction of a good deal of hostility against him, which may be expressed quite overtly. By the end of Phase Two, this and other stereotypic conflicts are seen as simply the verbalization of the ambivalences of members of the group. In other words, they are seen as representing unsolved problems which plague all of us but which we manage to repress if our group has a strong leader who is willing to act as such. These conflicts seem to the writers to pose some of the most fundamental problems that individuals have to solve before they can become secure as members of a group. Typical stereotypic conflicts which characterize phase Two follow:

We must have a leader who is strong to the point of being dominating and autocratic *versus* We must have a leader who is permissive to the point of being laissez faire.

Our troubles of operation would disappear if only the leader would tell us the theory of group dynamics versus Our troubles can disappear only when we have acquired skill in formulating a theory about and assessing the operations of our group.

Democratic group process requires a strsong leader who is subject to criticism and recall by the group at any time versus Democratic group process requires a chairman whose primary job is to conciliate interpersonal conflicts among the active members of the group.

Efforts to assess our own group processes are an invasion of the sacredness of individual personalities *versus* Assessment of group process is a sounder starting point for intelligent group action than is attention to motivations and attitudes of individual members of the group.

Our basic problem is that members do not take enough initiative and responsibility *versus* Members who exhibit initiative and willingness to assume responsibility are competing with the leader.

A decision by majority vote is binding on all members of the group *versus* No individual should be coerced into going along with what he thinks is wrong.

Leadership is a role vested in a single competent member of the group *versus* leadership is a complex function which should be distributed among all members of a group.

The first problem, which runs through most of these conflicts, appears to be the notion that the answer must be either A or B. Such thinking is most fruitless when neither A nor B is satisfactory. Members of, a group must learn to ask, "Under what conditions is this policy wise?" rather than, "What policy is wise under all conditions?" The latter alternative is, of course, a legitimate question. But its answer would require appraisal of each of the alternative policies, followed by identification of the essential criteria for answering the first question. The answer to the second would probably be: any policy is wise if it satisfies this list of criteria: and the list of criteria would then have to be given.

It seems likely that the members of a group must reorient their ideas about how knowledge should be formulated. The notion that a set of generalizations about psychological phenomena can be given is less tenable than the notion that the legitimate content of psychological knowledge is only description and rationale for a set of procedures by which appropriate policy can be determined in a given situation. We are asserting, in effect, that content knowledge in the area of group dynamics consists not of generalizations about psychological phenomena *per se*. Rather, it consists of generalizations about how to proceed in determining right conduct. Generalizations of the first kind enter into generalizations of the

second kind only insofar as they help us to speculate about whether or not a suggested method of procedure will have the consequences required by the criteria.

A second major problem which a group faces, in the light of the conflicts which have been described, is how to ask the right kind of questions-those which will lead to fruitful answers.

For example, an important question is: What is the relationship between an individual's rights and his duties to society? An unfruitful way to get at this relationship is to ask: What are the rights of individuals? The question might better be phrased:

What are the characteristics of individual participation which most facilitate those types of interaction through which both the individual and his society can develop in desirable directions? The change in wording makes a sine qua non of neither the inalienable rights of individuals nor the demands of society. Instead, it focuses attention on the kinds of individual action which can contribute most both to his own individual growth and to a healthy society.

A third problem is partly one of insight of the group's goal and the steps necessary to reach it, and partly one of skill in communicating such insight to one another. Many of the conflicts arose because members of the group felt forced to take untenable positions—for example, on the nature of good leadership or the characteristics of democratic group process. When one has taken an untenable position, he is vulnerable to attack and is likely to become defensive because even he can see that his position is weak.

By the development of insight about goals and of skill in their communication, could each, member's responses have contributed to the sequential solution of the problems the group was trying to solve rather than frittering away the group's time and strength on inconsequential flank skirmishes? For example, it may be that these destructive side battles could have been avoided if the members had seen the group's goal in terms of a series of sub-goals, each of which was to be reached through group action. One such sub-goal might be the existence of enough permissiveness so that members could alleviate their anxieties rather than project them into stereotypic conflicts. Another might be orientation in the methodology of action research so that members would acquire more know-how about solving problems. Another might be the acquisition of skill in making group decisions, Surmounting each of these sub-goals would carry the group forward progressively toward the final goal instead of encouraging endless and fruitless stereotypic conflicts.

PHASE THREE

ATTEMPTED CONSOLIDATION OF GROUP HARMONY

During this phase, the group's major purpose appears to be to avoid conflict of the sort that was so debilitating during the second period. This requires the development of skill in playing supportive roles, conciliating roles, integrating roles. It also

requires the members to become more responsive to subtle cues and to take more responsibility for indicating agreement or disagreement with tentative notions, rather than flat rejections or acceptances of proposed solutions. Perhaps the major pitfall to be avoided at this point is that of glossing over significant differences for the sake of apparent harmony.

During the third period, then, we find the following stereotypes dominant:

The goal of the group is cohesiveness, not productivity.

Group-centered behavior is essentially a kind of polite behavior which avoids upsetting the group. Each individual must curb his impulses in such a way that conflict does not become open.

The leader is essentially laissez faire chairman.

Planning or steering committees should be used to make concrete proposals for the group's consideration.

A person who is silent must be brought into

the discussion so we can tell if he is unhappy.

Our most important goal is satisfaction for each individual in the group. We must work at this objectively and with considerable self-assessment. The self assessment, however, must not reveal apparent individual weakness but rather the difficulties of a normal individual who is struggling with difficult problems.

Our leader may be seen as a fairly worthy person to have brought us to this pleasant position but, nevertheless, we will divide the job of chairmanship among ourselves.

During this third phase there is a marked increase in the sense of individual responsibility for satisfying group needs. One might see the preceding period of frustration as one in which every individual became highly involved emotionally in the group's process; in it, it is no longer possible to sit back to judge or to be amused. On the other hand, the desire to avoid further bitterness and conflict acts as a strong disciplining influence and stimulates the development of skill which the members did not previously possess—those skills which allow a person to participate and yet avoid conflict. The former leader is now reinstated, not; as a leader but as a resource person; and

the group discussion shows fairly clearly that it in rejecting the concept of leadership as a personal role in favor of the concept of leadership as one aspect of good group membership—a function which is shared by all.

In a very real sense, the test of whether the preceding experiences of the members of the group have resulted in understanding may well be whether they move out of this stage in which "we all love each other with qualifications" but in which also significant skills are developing, to a later stage in which the group becomes a social instrument; geared for action, directed outward toward the improvement of its environment rather than inward toward the adjustment of members to the present environment. Until this moving on to a later state takes place, it is as if the group were operating with some elements of phantasy, primarily in regard to its own goals. This phantasy is perilously close to the institutionalization of complacency on the one hand and to fear of ideational and other conflicts associated with solving action problems on the other.

It is probable that the only way in which this socially reinforced complacency can be broken down is through each individual's objective self-assessment. This will enable him to realize that if this period is too prolonged it will become an obstacle to any further growth on his part. It is necessary, then, for skills to be developed in a new functional area-skills which will enable each individual to realize his own needs for action in the group as distinguished from skills required for the individual to realize his needs for position and security. Along with this, at the conceptual level, must come the understanding that security is not a sufficient goal in itself, but is the necessary condition for effective action.

PHASE FOUR

INDIVIDUAL SELF-ASSESSMENT, FLEXIBILITY OF GROUP PROCESSINGS, AND EMPHASIS UPON PRODUCTIVITY IN PROBLEM SOLVING

We present the apparent stereotypes of this fourth phase with somewhat less confidence than those of the other phases

stage. They did not actually tackle problems of adjusting their own environment. One had the feeling that the Laboratory ended with the groups in the middle of a phase, with things yet to happen. It is quite possible, also, that even if there had been time for this fourth phase to completely develop, other still more mature phases may lie beyond it. There are, however, a number of impressions that most of the observers seemed to concur in, which suggest directions such as those described in the preceding paragraph and which require the development of skills beyond those required in the third phase.

The two most obvious characteristics of this fourth phase are the attainment by the members of much greater objectivity with regard to individual roles in the group, and the attainment of much greater ease in making decisions and much

more flexibility in controlling group processes. For a third characteristic of the fourth phase, namely, participation as a group in problem-solving activities designed to change or modify the social scene through direct impact on it rather than merely through the changed attitudes and skills of individuals, we have less evidence than expectation. But there is some reason to believe that readiness for this kind of activity is developing.

Another difficulty encountered in trying to describe the stereotypes which govern this fourth phase is that stereotypic thinking was much less frequent, and in many of the group members there was a definite feeling of revulsion whenever anyone attempted to produce a capsule evaluation as to whether the chairman was behaving in a "democratic" manner or not. It is as if the conceptualization had been driven down into a much deeper level, whose complexity made verbalization difficult. Permissiveness had developed at the level of individual thinking; that is, individuals are now free to theorize about these processes in their own way.

It is the introduction of this element which takes the method of control out of the laissez faire area in which there is considerable permissiveness of specific behaviors but very little permissiveness of conceptualization and thinking about; behaviors. It is because of the deeper, more personalized conceptualizations that frustration and impasse due to conflict can be avoided in a climate having this second sort of permissiveness. The stereotypes that we can identify, then, in the fourth

phase, should probably be thought of not as verbalizations whose relation to operation is vague and conflicting in the minds of members, but rather as principles of operation which have developed inductively and more or less consciously as by-products of the individual's attempt to meet his own needs in the group. Among these notions are:

Each individual has a personality of his own which is different from that of other group members and is not to be judged as either good or bad.

The nature of this personality determines the efficiency and ease with which individuals will be able to play different roles in the group.

If a member of a group is to grow in ability to participate in the group, other members must help him by demonstrating their expectation that he will grow and their approval of his growing ability to formulate perceptions about group process.

This, in turn, means that all individual perceptions and differences among them have to be treated as realities. It also means that we cannot assume that any one individual's perceptions are the "right" ones.

Contributions of each individual must be assumed to be relevant to the problem under consideration. It is up to the group to find out what the relevance is. Only thus can the goal directions of each individual be continually woven into the goal direction of the group as a whole.

Although the deeper meanings of each individual's contribution cannot be taken for granted, enough rapport has developed that the members know about what to expect; from each individual. It is only when these expectations are violated by the introduction of novel and threatening elements into the situation that a serious problem arises.

The question of "What is our purpose at this point? What is the problem we are trying to solve?" is recognized as one of the most helpful questions that can be asked instead of one of the most obstructing questions which should, at all costs, be avoided and resented,

In a sense, every member is expected to play all roles at appropriate times. The question of which roles should be formal-

ly structured by the group and assigned to particular individuals and for what periods of time remains unanswered. The members seem to feel that the answer lies in analysis of what roles are needed by the group for the solution of the problems at hand and of the interests and needs of individuals for playing these roles.

The place of ethics, as a source of guidance

for the group, lies in making the formulation of criteria for success in particular situations easier. It does not, in itself, provide the policies for running the group.

A HYPOTHESIS PROPOSED

The identification of the four phases of group growth which have been discussed amounts to stating a hypothesis about the course of group growth:

> Beginning with individual needs for finding security and activity in a social environment, we proceed first to emotional involvement of the individuals with each other, and second to the development of a group as a rather limited universe of interaction among individuals and as the source of individual security. We then find that security of position in the group loses its significance except that as the group attempts to solve problems it structures its activities in such a way that each individual can play a role which may be described as successful or not in terms of whether the group successfully solved the problem it had set itself.

It is not our contention that these four phases develop in sequential order. We have attempted to identify some of the stereotypes which seem to us to represent the perceptions of the members of these groups at different stages in the development into groups. We do not claim that this particular course of development of stereotypes about policies of operation would be found in all groups under all conditions. We do feel that identification of the members' stereotypes about policies of operation would help many groups in their growth as individually satisfying social milieux and as effective social action instruments.

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6
SOME LEADERSHIP FUNCTIONS IN GROUPS

(From Kenneth D. Benne, "Leaders Are Made, Not Born", *Childhood Education*, 24:5:203-208, January, 1948)

Groups . . . have varying degrees of maturity as groups, quite distinct from the chronological maturity of their members. One set of leadership functions has to do with helps required by the group in increasing its maturity. Only a few examples of the criteria of group maturity and of corresponding functions of leadership can be given here. But these may help us to clarify our conception of leadership.

An immature group has little awareness of its own procedures and of the relationship of these to its productivity. The mature group has the ability to look at its own procedures, to criticize and improve these in the interest of greater group efficiency.

A group of children planning a party may get into a snarl of competing ideas as to what games should be played. An immature group may give up and leave it to teacher to decide or may break into aggressive griping and name-calling. A mature group would probably stop and see that it had run into its snarl when John and Mary had started calling each other's ideas crazy and then start over to reach a common decision or some acceptable In this case, a leadership function in the immature group is to help the group look at its own ways of working and to see the relationship between these and the making of satisfactory plans.

Again, members of an immature group in choosing members to do some job find it hard to distinguish between persons they like or dislike and persons with the abilities required to get the job done well. A mature group is able to distinguish between

"personalities" and the roles required for productive group work. The group of children which chooses members for a committee to make posters not because they can draw but because they are likeable and "popular" has not attained much maturity as a group. A function of leadership here is to help the group see that contributions are to be judged in terms of their relevance to getting a group job done well, not in terms of the person who happens to make the contribution.

One set of leadership functions, then, has to do with services required within the group in helping it to grow to greater maturity.

The most mature group, however, still requires special services to promote the adequacy and efficiency of its thinking, deciding, and acting:

A group must set common goals and purposes. Typically, it achieves common goals by working through differences among its members. It must be helped to clarify these differences, to remember the common agreements that surround its points of conflict, to bring in relevant information which may help to resolve the issues that divide it. These required helps point to leadership functions.

A group must keep a balance between its long-range and short-run goals. It must be helped to remember its long-range goals while it is making decisions here and now. Some groups tend to shut out the ugly here and now and to try to live in the discussion of their long-range goals. They must be reminded that these can be served only by taking next steps, by deciding what needs to be done now in order to move the group in the direction it wants to go. These are leadership functions.

Groups with the greatest clarity about common goals must diagnose their present situation, must locate barriers and resources in it, must plan how to use these resources in it, must plan how to use these resources and overcome these barriers in moving toward the group goals. This means that the group must be helped to get accurate and pertinent information from persons or other sources or through their own research. They must be helped to keep their plans "realistic," geared to the "facts" of the setting in which they are working. They must be helped to

practice their plans before trying them fully and to test them in the practice. Leadership functions are involved here.

Finally, groups, having planned and acted, must evaluate what they have done, collecting and interpreting the data needed to tell how well they have succeeded and where they have failed. Only through evaluation can groups learn from success or failure. They need help in getting the evaluation data they need, in doing a fair job of interpreting this data, in amending even their most cherished plans and purposes, if the evaluation seems to require it. These helps also point to leadership functions in the group.

A second set of leadership functions, therefore, has to do with services required by any group in keeping its processes of planning, acting, and evaluating productive and geared to the changing environment in which it lives and acts.

What are the advantages of interpreting leadership in terms of functions to be performed in a group in helping it to grow and to operate productively? It helps to make clear that "leadership" is something that has to be learned. Moreover, it helps us to locate intelligently the understandings, attitudes, and skills which democratic leadership must acquire. It saves us from thinking of "leadership" as inherent in certain persons or classes of persons.

In a mature group, leadership does not inhere in any one person, even though many leadership functions may be delegated by the group to one member. More typically, the mature group will fit different leadership functions to different members so that leadership is exercised by a team, discussion leader, resource persons, recorder and process observer, for example, rather than by one individual. And the group may choose to reserve certain leadership functions for the group as a whole, rather than to assign them to any person or persons.

This conception of leadership also makes it clear that leadership training and development can not be separated from group training and development. As teachers work to build mature groups, self-objective about their group needs and ways of working, they are also working to build democratic leaders. Leadership always involves leader-member relations and a relationship can be well built only through the cooperation of both "leaders" and "members."

7
TYPES OF GROUP LEADERSHIP

(From Leland P. Bradford and Ronald Lippitt, "Building a Democratic Work Group", *Personnel*, 22:3 : 142-148, November, 1945)

. . . It is unfortunate that the majority of books and articles on supervision and group leadership have laid almost their entire stress upon the techniques of group leadership and but little emphasis upon understanding the causes of varying degrees of group productivity and morale resulting from different patterns of leadership. By so doing they have failed to underscore for the potential leader or supervisor the cardinal principles that group efficiency must always be a joint responsibility of leader and group and that only through the interactive participation of both in leadership does such efficient production result. They have turned the attention of the supervisor only toward what he does and not toward the effects of his actions on what the group does. This has resulted in an overemphasis upon dominance and submission, whereas the basis of any truly efficient group is joint responsibility, participation and recognition.

The day of sharp distinction between the leader and the led must gradually disappear if high production and harmonious working relations are to be attained. This means that the responsibility of supervision is to lead and develop the members of the work group so that they may share in the supervision of the group. This does not mean the disappearance of the supervisor; rather, it increases his importance as the central figure in group productivity.

To appreciate the importance for productivity of the group spirit of employees, it is desirable to examine certain types of supervision and the resultant group personalities. Four of such types follow.

I. The Hardboiled Autocrat

Characteristic. This the supervisor who believes that he must constantly check up on everyone to keep up production. He gives the orders and employees carry them out. He believes that the only way to get conscientious performance is to expect and secure discipline and immediate acceptance of all orders. He is careful not to spoil the employee with too much praise, believing that because the employee is paid to work he needs nothing else. It is the employee's place to carry out directives, not to question or always understand them. This supervisor is usually very conscious of his position and authority and believes that employees cannot be trusted very long on their own initiative.

Group reactions. The results in this group are as follows: There is some submission to the supervisor's authority, but resentment and incipient revolt underneath (of which the supervisor probably is not aware); no one assumes more responsibility than he is forced to take, and buck-passing is a common pattern of behavior. Employees display irritability and unwillingness to cooperate with each other, and there is considerable backbiting and disparagement; of the work of others. Only a fair level of production is maintained, and the work slips markedly whenever the supervisor is not present.

II. Benevolent Autocrat

Characteristics. The benevolent autocrat would be startled to realize that his method of supervision is autocratic. In contrast to the hardboiled autocrat, he is interested in his employees, wants to see them happy, praises them as much as he criticizes them, is seldom harsh or severe, and likes to think that he is developing a happy-family group. He urges employees to bring their problems to him and is interested in all the details of their work. Actually, he trades benevolence for loyalty. The crux of his autocracy lies in the technique by which he secures dependence upon himself. He says, with a pat on the back, "That's the way I like it. . . . I am glad you did it that way . . . . That's the way I want it done," or "That isn't the way I told you to do it . . . you are not doing it the way I want it." In this way he dominates employees by making himself the

source of all standards of production. Any failure to live up to these standards he receives with hurt surprise and intense anger as personal disloyalty to him.

Group reactions. This group has a very different personality from that under the hardboiled supervisor. The employees are fairly happy in their work, and most of them like the supervisor. Those who see through him, however, dislike him intensely. Careful examination shows a great amount of dependence on the supervisor for direction in all work situations. No one shows initiative without first ascertaining the reactions of the supervisor, and there is a definite reluctance to accept further responsibility. No one develops ideas for improving work techniques or procedures. The group is characterized by submissiveness and lack of individual development. Lethargy and some incipient revolt exist, which may flare up if employees are called upon for heavy emergency work. Because of their desire to meet the supervisor's expectations, productivity is fairly high as long as he is on hand to give directions.

III. Laissez Faire

Characteristics. The laissez-faire supervisor may be the supervisor who has no confidence in his ability to supervise and consequently buries himself in paperwork or stays away from employees. He may also be the one who believes that to be a "good fellow" means license. He leaves too much responsibility with the employees; sets no clear goals toward which they may work; is incapable of making decisions or helping the group arrive at decisions; and tends to let things drift.

Group reactions. This group has by far the lowest morale and productivity. The work is sloppy, output is low, and the employee has little interest in his job or its improvement. There is much buck-passing and scapegoating, and considerable irritability and unrest among the employees. There is practically no teamwork or group cohesion, and no one knows what to do or what to expect.

IV. Democratic

Characteristics. The democratic supervisor endeavors wherever possible to share with his group the decision-making about work planning, assignment and scheduling. Where a decision must be made by him, he helps the group to understand clearly the basis for his decision. He is careful to develop as much participation, opinion-giving and decision-making as possible, and a feeling of responsibility for the success of the

work on the part of everyone. He is concerned that each employee clearly understand his work and have opportunities for success in it. His praise and criticisms are always delivered objectively in terms of work results and never personally in terms of what he may or may not like. He encourages worthwhile suggestions and the development of new procedures.

Group reactions. This group displays a high degree of enthusiasm for the work. The quality and quantity of production are the highest of all groups, and the degree of teamwork within the group is noticeably greater. Employees grow and move on to greater responsibilities. They more frequently feel that their work is successful because the members of this group willingly praise each other's efforts. Because there are far fewer problems of employee performance and motivation, the supervisor is more relaxed and can devote more time to planning and to constructive leadership.

Differences in Group Personalities

The personality of each of the above groups* resulted from specific actions on the part of the supervisor concerned. The pattern of each group was inevitable. An examination of the causes of differences in group patterns will indicate certain basic principles of leadership and group action which must be followed if successful group production is to result.

I. *Hardboiled autocrat*. The lack of teamwork, intense competition among employees, buck-passing, knifing of others, lack of acceptance of responsibility, let down of production when the

supervisor was absent, resulted from the employee's being frustrated in achieving basic personal needs from his work efforts. First, every employee needs to belong to and participate in a work group, When this need for "belongingness" is blocked, the individual stands alone and this increases his insecurity. Under

* Although these observations of the four types of supervisor are drawn from examples in business and industry, basic experimental research confirming these patterns of leadership and the effects of them has been carried on in university laboratories. For reports of some of these studies see:

Alex Bavelas, "Morale and the Training of Leaders," Chapter 8 in *Civilian Morale* (edited by Goodwin Watson), Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1942.

"An Analysis of the Work Situation Preliminary to Leadership Training," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, March, 1944, p. 17.

K. Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created Social Climates," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1939.

Ronald Lippitt, "An Experimental Study of Authoritarian and Democratic Group Atmospheres," University of Iowa *Studies in Child Welfare*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1940.

R. Lippitt and R. K. White, "An Experimental Study of the Social Climate of Children's Groups," Chapter in *Child Behavior and Development* (edited by Barker. Kounin, and Wright), McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1943.

the hardboiled autocrat there was no group to which to belong, but merely a collection of individuals dominated by one person. Second, every person needs a feeling of individual importance and satisfaction from personal effort. The position of merely carrying out orders prevented any sense of personal accomplishment. The only status possible to the employee was to be recognized and possibly favored by the supervisor. The supervisor, by assuming the central role of total responsibility and credit, frustrated any efforts of the employees to gain a sense of personal achievement and worth.

Frustration leads to aggression, either toward the frustrating cause (the supervisor) or, if that is impossible, toward other employees or work. Such aggression was seen in backbiting, jealousies, irritability, inability to work with others. Frustration also breeds disinterest and indifference, feelings of "what's the use?", absenteeism and employee turnover.

Finally, under autocratic supervision the employee is made less secure. Security is determined by the extent to which the individual feels confidence in his ability to cope with new situations and the extent to which he can predict favorable conditions in the future. Neither of these conditions was present under autocratic supervision. Because no responsibility was released by the supervisor, employees had little opportunity to take initiative and grow in ability. The future, so far as employees could tell, was up to the whims and decisions of the supervisor. The result was insecurity, and insecurity usually produces nervous tension, egocentricity, aggressiveness toward others, inability to work with others.

II. ***Benevolent autocrat***. The pattern of causes for the actions of the group under the benevolent autocrat is similar to that of the hardboiled autocrat. The difference lies in the degree of frustration present. The needs for belongingness and personal achievement were secured in part through employees attaching themselves to the supervisor. As dependents, they shared in credit coming to the supervisor and they gained some sense of belongingness because of the paternalistic interest of the supervisor. Insecurity was less dominant in this group. So long as employees submitted to the subtly dominant leadership of the supervisor, they had security in his protection.

Perhaps the most dominant cause of the actions of this group

lay in the slowly regressive reaction to frustration. The frustration was never sufficiently dominant to produce active aggression. Rather, it produced a gradually developing regression to more childlike levels of dependency. Instead of advancing to greater responsibility and initiative, employees retrogressed toward submission, dependency, and inability to accept further responsibility. They approached a state where they could exist only under strong autocratic supervision.

III. ***Laissez-faire supervision***. The picture of frustration, failure and insecurity was greater for this group than for any other. Because there was no leadership, there was no group to which to belong. Without leadership there was no work goal and thus low production and no sense of personal achievement.

Adequate prediction of future conditions was impossible when there was no direction in the present. The only prediction possible was that the future would be as directionless and chaotic as the present, and this prediction could hardly produce security.

Frustration produced not only aggression in this group but also indifference and disinterest to the point of little work accomplishment. This laissez-faire leadership did not even result in a fair level of productivity.

IV. ***Democratic supervisor***. Only in this group did employees satisfy their basic personal needs. Because of the participation in decision-making, the understanding of the "whys" of directions, the sharing in group credit for achievement, here was a group to which the employee could belong. Because of these factors, each employee felt that his planning and efforts contributed importantly to group achievement. Security was relatively high under this type of supervision, for two reasons: Sharing in planning and decision-making gave employees a clearer picture of the importance and continuity of the work. Prediction was more realistic, less likely to be based on rumor and guess. Again, participation in planning increased the ability of the individuals concerned and enhanced their confidence that they could handle new or emergency situations.

The above analyses of various group patterns of action open up fairly clearly certain fundamental principles of efficient group productivity. These principles must be met if high production, high morale, ability to meet emergency situations without conflict and strain, and ability to adjust to new situations are to be secured. They are:

1. ***Adequate space of free movement***. Every employee needs to feel free to move and initiate action comfortably, within certain limits. If he is too greatly restricted, as in the case under autocratic supervision, when opportunity for initiative and responsibility are denied, he is frustrated and reacts with aggression or indifference and submissiveness. If the space in which he can move is too wide and uncircumscribed, he has no direction for his movement and is equally frustrated. Under laissez-faire leadership, with no direction or control of the employee, he is essentially less free than the employee under rigid autocratic control because he has no clear direction or goal toward which to move and consequently cannot move at all. Complete license is the most restrictive of all controls and the most frustrating. Thus it was that the laissez-faire group showed greatest aggressiveness and lethargy, and yielded lowest production.

Democratic leadership entails encouraging the employee to assume that responsibility of which he is capable, but no more. It entails making certain that the employee understands clearly the direction and goal of his efforts, and that he be given help where needed in re-sighting his goals and in evaluating his progress toward those goals. Then, and only then, will the employee have adequate space of free movement. Then, and only then, will he be free from frustration producing indifference or irritability toward others.

2. ***Basic human needs***. Every employee needs to feel that he belongs to a cohesive work group. Equally or more important, he needs to feel that, no matter what his contribution, it is important, and, consequently, he, as an individual, has meaning and importance to others. Opportunities for participation in planning and decision-making help to meet both these basic needs. Under autocratic control both these needs are blocked because the supervisor assumes all responsibility, initiative and credit. This is true no matter how benevolent or honey-coated the autocratic control may be. Under laissez-faire leadership there is no group to which to belong and no production achievement with which to be satisfied. Again, only democratic control meets these basic needs adequately.

3. ***Security***. Employee insecurity is one of the greatest fac-

tors in low productivity, tension, aggression and work problems. Individual security is essentially a feeling of confidence in personal ability to meet new situations and to predict favorable conditions in the future. Where supervisory control is autocratic, the only security possible to the employee is dependence upon the supervisor. Such dependence too frequently takes on an emotional tone and becomes more and more based on the likes and dislikes of the supervisor, a weak reed upon which to lean. Laissez-faire leadership provides no prediction and no employee growth. Democratic leadership provides security in that the employees not only participate in responsibilities and planning, thus increasing the degree of prediction of future events, but also develop through the process of participation, thus increasing their confidence in ability to cope with future problems.

4. ***Success***. Essentially, an individual feels successful only when he has attained a goal important to him after considerable effort. If the goal is arrived at too easily, no sense of success is experienced. Under autocratic leadership only the supervisor had success experiences, because he was the only one to assume responsibility. The employee merely carried out orders, and the result was not his success. Success is the best possible motive for more efficient production. Democratic leadership which enables the individual employee to participate makes it possible for the employee to feel success after accomplishment. . . .

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8
PROBLEM OF STATUS LEADERSHIP

(From Alice Miel, *Changing the Curriculum*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1946, pp. 156-162)

Elite Leadership—a Sterile Concept

. . . If we apply to the process of curriculum change some of the principles derived from our study of directed social change, it is quite clear that the theory of an elite is a sterile concept for educational leadership. The strongest indictment against such leadership is its failure to promote desirable growth on the part of the group being led. It is true that security of a kind is ensured for certain individuals. Some persons apparently enjoy playing the role of follower. They find their security in a release from responsibility. If a "superior" makes a certain decision and if the results are not successful, it gives many a teacher a comfortable feeling to be able to say to himself: "My principal wanted me to use this new method. I knew all the time it would not work. The parents really can't blame me if their children do not learn."

Some persons in schools actually go so far as to revel in a role of servility. It may be that they delight in abasing themselves before a beloved leader. It may be that they hold the traditional awe for certain positions in the school system and take it for granted that they should "respect" the persons who hold those positions.

The security that rests in release from responsibility for thinking for oneself, for showing initiative and taking an active part in the process of improving the product of one's efforts is a vicious type of security. Those who go too far in humbling themselves before others are likely to become neurotic if not psycho-

pathic. Others play the servile role willingly because they can in turn expect servility from others, a principal from teachers, teachers from children. For all persons reduced to this role, the result is a deplorable lack of confidence in one's own powers, which is exactly the opposite from the desired effect of a security that allows for growth.

Accomplishment of a kind is assured also under the theory of leadership by the elite. But accomplishment is more limited than it need be if the powers of all the group are freely utilized at all stages of the process from the conception of the goal toward which efforts will be directed through the steps of planning and working to reach the goal.

It would seem that the elite theory of leadership has little to offer in the way of guarantee-

ing a process of deliberate social change that meets the criteria we have selected. Let us turn, then, to a second theory of leadership now current to determine whether it possesses more desirable qualifications for our purpose.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Proponents of the [this] opposing theory of leadership . . . have much more faith in the people as a whole. Believers in democratic leadership have an entirely different conception of authority from that held by those who pin their faith on an elite. With the believers in an elite, authority is something one begins with; with the believers in democracy it is something one ends with. With the elite group, authority resides in persons by virtue of positions they hold; the view of the democratic group is that authority is distilled anew as persons in different capacities learn to work together and as responsibility of various kinds is placed on different shoulders. The democratic theory is that, in the last analysis, authority resides in the group, although it is delegated as occasion demands. The recognized leaders of the group are thus relieved of the necessity for "maintaining" and demonstrating their authority. Such persons can cease their struggles for jurisdiction and power and concentrate instead on offering a maximum of service. This should have a beneficial effect upon the human relations round about them.

Consistent with the democratic view of authority, the theory of democratic leadership consists of two parts. One has to do with the role of the so-called "status" leader—the president of an

organization, the chairman of a committee, the principal of a school, the teacher in a class, and so on. The other has to do with what is referred to as "shared" or "emerging" leadership. The two are so closely entwined that it is difficult to separate them even for purposes of discussion. Perhaps it will be easier to understand the unique functions of the democratic "status" leader if we first examine the concept of "shared" leadership.

Shared Leadership

Kilpatrick has given a classic description of the way in which leadership is shared or emerges from a group situation:[6]

> Many seem to think of leadership as if it were only or primarily fixed in advance, either by appointment or election or by special ability and preparation. On this basis those proceed to divide people into two fixed groups, leaders and followers. Such a view seems inadequate, quite denied by observable facts. Actual leadership as we see it comes mostly by emergency out of a social situation. A number of people talk freely about a matter of common concern. A proposes a plan of action. B successfully voices objection and criticism. C then proposes a modified plan. D, E, and F criticize certain features of this plan. The group at this point divides, seemingly unable to agree. G then comes forward with a new plan that combines the desired features and avoids the evils feared. The group agree. Here A, B, C, D, E, F, and G were successively leaders of the group. And each such act of leadership emerged out of the situation as it then appeared. This is democratic leadership and its success depends on—nay exactly is—an on-going process of education inherent in the situation.

Shared leadership works in other ways than as a feature of the process of group thinking. If the status leadership is truly evocative, the group will be organized for working in such a way that suitable opportunities for leadership will arise for every member of the group. Individuals and small groups may and should be entrusted with the responsibility of carrying into action policies and plans made by the group.

All this does not mean that one should never be a follower. It does mean that persons should become capable of alternately exercising leadership and serving under the leadership of an-

6 William H. Kilpatrick in Samuel Everett, Ed., *The Community School*, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1938), p. 20.

other. Only thus will individuals develop their utmost power and become truly socialized. Whether one is serving temporarily as a leader

or a follower, he should be aware of the problems facing the group. While he is acting in the capacity of follower, he should accept the leadership of another and cooperate actively. We have Lewin's authority for the soundness of this idea:

> Establishing democracy in a group implies an active education. The democratic follower has to learn to play a role which implies, among other points, a fair share of responsibility toward the group and a sensitivity to other people's feeling . . . .
>
> What holds for the education of democratic followers holds true also for the education of democratic leaders. In fact, it seems to be the same process through which persons learn to play either of these roles and it seems that *both roles must be learned if either one is to be played well*. (Italics mine. A. M.)

Functions of Democratic Status Leaders

Even though we have ct situation in which leadership is widely shared, there still seems to be a place for the status leader. This term does not imply that every person with leadership status is a good leader, but it does imply that there are important functions for persons who are placed in "leadership" positions in a group. . . . Group work seems to be facilitated by the presence of status leadership of the right kind. If elected or appointed leaders are to play their proper part in the process of deliberate social change, they must take special responsibility for the security, growth, and accomplishment of all participants in the process. Accordingly, appropriate functions for status leaders will be somewhat as follows: (1) improving the human relations within the group; (2) furnishing expertness along certain lines; (3) generating leadership in others; and (4) coordinating the efforts of others.

Setting a Desirable Tone for Human Relations. If the status leader is to set a desirable tone for the human relations within a group, it will be necessary for him to have a deep understanding and appreciation of people in general and of the particular persons with whom he is dealing. He will also have to have a great respect for the unique contributions which it is possible for each group member to make under favorable circumstances. His example in interpersonal relationships will have a strong influence on all of the group. Confidence, ease, poise, kindness, and thoughtfulness are just as contagious as are fear, insecurity, excitability, irritability, and callousness. Teachers are quick to sense these qualities in their leaders. Note this entry in a professional log:

> Our principal is beginning to get much better cooperation now than at first because he is much more relaxed and does not become excited over the least little thing.

It is particularly important for the leader to recognize and help the group to make allowances for differences in temperament and tempo on the part of various individuals. It takes patience and reasonableness on the part of all persons in the group to reach a deliberate consensus. Since few leaders have the opportunity to handpick their groups and since most groups contain their full quota of impatient and even irrational souls, it is necessary to learn how to cope with variations in temperament while yet helping all to acquire behavior patterns more congenial to group process.

The sensitive leader will also search for ways of enabling the more slow-spoken in the group to have access to the floor along with those who are quick to speak forth. For some minds more than others it is essential that the discussion be summarized and pointed up frequently.

For understanding all people and allowing sufficient time for growth, it might be well to ponder such a fact as the following: It takes between three and four weeks for an adult to learn the simple operation of turning a light on at the new location of the switch.[9]

Helping people to Learn Techniques of Cooperation. The status leader, more than anyone else, is responsible for helping others to learn techniques necessary for a high level of cooperation. Good intentions and an attitude of understanding and helpfulness are important attributes in status leaders and other members of cooperating groups, but they are not enough. There are too many groups expending a great deal of en-

7 Kurt Lewin, "Dynamics of Group Action," *Educational Leadership*, Vol. I, Jan., 1944, p. 199.

ergy yet accomplishing little of significance. There is so much to be done

9 John Franklin Donnelly. "It Takes Time to Learn," *Journal of the National Education Association*, Vol. XXX, Nov., 1941, p. 233.

by way of improving conditions in local communities, states, the nation, and the world that we must expect groups cooperating to effect social change to produce noticeable results. It is the status leader who is often able to help people to learn to plan and work together to reach goals they set for themselves. This leader must possess unusual expertness in techniques of group action. He will also be expected to be especially well equipped in certain specialized lines useful to the group. Insight into financial problems, special executive ability, skill in human relations, unusual background in the social sciences, ability to lead discussions, knowledge of statistical methods, skill in survey techniques, understanding of curriculum trends-expertness in one or more of these on the part of the leader will prove valuable to the group.

Helping to Develop Further Leadership. Perhaps the chief obligation of the status leader, if he is to play a role that is consistent with democratic theory, is that he be concerned primarily with developing power, responsibility, and leadership ability in others. This ability to generate more leadership does not come naturally to man. The temptation of those who have "natural" leadership ability is to be concerned only with keeping a following. Like all democratic techniques, evocative leadership is an art that has to be cultivated with all the help that the science of human development can offer.

If social change is to be controlled, it is essential that more leadership ability be generated in this way, for it is common knowledge that there is great lack of dependable leadership in our communities, large and small. There is much potential ability going untapped. We cannot afford the social waste of large stores of undeveloped leadership. We can and should "grow" democratic leaders. The best way in which to do so is to give more and more persons opportunities to exercise leadership. Leadership training institutes have been found helpful for making early attempts at exercising leadership more successful than they would otherwise be.

Serving as a Coordinator. Coordination of efforts of individuals and groups is an increasingly necessary function in a society which grows ever more complex and in which specialization is growing so rapidly. The ability to serve as a coordinator presupposes a good understanding of the role of organization and of ways of making organization functional. It also presupposes ability to help a group with strategy and timing of efforts. The

maintenance of a balance between gradualism and rapidity of change is the special responsibility of the status lender who is usually in a favored position for seeing the situation whole and can help the group judge when it should more forward. . .

9
HOW LARGE SHOULD A GROUP BE?

(From Herbert A. Thelen, "Principle of Least Group Size", *The School Review*, 57:3 : 141-147, March, 1949)

ACHIEVEMENT AND SOCIALIZATION SKILLS

. . . Fundamentally a group of people who are united in a common endeavor must be able to meet two kinds of skill requirements. First, there must be sufficient skill to practice and carry out the jobs required for achievement. Second, there must be social skills sufficient for the efforts of all individuals to be coordinated and complementary to one another rather than competitive and obstructing. The first type of skill requirement can be described from analysis of the problem or the common endeavor which brought the group together. Thus, there is need to get necessary information. There is need to assess initial condi-

tions which are to be improved. There is need to suggest plausible methods of solving the problem. There is need to evaluate the extent to which a given proposed strategy is successful and, if it is unsuccessful, to modify it before the failure has become a significant blocking factor. There is also need to practice distinct, separate, individual skills and to verbalize about them. In effect, there is need to develop basic tools at a level sufficiently functional to operate under a wide variety of conditions. We shall call such skills the *achievement skills*.

Achievement skills are practiced in a social milieu. In this milieu, certain processes operate and must be facilitated. Whether the achievement skills of individuals can be integrated into effective group progress—or even whether individual skills will have opportunity for use—will be determined by social-group processes. For example, adequate communication must be established; agreement must be reached concerning value systems; control must be exercised in the case of cooperative efforts, particularly in defining the limits of individual efforts; skills must be used by individuals to avoid frustrations which, otherwise, would block the group; group members must be able to distribute satisfactions; and the group must develop an expectancy of who will do what, so that it can predict consequences of individual behaviors.

The facilitation of those processes requires the exercise of a wide variety of what we might call socialization skills. These include skills such as resolving conflict through the integration of various points of view in a more basic concept; summarizing the positions of the group at intervals, so that the problems faced can be redefined; assessing and interpreting the limits of action possible to the group, so that solutions will be realistic; deciding on a level of aspiration which is reasonable and, along with it, determining the criteria by which success shall be judged; giving each person a sense of freedom sufficiently great that whatever he has of value to contribute can be given freely; and the like.

The quality of the participation, then, will depend on the conditions under which it occurs. We suggest that these conditions are describable as the pattern of skills which the group can bring to bear on its joint activities. In this pattern of skills there must be represented all the major skills required to facilitate the group processes mentioned above. Since no one individual, not even the teacher, can demonstrate all these skills adequately, it is probable that a number of persons should work together. The number of individuals required depends on the actual skills that analysis of the objectives and the social situation shows must be present to avoid frustration and make progress possible. In general, the principle would seem to be: *the size of group should be the smallest group in which it is possible to have represented at a functional level all the socialization and achievement skills required for the particular learning activity at hand*.

If the group is larger than is needed to fulfil these conditions,

there will be duplication of skills, with the result that there will be less need for individuals to assume their full responsibility to the group; their acts will have less significance and their motivation will, therefore, be hindered. Moreover, each person will have less opportunity than he might otherwise have for experimental interaction leading to desirable learning; that is, he will have an unnecessarily limited opportunity for firsthand interactive participation. If the group is smaller than is needed to fulfil the conditions described, there will be certain gaps and lack of competency, with frustration and loss of motivation.

APPLYING THE PRINCIPLE OF LEAST GROUP SIZE

Now can this principle be implemented? It is clear that the desired groupings would never be formed by counting off in fours or using some random procedure of that sort. Rather, there must be diagnosis of individual needs and abilities, followed by assignment of students to groups in such a way that each group contains the necessary range of skills with a minimum of duplication in different individuals. Great strides

have been made in diagnostic testing of some achievement skills, particularly in areas such as interpretation of data, development of foreign-language vocabulary, development of basic tool skills in arithmetic and English, planning of experiments, and the like. In these areas, at least, it is possible to assess fairly readily some of the particular strengths and weaknesses of students. It is more difficult to gain evidence about the skills of socialization or group-process facilitation, for these can be diagnosed only in a situation in which the students ore given sufficient responsibility and freedom to show where their social capabilities lie. At the present time the best wisdom for diagnosis appears to be either to set up special class activities, such as functioning without the teacher, in which the students have complete control (since when they are broken up into small subgroups, the students will have virtually complete control of the subgroup) or to proceed by trial and error, formulating the subgroup to insure the necessary range of achievement skills and then shifting personnel about from group to group as is required to get each group functioning effectively as a social instrument.

The systematic analysis of skill requirements of various kinds of learning tasks is yet to be made. At the present stage of our understanding, we may guess that: for a variety of types of skill

practice in which the major objective is essentially to condition the student to attach certain symbols to certain objects, the most appropriate size for the learning group is probably two persons; for such a task as creative thinking for the purpose of planning an experiment (in which a wide range of social skills is required to keep the problem in front of the group and to build on all the suggestions offered and to have a sufficient range of ideas to begin with), a somewhat larger group, perhaps from four to eight, may be found necessary. The size depends, of course, on the resources in the particular group in the particular school and culture under consideration. For such things as assessing the extent to which the class is "ready" for various types of activity, the necessary group might well include the entire class.

PROBLEMS IN ADMINISTERING THE PRINCIPLE

The outline presented above amounts to a plan on paper. The hypothesis appears to be promising because it calls for maximizing the opportunity for individual learning through intelligent management of the group milieu. The success of the plan, however, depends on adequate recognition and solution of a number of psychological problems, arising from differences in perceptions and in status needs of the various students and the teacher. Let us see, then, what problems experience shows are likely to arise in connection with the implementing of this plan. Many teachers have used subgroups in the past—that part of this proposal is not new. Let us examine some of the commonly stated difficulties in the use of subgroups, and then see to what extent the formulation presented here can lead to feasible and psychologically sound solutions to these problems.

Problem 1. Lack of direction in the subgroup.— Under the usual conditions of instruction, it is fairly often found that, when a class is divided into subgroups, the subgroups tend to be bored, to be aggressive and otherwise unable to work effectively. One reason for these conditions often is that the students do not know specifically what they are to do, either because the task is not sufficiently defined or because (even if the goals are clear) the processes for reaching them are not. In the latter case the problem is simply too tough for the students to solve with their present skills and insights. In the class discussion, which should include the teacher, the teacher's comments have a goal-directing quality. The things that he seizes on for comment, the kinds

of alternatives that he recognizes, the questions that he raises— all tend to set the specific goals for the situation and enable the students to see what kinds of comments and behaviors on their parts are appropriate and valued.

It is suggested, then, that either we must essentially reproduce the condition of the teacher's being in each group or we must find ways in which the group can obtain from itself the values usu-

ally invested in the teacher's presence. Three possible procedures can be recognized. First, one member of the group may act as a surrogate teacher, responsible for setting the goals of the group at each moment. This proposal is rejected because it sanctions a type of dependence on authority which will block not only group growth but individual initiation of personally meaningful activities. Second, the task can be outlined and clearly defined in advance so that the group, in effect, follows specific instructions drawn up by the class through discussion. This kind of procedure is applicable, for example, to drill activities. It implies that learning can be divided into relatively short homogeneous activities which can be guided by the same instructions from beginning to end. In the third procedure the group can be led to recognize that the setting of its own goal from moment to moment is a major problem of its own operation, and it can then be given assistance in dealing skilfully with this problem. Some combination of the last two proposals, with gradually increasing emphasis on the third, may be the most desirable solution.

Problem 2. Lack of feeling that subgroup work is important.—The work of subgroups, like the work of individuals, achieves importance through two mechanisms: (1) the belief that it influences the actions of others and the future actions of one's self and (2) the belief that it influences these actions in some way that seems to be significant. In broad outline, this statement suggests ways in which subgroup work can be seen to be consequential. The first is by showing, through evaluation procedures, that behaviors valued by the students have been developed or modified in desirable directions. The second lies in seeing that the products of the subgroup work are built upon by the class as a whole, are prerequisite for further planning by the entire group.

There are probably two kinds of criteria that can be applied to

the evaluation of the effectiveness of subgroup operation. First is the quality of some group product, such as a proposal to the class, the solution of a mathematical problem, or the planning for an experiment that all can perform. In this case the evaluation is prepared by the group. The second evaluative principle, however, is that, in subgroups operating without the active presence of a teacher, success means that all the students in the sub-group are brought to the level of skill originally possessed by the most skilful person. When a range of skills is considered, different persons in the group will provide the standard for different skills. Consequently there is required learning on the part of all. Of course, under conditions of really effective group work, everybody, including the most skilful, gains skill as the group works. But it may be that the criterion as stated is sufficient. Moreover, this statement of the criterion should make students feel that working together for the purpose of helping one another has dignity and value and should give the process adequate recognition by administrators.

The general principle is fairly clear that, whenever specific goals of the subgroup activity are visualized as first steps in an over-all strategy leading to major, more remote goals, then the subgroup work has consequences, since successful subgroup work is requisite for further progress. The essential requirement, then, would appear to be that the strategy of successive subgoal attainment be perceived clearly by the students as well as the teacher. Thus, the subgroup may be used for the purpose of clarifying suggestions that individuals wish to make to the class but do not feel "ready" to communicate; the subgroup may be used to furnish opportunity for expression of feelings leading to constructive criticisms which the class should consider in appraising its past conduct; the subgroups may be used to obtain a division of labor, with each group working on some one feature of a problem which must be combined with other features in a total worth-while product; the subgroup may be used to develop group strength through more rapid acceptance of individuals. In the latter case the specific goal is not an achievement goal per se but is rather a socialization goal which must be reached before the achievement goal can be adequately facilitated.

Problem 3. Shirking and dictation.—A common objection to working in subgroups is that there may be a tendency for one

person to do all the work and all the others to make practically no contribution. An approach to the solution can be made through the concept of group observer, either by a designated member of the group or by the group as a whole. As a concrete proposal we would suggest that each subgroup (after the teacher has prepared the group for the role) give some member the job of paying attention to the group process and making such suggestions as these:

> I wonder if all of us really see what Joe is driving at there.
>
> I feel that each of us may have a somewhat different idea as to what our problem really is at this point.
>
> We have all of us just agreed that thus and so seems to be the best thing to suggest to the class as a whole, but I wonder how strongly all of us really feel that way.
>
> It seems to me that Mary's ideas are very helpful but that her talking so much is keeping some of the other people from expressing their ideas. I wonder if this is right.

In effect, such comments, when made with the approval and understanding of the group, act as trial balloons. They may be ignored or shouted down. On the other hand, they may lead to discussion and identification of serious problems which, without them, would not reach the surface and which must be solved by the group if individuals are to work effectively in the group. The kinds of questions that an observer raises could be discussed in advance and the role restructured from time to time as the group becomes sensitive to certain points which it feels are most critical to safeguard in its operation.

Problem 4. The development of intergroup competition and hostility.—Focusing our thinking on skills alone is inadequate. There is the whole area of basic psychological needs, which may be expressed in extremely subtle behaviors, such as clique formation, or communicated almost subvocally or nonverbally in the group. If the members of the clique are bonded together in the joy of shared accomplishment, the clique may well be an educational spur of great importance and effectiveness. If, on the other hand, the clique represents a defensive coalition formed in the face of real or fancied hostility or aggression by the rest of

the class, then rivalry and intergroup aggression and considerable unhappiness is almost sure to ensue.

Problem 5. The classroom administrative problem.—The principle of least group size, as advocated and explained above, would probably require recasting of some of our perceptions of the function of the class as a whole. The class as s total working group should increase in effectiveness, rather than decrease, and this for two reasons: (1) The class meets as a whole only when the situation demands it—when this procedure is probably the most successful way of organizing effort. (2) The ego strength of the class as a whole should be considerably increased by the greater security and feeling of worth of each individual resulting from his greater success in a small group. The major change in perception, however, will lie in the recognition that probably the primary function of the class is to discuss and settle the question of how work shall he organized and individual efforts co-ordinated; the class as a whole acts as a clearing-house and a tester for ideas produced in the small groups. Suppose, for example, the class is involved in the problem of selecting its next unit of work. The class has been suggesting and briefly discussing, at a level which enables the pupils to visualize them, some alternatives as to what unit might be selected. At this point the class decides to break up into small groups to discuss the alternatives presented and to suggest new ones. The results of the small-group work are the suggestion of further alternatives or the clarification of alternatives already stated, to be taken back to the class as a whole for decision. The class as a whole then takes over the administrative function of organizing effort and also takes over the evaluative function of assessing what the implications of subgroup products are for the larger group . . .

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PART THREE

Groups and Group Methods in Curriculum Change

SECTION B
Helping Groups to Improve Their Operation

[Page 142:]

1
INTRODUCTION

In the last section, we considered various aspects of group operation—processes, structures, functional roles, etc. We saw how group productivity and growth depend upon the development of interrelated patterns of communication and interaction between members and upon the development of a discipline on the part of all members in methods of defining and solving problems. Now these developments take place, if conscious leadership is absent, only by chance. The group training problem is to help them occur by conscious planning and design. How is this training problem to be solved?

Put simply, it is solved only as members are brought to see their own group functioning in relation to unattained but attainable standards of more mature and productive group operation, as members are helped to analyze the barriers in their own behavior and relationships which block group growth, and as members make commitments to alter their behavior and relationships in a way to make more productive group thinking and action possible.

In other words, the improvement of a group is a process of social change in miniature. As the analysis of change in Part II indicated, strategic social change is accomplished only as the forces supporting and the forces resisting movement to a new level of behavior are analyzed and as ways of increasing supporting forces and reducing or eliminating resisting forces are planned and carried out. Group training is successful only as group members are helped to observe and diagnose their own ways of working and to plan strategy for improving their methods of operation. There is thus no magical panacea for effecting group involvement. Techniques and methods of group training are well-used only as they increase the ability of group members

to diagnose their own group pathologies and to plan appropriate “therapy" for treating these. It is important that the techniques and methods of group training described in this section be used in the way suggested above if "permanent" improvements in the groups in which they are used are to be effected.

The selection by Bradford, Lippitt and Benne on "Diagnosing Group Difficulties" reproduces a. committee meeting in a school setting and suggests how the difficulties of the committee can be diagnosed in a way to suggest appropriate improvements. Bradford's brief statement on "Principles of Group Training Method" suggests how groups may be helped to "experiment with their own procedures and to use their own group operation as a laboratory in increasing members' insights and skills in solving their problems of human relationship." The brief descriptions of the functions of "leader", "observer" and "recorder" are simplified statements concerning typical service roles which may be developed in groups. These statements are appropriate for duplication and distribution to conferences, committees or faculties who are in the early stages of trying to function democratically. The proposed "observer" guide is one of many possible kinds that might be used. This observer's guide should be adapted to fit the requirements of particular training situations. This same flexible use is recommended also for the post-meeting reaction blank described as "An Instrument for Improving Group Meetings".

The central importance of self-observation and self-evaluation in helping groups to increase their productivity has already been suggested. Jenkins' statement on "Group Self-Evaluation" should be helpful as a guide in introducing the

idea of self-evaluation into faculty and committee meetings. "A Closer Look at the Role of Group Observer" should help in planning training for group observers. The observer role, which can help greatly in group development when it is well done, can also increase resistance to improvement in groups if it is introduced or handled ineptly. The careful selection and training of group observers thus becomes an important link in the strategy of group improvement.

There is no royal road to managing "problem members" in groups—whether the problem behavior is one of "domination", "shyness" or "showing off". The selection on "Understanding the Behavior of Problem Members in Groups" should suggest

hypotheses in diagnosing particular cases. (McGregor's article in Part II should also be reread in this connection.) The treatment of "problem behavior" in group members is seldom wiser than the diagnosis on which it is based.

The selections on "Introducing the Group Idea to People" and "Complacency Shock and Retraining" offer suggestions for getting people to see the need for change in their ways of working in groups. Although the particular examples of retraining the perceptions of an audience were worked out in conference settings, the principles involved can be readily adapted to faculty meetings, committee sessions, or school workshops.

Groups need reliable information and expert advice if they are to think accurately and realistically. Yet the information and advice should be seen by the group as an aid to group thinking not as "the answers" which make thinking and adaptation to local situations unnecessary. Miel's treatment of "How to Use Experts and Consultants" offers principles for avoiding the misuse of consultants. Bradford's selection on "Training Consultants and Groups to Work Together" describes ways in which the "expert" can be helped to serve the group and the group to use the resources of the "expert" in close relation to the problems which the group is trying to solve. The statement of Lippitt and Radke on "What is Action Research?" suggests how groups can be helped to do their own fact-finding both as an aid to solving their problems and as a method of, re-educating the prejudices and stereotypes of group members.

Several of the selections already mentioned involve the use of role-playing in group training. Role-playing is a useful tool in furnishing groups with group material for observation and diagnosis and in providing practice opportunities for developing the skills of group leaders, observers, members, etc. The sample of role-playing with parallel comments by Lippitt, Zander, and Hendry illustrates the use of this educational method. Their summary comments help to systematize the principles of role-playing method (or "reality practice", as they call it). The fact that their example is from a classroom setting should not keep principals or supervisors from using the method where appropriate in the in-service training of teachers or parents. Bavelas extends our understanding of the uses of role-playing in "Some Comments on the Uses of Role-Playing". His comments on train

ing directors of role-playing sessions should also be read with care.

2
DIAGNOSING GROUP DIFFICULTIES

(From Leland P. Bradford, Kenneth D. Benne, and Ronald Lippitt, "The Promise Group Dynamics", *NEA Journal*, 87:6 : 350-52, September, 1948)

. . . Too little experimentation and study have been directed toward problems of group productivity—toward understanding cause and effect of the forces operating in the group from moment to moment (the dynamics of group action) and toward ways of helping groups become sensitive to group problems and competent to solve them.

Study of group dynamics, while it cannot give easy answers or magic panaceas for group ills,

can open the road to greater understanding of the many complex forces operating in group situations and thus to ultimate solutions of group problems. It can sensitize us to problems of group behavior whether in the classroom, staff meeting, professional organization, or community committee.

It can help us gain the instruments and skills for diagnosing group ills. It can help us become familiar with the many facets of leadership and membership as necessary group responsibilities. It can help us train ourselves and others as more productive group members and leaders. It can help us plan and carry on action research designed to bring improvement in our group situation. It can help us measure and evaluate our own progress in group growth.

Perhaps these statements can best be tested by observing and analyzing a group in action. Let's take a committee meeting in a junior high school as our illustration.

As you observe this group, look closely at such points as:

(1) What methods for reaching successful results were used by the groups? What was the effect of these methods or lack of methods?

(2) What effect did leader behavior have on the group?

(3) What kinds of member behavior were operating in the group?

(4) What were the forces helping or preventing the group from solving its problems?

(5) What can be done to help this group improve in its ability to reach good decisions?

One method used in the study of group dynamics is observation and analysis of the process used by a group in action and of the cause and effect of the forces operating. Our evaluation of this situation may test the effectiveness of this method.

Our committee is meeting in the late afternoon to consider the problem of homework. Present are Mr. Johnson, the principal; Miss Jones, English teacher and head of the department; Miss Martin, another English teacher; Mr. Brown, a social studies teacher; Miss Smith, mathematics; Mr. White, physical sciences. (Some of their thoughts and feelings, many of them unconscious, are given in italics within parentheses.)

Mr. Johnson: "(*Another meeting, I hope there's no bickering. I'm always glad when the meetings are finished.*) Parents are complaining again about homework. One man called to say his son carried home 13 pounds of books. Another feels he is doing the teaching teachers failed to do, Miss Jones, what happened when this problem was brought up at PTA?"

Miss Jones: "Many parents felt the school expects too much homework. Some thought this a lazy way of teaching. Others thought it unfair to have to help children do math problems because methods of working are different now. (*That was a swell*

chance to put Miss Smith in her place. She acts like she owns the school.) On the other hand, some parents thought that not enough homework was assigned, that students nowadays were spoiled in school. I'm glad to report these parents were in the minority."

Miss Smith: "The trouble with such a meeting is that the few parents with complaints speak so loudly that it looks as tho the whole PTA agrees. Most parents are indifferent as to how their children get along. When you try to get their cooperation, you get picayune complaints. If we want to lower our standards, it will be easy to eliminate home work. (*Jones will take any side just so she gets on top. She's determined to run this school.*)"

Mr. Brown: "(*Here we go again. Smithy needs some support before she gets steam-rollered by Jones.*) It's easy enough to talk about eliminating homework. In schools where children have a fine home background, work can be completed during school hours. But with the mixture of children we have, it's impossible to expect standards to be upheld without supplementary study after class hours."

Miss Jones: "Every time we talk about homework, someone brings up standards. Some teachers maintain high educational standards with-

out loading students down with extra homework at night. Good teaching makes children want to read so much that reading becomes pleasure and not homework. (*That shot told*.)"

Mr. White: "The confusion comes from the lack of basic policy on the part of the school administration."

Mr. Johnson: "We want everyone to give his opinion.

Miss Martin, what do you think?"

Miss Martin: "(*He must know that Jonesey pushes me around. She's making a grandstand play with her 'Good teachers don't need to assign homework' stuff. When she says in that sugar voice of hers, 'You don't have to read any of the books on this list but I know you'll all want to,' all her students know they had better read them or else. If I say what I really think about homework, Jonesey will make life even tougher next month. But I don't like to let Mr. Brown and Miss Smith down*.) Perhaps

part of the answer depends upon the subject studied. (*I hate Mr. Johnson for putting me on the spo*t.)"

Mr. Johnson: "Now that you have expressed your opinions, I wonder if we shouldn't vote on a final decision."

Miss Smith: "I don't think this problem can be solved by voting. We must get at the real issue of educational standards."

Mr. Johnson: "(*This meeting is getting too hot. If I don't stop it, we'll never have any peace in this school*.) I wonder if we shouldn't appoint a subcommittee to study the problem and report back to us."

Miss Jones: "(*I'd better not let him pull that now. If we can get him to go on, we may get him to decide on less homework, which will put Smith in her place*.) Don't you think, Mr. Johnson, we have most of the facts we need now? It seems to me we can come to a decision pretty soon."

Mr. Johnson: "I'm sure you'll all agree that the sensible conclusion is to expect each teacher to make every effort to reduce homework requirements to the minimum. We will, I am sure, also maintain the high educational standards our school has always tried to uphold. If you wish, I'll be glad to tell the parents, at the next PTA meeting, of our decision."

Miss Smith: "(*We lost this fight. We'll lay for Jones until we get a swell issue where we can push her around*.)"

This committee meeting was not too unusual in that the supposed problem to be discussed became the football used by two opposing sides in their efforts to gain dominance. Homework was merely the trigger which set off a series of conflicting emotions.

Most of these aggressive reactions were directed within the group. But many were projected toward parents, children, school administration, and the community. The speed with which the committee moved toward emotional reactions was symptomatic of problems of human relations and individual insecurity in school and community.

Experimental findings indicate that groups can grow in their ability to work efficiently; to handle successfully emotional problems within the group; to bring out and use potential member contributions; to absorb such shock to the group as loss of a

member, inclusion of new people, conflict over leadership, and incompetent or group-dominating leadership; to be objective about group problems; and to seek continuous improvement in group efficiency.

The fact of group development implies a continuum from group immaturity to maturity. On such a scale this committee would find itself much closer to the point of group immaturity. The extent of this immaturity may be seen by looking at the group in terms of our previous questions.

(1) What methods for reaching successful results were used by the group?

(a) The group had no clear picture of the goal to be reached nor was an attempt made to find one.

Lack of a group goal released individual competitive and emotional urges of members, and led them immediately away from the problem.

Any mature group spends the necessary time in determining clearly the common goal. The responsibility of leadership is that of making a group aware of its need to set goals before proceeding further and of helping the group find such goals. Final responsibility lies with the group as a whole.

(b) The group had no clear picture of the boundaries within which it should operate. What, for example, were its decision-making responsibilities? Would a decision by the group settle the problem for parents?

(c) The committee failed to consider and decide upon methods to be used in working as a group. Almost universally group members assume that, because they have learned to think as individuals, they know how to think together as a group.

Successful group decision-making and action calls for careful and continuous attention to problems of working as a group, to the process by which groups work effectively, and to ways by which groups continue to develop efficiency.

Growth in group efficiency will never take place by expecting the leader to tell what should be done and how. The process of

group thinking is so complex that it must be the responsibility of all members.

(2) What effect did leader behavior have on the group?

Mr. Johnson, the principal, failed to help the group to determine a clear goal or to delineate the problem. He did not help the committee to see realistically what the boundaries to its decision were or how they would involve others in any final decision-action. He did nothing to help the group develop a process by which it could work as a group.

The things he did affected the group also. His opening statement carried a faint undertone of blame on the teachers for the complaints from parents. This set up defensiveness.

His laissez-faire leadership gave the aggressions among committee members free play. He even added to the emotional turmoil by putting. Miss Martin on the spot. The result for her was antagonism toward Mr. Johnson and an innocuous contribution.

After Mr. Johnson became worried about the aggression within the group, his behavior vacillated between trying to keep peace at any price and to help one group win.

His first effort in a new direction was to try to clamp down thru suggesting a vote.

When this was vetoed he moved to the second standard technic of leaders in difficulty by suggesting a subcommittee in an effort to postpone the need to arrive at a decision. The assumption is that success is gained if a subcommittee continues the pattern of ineptitude and failure evidenced in the larger group.

Mr. Johnson then tried the frequent technic of assumption of consensus. He said, without regard for truth, "I'm sure you'll all agree that --- ". Such a move indicates that the leader has thrown his lot with one side. He offers the other side the alternative of yielding to this decision or of continuing the fight.

Mr. Johnson's efforts to assume leadership responsibilities were as disastrous as his failures to act.

(3) What kinds of member behavior were operating in the group?

If any group members in the beginning had a sense of responsibility for good group functioning, it was quickly eliminated by the freeing of forces of aggression. Before very long each member felt that he faced the desperate need to fight for himself.

There was little effort to assume the many necessary member responsibilities for successful group functioning. When the group atmosphere encourages "every man for himself," there is little hope that the necessary member roles supporting, maintaining and advancing the group will appear.

(4) What were the forces helping or preventing the group from solving its problem?

Many of the forces have already been ana-

lyzed. Others were obviously present, such as relation of school to community, relationships among teachers and between Mr. Johnson and the superintendent's office, the history of failure or success of previous school committees and the consequent attitude toward committees in general, and the general security or insecurity of teachers in the community.

Each of these forces would need to be assessed in terms of its strength, importance, and possibility of change in the direction of improving the committee's work.

(5) What can be done to help this group improve in its effectiveness to reach good decisions?

(a) All members of the group have concern for the school and for their teaching program. They are potentially good group members, probably very ready for help. Previous observations as to their inadequacy as leader and members in no sense condemned them as persons but merely pointed out what happens when people enter into situations demanding more than their training and skills provide.

(b) Before much change will take place these teachers will need to raise their sights as to what groups can really accomplish.

A demonstration, during a brief conference, showing two stages of group maturity and efficiency might sensitize this group to the major problem areas in group functioning and to the most obvious symptoms of group illness.

(c) Such a demonstration might well encourage analysis of group problems faced. Why does interpersonal conflict grow so rapidly? Why can't we decide on the problem we all face and then stick to it? Why do our meetings get worse instead of better? What should each of us do to help the group get somewhere? Where are the places we trip up?

As a group thought thru these problems, greater insights would be gained. Gradually, working processes leading toward group efficiency would be likely to evolve.

(d) The group could very readily learn to establish an observer role. The observer, like the leader, serves the group.

He watches the way the group works and reports toward the end of the meeting what he has seen in order to stimulate the group to evaluate its progress and process. . .

3
PRINCIPLES OF GROUP TRAINING METHOD

(From Leland P. Bradford, "Human Relations Training", *The Group*, 10:2 : 5-6, January, 1948)

. . . Both in the area of group leadership and in the area of interpersonal relations skills, trainees should be brought as quickly as possible to realize that there is no successful simple set of techniques in human relations. The training methods themselves, while illustrating ways of analyzing and solving human relations and training problems, should be clearly shown to go much more deeply than the simple 'bag of tricks' level.

. . . Skill-practice in situations simulating back home reality but which are yet free from the possibility of trauma from real

failure, should be a basis of the training design. Such skill practice, however, should be in terms of the complexity of individual and group relational situations and not on the level of mere technique practice. Practice should, of necessity, be in the areas of developing skills in diagnosis, prognosis and therapy as well as in skills of detecting symptoms of change, tension, disintegration, etc., in individual and group relations. Merely to give facts about human relations is hardly successful training or education.

. . . A laboratory method is probably the most effective way of bringing about learning in these areas. There is need to train in analysis, planning and evaluation as well as in action skill. But analysis would need to be clearly differentiated from dissection because individual and group

relations are dynamic and not static, living and not dead. While analysis of case studies would not be ruled out, typically the laboratory study should be of the ongoing actions of a functioning group. No better group for laboratory study could be used than the learning group itself, since the study of the group by the group is not necessarily any less objective and accurate than the study of a separate group. In the area of human relations, individual and group process becomes the curriculum . . .

. . . Effective training should entail basic changes in the individuals being trained. Such basic changes do not always come painlessly and easily. Training methods must be planned with a flexibility to permit psychological space for individual struggle and growth.

. . . Training should be sufficiently comprehensive to include skills, information, processes and ideology.

. . . No training is thoroughly successful that does not consider and arrange, in one way or another, for assistance to the learner as long as it is necessary.

. . .Training should be in reference to back home problems. It should be based on a census of back home problems and skill needs as seen by trainees.

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4
THE SERVICE ROLES WHICH GROUPS REQUIRE

(From materials developed for use in the University of Illinois Lay-Professional Conferences on Education)

(a) THE WORK OF THE DISCUSSION GROUP LEADER

It is important that the leader see himself as a member of the group with certain special functions to perform, not as someone controlling the group from the outside, as someone who has all the answers to tell to the group, as a person of special prestige whose ideas the group should not criticize, etc. His primary job is to help the group select the problems which it as a group wants to discuss and do the most productive job of solving these as a group which it can do in the time available. This, of course, requires judgment by the leader as to what the group requires for its best thinking from time to time and as to whether he should try to meet these requirements himself or to get some member of the group to help meet them. In this conference, leadership in the small groups has been made into a team job. A recorder of the content of the discussion and an observer of the procedures of the group have been provided in each group. The leader-chairman should see that the recorder is used to help the group summarize and pull together its thinking from time to time. The leader should also see that the observer is used to help the group look objectively at its procedures and evaluate these when its procedures are not working well. If leader, observer and recorder can see their special jobs as part of a team job in helping their group grow and produce as well as possible, each will feel more secure in his own job and will work together rather than at cross purposes.

What, more specifically, can be said about the job of the leader-chairman?

1. In getting group discussion started, the leader may wish to conduct a problem "census," finding what the priority problems of different members are. The leader may wish to write suggestions of problems to be discussed on the blackboard.
2. A long list of problems may be discouraging to a group with only a short time for discussion. Hence, the next step is to boil down the problems presented where these cover similar areas. The leader should make suggestions as to how they might be boiled down into a smaller number. The group should be encouraged to help.
3. It is up to the group then to decide which of the redefined problems it wants to start with and which number it wants to deal with in the time available. A vote may be taken if no universal agreement exists in the group. The leader should help the group to be realistic about its

hopes in relation to the limited time available.

4. As discussion goes on, differences of opinion will occur in the group. Such conflict is good if the group tries to discuss their differences objectively and to reach as much agreement as possible. The lender can help here by trying to state the difference clearly, by being impartial in recognizing the contributions of ”both sides,” and by attempting to find a middle ground to which “both sides” can agree.

5. From time to time a group may wander from their agreed upon plan. It is up to the leader to remind the group that they have wandered and to ask them to decide whether they want to hold their original goals. They may find the new track more important but, if so, they should know that they are in effect making a new plan.

6. If the group gets bogged down, the leader may wish to ask the observer to comment on “why” and to suggest how they might get out of their difficulty. It is up to the group to decide whether to accept the observer’s suggestions.

7. A group needs a summary of its thinking from time to time—when it has finished one problem and is ready to move on, when a session is being concluded, when there is some confusion as to “just what have we been discussing?", etc. The

leader may ask the recorder to summarize briefly at such times and the group to "correct" and supplement the summary.

8. The leader has the duty of reminding the group at intervals of the time limits within which they are working. He should do this in a way not to make them anxious and strained but in a way to encourage them to "keep on the ball."

9. At all times the leader tries to act so that the group does its best thinking about its own problems. If the group works well, group conclusions are usually better than those which the leader or one member could formulate.

10. The leader tries to help the group use the recorder and the observer to its own best advantage.

(b) THE WORK OF THE GROUP RECORDER

The work of the recorder is to keep a running record of the content of the discussion so that, at any time, he can report back to the group what has been discussed. In following such a procedure the recorder's job is somewhat different from the job of a formal "secretary" of an organization in that the recorder not only keeps a record of formal action taken but, what is more important, records the development of the discussion itself. It may be noted that frequently no motions are made or passed during several hours of very fruitful problem-centered discussion. His job is entirely different from that of a "stenographer," for he selects from what is said and organizes it for use by the small group and by the whole conference.

These suggestions may be of help to the recorder:

1. The names of those making various contributions need not be recorded. In fact, if they are, the effect may be to focus too much attention on who said something when the important matter is what was said, and how it relates to the group problem.

2. The recorder should make notes of the issues on which group opinion appeared to be divided and be ready to call these issues to the attention of the group. He should not assume

that because some member or the leader made a statement that the group agrees.

3. The recorder should note the points of agreement and report these to the group in his summarizing, in order that the group as a whole may check his judgment.

4. The recorder should report what was said about each problem instead of just listing the topics discussed. Examples:

Not very useful Record

"We then discussed the problem of how opportunities for Iay-professional cooperation could be increased in a community. We listed and talked about parent-teachers associations, parents in curriculum committees, open meetings of the board of education, etc. . ."

Helpful Record

"The group turned to a discussion of how opportunities for lay-professional cooperation could be increased in a community. considerable attention was given to the PTA in this connection. The whole group agreed that PTA's generally reach only a limited number of parents. Those parents who are already close to the school program come. Others tend not to. The group was not agreed that anything could be done to remedy this situation. Some felt that some parents just aren't interested in their children's welfare or won't see the many problems that exist and need attention. Others argued that we either haven't made an effort to reach "apathetic" parents or, where we have tried, our techniques often weren't good enough. A sampling survey of school-home problems, for example, might give an indication of problems all parents are concerned to study and discuss and furnish ideas for programs which would bring more parents out. . . "

5. It is often desirable for the recorder to raise questions with the group in making his report. Such questioning statements as these may be used, "I'm not sure I got this point. . ." "Was this what the group had in mind?. . ."

6. The recorder should not feel obliged to report every person's contributions or every point made. Only those points which

were of some importance in developing the topic, or on which there was important cleavage or agreement within the group, or which have significance for the whole conference, should be reported,

7. Since the group may want to change direction at any time, the recorder should be ready to summarize the group activities when asked to do so.

8. The recorder is often asked by the chairman or the group to make a comprehensive report of the discussion at the close of the session.

GUIDE FOR RECORDERS (Summary)

1. Keep track of major contributions to the discussion.

a. Points upon which group agreed or on which formal action was taken.

b. Points upon which there was cleavage of opinion in the group.

c. Points where the recorder is not sure of the group opinions.

d. Points mentioned, but not discussed which the group may wish to consider later.

2. Report to the group—what was discussed and concluded rather than merely what the discussion was about.

3. Be ready to report at any time and to make an inclusive report at the end of the session.

4. Ask for suggestions from the group as to how the recorder's work may be made more helpful.

(c) THE WORK OF THE GROUP OBSERVER

Members of a group cannot all watch how the group is working all of the time. They are too busy discussing and thinking about the topic or problem of the day. Yet the group needs to know how well it is working in order to improve as a group and in order to learn more about the skills needed by group members and leaders generally. The observer is a member of the group who takes responsibility for watching how the group works as it

works and interpreting what he sees; what the leader does and what happens as a result; what different members do, why they do it, and its effects on the group; how well the group stays on the problem, etc. The observer keeps a record of what he observes and feeds his observations into the discussion by the group of how well it has worked and how it might work more efficiently next time. This discussion by the group is sometimes called an evaluation session.

1. The observer tries to watch what actually happens in the most unprejudiced way possible.

2. He jots down his observations so he won't forget them. A simple guide concerning things to observe is often helpful here.

3. When the observer reports to the group what he has observed, he doesn't talk down to the group or tell the group what it should have done. His job is to raise questions about what happened so the group can discuss why and decide what should be done about this kind of happening next time.

4. The observer doesn't make a long speech about what he has observed. He picks out what he thinks are the few most important things that have happened and which the group needs and is ready to discuss further.

5. Often a short evaluation session is held during the last few minutes of a meeting. However, when the discussion bogs down and the group needs help in getting started again, the observer may make suggestions at any time during a meeting.

6. The observer works as part of a service team of which the leader and the recorder are the other parts. The aim is for all members of this team to work together in helping their group to do the best thinking possible.

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5
AN INSTRUMENT FOR IMPROVING GROUP MEETINGS

(From Ronald Lippitt, "Group Self-Analysis of Productivity in the Work Conference", *Adult Education Bulletin*, 12 :3 : 77-78, February, 1948)

. . . Practically all of us are happy to have an opportunity to "get off our chests" our feelings and reactions about meetings we participate in. Usually this goes on informally in the lobby or the cloakroom. If it is channelized into an opportunity for regular anonymous suggestions and ratings at the end of each work-group meeting, it not only provides a constructive opportunity for the expression of these feelings but also serves as a major guidance to the group discussion leader and to the group as a whole when all the ideas are put together and looked at as a basis for improving the productivity of the next meetings. Below is a typical post-meeting suggestion slip used in a number of conferences.

End-of-Meeting Suggestion Slip

What did you think of this meeting? Please be frank. Your comments can contribute a great deal both to the conference and the profession. Our group observers will pool all the suggestions and summarize them for us.

1. How did you feel about this meeting? (Check)
   No good Mediocre All right Good Excellent
2. What were the weaknesses?
3. What were the strong points?

4. What improvements would you suggest in the operations of the next meeting?

(Do Not Sign Your Name)

Such post-meeting slips are collected by the observer, tabulated for each meeting, and reported back to the group. . . .

6
GROUP SELF-EVALUATION

(From David H. Jenkins, "Feedback and Group Self-Evaluation", *The Journal of Social Issues*, 4:2 : 50-60, Spring, 1948)

A group discussion is an ongoing process. It is the group mechanism by which the raw materials of subject matter, stated problem, information, and suggestion are integrated, sorted, and refined so as to produce an end product of solution, decision, or learning. As was brought out in the Basic Skill Training Groups, the efficiency of the mechanism has a direct effect on the time that is required to produce the result and also upon the quality of the result. We wish to interest ourselves here in the mechanism, or process of discussion which for purposes of clear analysis needs to be kept separate from the content, or subject matter of the discussion; *what* is being discussed is different from the *how* it is discussed. An efficient mechanism is usable for a wide range of subject matters.

As an ongoing process the group discussion has three qualities: it has a direction toward a goal, rate of progress, and at a given moment, a position or location on the path toward its goal.

It is obvious, of course, in our common experiences with groups, that one or more of these qualities may be neither clearly stated, nor even implicit in the group behavior. Each of us has undoubtedly participated in groups where either the direction of the group was undefined or where, during a discussion, the group attempted to go in several directions simultaneously. But in a productive discussion group there is a clear direction and a goal, and knowledge of both the rate of progress and of the present position of the group.

Frequently members of a group are not aware of the nature of the difficulties in the mechanism of discussion. They may become aggressive toward each other or escape from the topic through apathy and boredom. They may have a vague feeling that "we aren't getting anywhere", or a concern over "what are we talking about, anyway?", but they are unable to put their finger on the difficulties at hand. There is the feeling of inefficiency and frustration, but the group lacks the proper information, perspective, and diagnostic skill which is necessary in order to identify the reasons for the inefficiency and to determine some methods for reducing it.

Several different kinds of information about itself are required by a group before changes in its own behavior are possible.

1. Do we have a direction toward a goal? How successful have we been in keeping oriented in that direction, staying on the subject, not "wandering off course"?
2. Where are we now located in our discussion? Are we in the stage of diagnosing the problem, in the stage of suggesting solutions, or are we ready for final decisions?
3. What has been our rate of progress? Are we actually moving ahead in our discussion at a reasonable or efficient rate, or have we "bogged down"?
4. Are we applying our total group potential, the creative and analytic abilities of all, our members, to our problem or are we operating with "half of our furnaces banked"?
6. Are we making any improvement in our ability to work together more efficiently?

Only when the group secures information about itself in answer to these questions does it have a basis on which to make the necessary adjustments to improve its efficiency. Until then

it cannot recognize clearly the need to act, nor the nature of the change which is demanded.

Most groups, however, have not set up for themselves any mechanism for the "feedback" of this kind of information into the discussion process-no procedure by which the group can become aware of its own difficulties, the reasons for those difficulties, and the corrections which are necessary. In these groups we have an ongoing process which, by its lack of self-correcting (or self-improving) devices, continues at an unnecessarily low level of productivity. Much of the criticism directed at the "committee method" seems based on the assumption that low productivity is inherent in the group method.

The groups at Bethel, feeling that they had not yet tapped the creative resources in the group approach to problems, were concerned with the improvement of their own efficiency. They had in their groups a mechanism for the "feedback" of information to the members about their own method of operation. This mechanism was the group training observer, or group productivity observer. He served as the feedback and self-correcting device for the group along with the group self-evaluation, the general discussion about the meaning of the observer's comments.

By using the productivity observer, the group increases rather than reduces its own responsibility for analyzing itself and planning for changes and improvements. From the information and stimulation supplied by the comments of the observer, the group spends time examining *how* it has performed as a group. Let us look briefly at a portion of a feedback and evaluation session

before we describe the nature of the observer's job and the group self-evaluation process.

The meeting, which is the third one for this group, has been in session for about two hours. It is now about; fifteen minutes before the adjournment.

Leader: Well, let's stop and take a few minutes to look at our meeting today. Let's hear from our observer first and then we will all, share our ideas. Remember that we will want to see whether we felt as our observer did about what happened here, but we will also want to analyze for ourselves why we did what we did and perhaps spend time on suggesting changes which we may want to make in our procedure. Go ahead, Joe.

Observer: I felt our meeting was pretty fair today. According to my tabulations I find that all of us took some part in the discussion for the first time since we started these meetings. One of the things which seemed important today happened when the leader tried to get the group to pull out some conclusions from the discussion we had been having. He suggested, about three times I think, that perhaps we should summarize our ideas. Each time, however, the group continued talking about the specific problems. I felt that we needed to move ahead at that point, but for some reason we didn't seem ready. How did the rest of you feel about it? (*Note the use of objective data at the beginning and with approving comments. Then come the more critical comments, given as a leader problem, augmented by the observer's own feelings, and then referred to the group*.)

Member A: It seemed to me that we were not quite ready to draw conclusions, there were so many details to clear up. (*Compulsion for details of content causes rejection of the point about process*.)

Member B: There were a lot of details, but perhaps we needed to stop and look where we were going once in a while, and see where we'd been. We were so busy looking at the trees today, I'm wondering if we didn't forget which part of the forest we were supposed to be in. (*Goal-oriented member supports and amplifies observer's suggestion*.)

Member C: Frankly, I think now that I was so interested in the things we were talking about I just forget that we needed to reach some conclusions. I just didn't realize what the leader was trying to do. (*Member shares his own feelings with the group and accepts personal responsibility*.)

Leader: At the time, I know, I felt a little lost, I was wondering to myself, "What can I do to get us to move ahead. We are not making the progress we should because we have bogged down in details". Is there something we could have done differently to avoid this? (*Leader shares his feelings of difficulty with group-doesn't assume omnipotence*.)

Member B: Perhaps it would have been better if we had decided before we started our discussion what we were going to do. Then, if one of our aims was to come out with some conclusions by the end of the meeting, we would have wanted the leader, or anyone for that matter, to point it out to us when we

were bogging down, We could do something about it that way. (*Members can be creative, make positive suggestions*.)

Other suggestions were made with the group deciding that they needed to plan an agenda for each meeting so they would know what they were to accomplish during that session. The evaluation continues:

Observer: One other point which might be worth mentioning: it seemed that during the time we were trying to suggest some solutions to the problems two or three of us seemed to want to criticize the idea immediately. We seemed impatient to tear a new idea apart. I made a little record of how many times new ideas were followed by critical comments. Out of seven suggestions that were made, six of them were criticized immediately. B.J. criticized four of them and J.R. criticized the remaining two. Right after that the group seemed to run out of suggestions for solutions. I was wondering at the time if we might not have gotten more ideas, or perhaps better ones, if we had held our critical comments until after most of our ideas about solutions were on the blackboard. (*Criticism of indi-*

viduals by using objective data with suggestions for alternative methods.)

J.R.: I guess you're right. I have been so in the habit of reacting to a new idea critically I fail to recognize that it may not be the most helpful procedure. I never was really conscious, until now you mention it, of what effect the criticism could have on the discussion. (*Member insight through being made aware of his own behavior*.)

B.J.: It sounds to me, though, that your idea would waste lots of time. Why not dispose of the ideas as they come? (*Member needs further analysis of problems*.)

The entire group then spends several minutes analyzing the effects of improperly timed criticism on their own contribution to the group, with the other members helping the resistant member to see the implications of the problem.

THE PRODUCTIVITY OBSERVER

With this description as a background, let us turn to the analysis of the role of the productivity observer.

The productivity observer is a member of the group who is assigned a special responsibility in the same manner as the recording secretary or the leader is given a special task. His function is to watch the group during their discussion and then feed back to the group his ideas about what happened during their discussion. In order to give his full attention to the behavior of the group the observer does not participate in the general discussion. The assumption is, of course, that even though the group is deprived of the contributions of one of its members during the problem-centered discussion, the total productivity of the group can be profitably increased through utilizing this member as an observer. Sometimes groups bring in a specially trained person to serve as their observer, especially to get the observer role started and adequately identified. This permits the total group to participate in the problem discussion. Frequently the observer job is rotated among the members of the group to give each a chance for the experience and to keep no one from contributing to the general subject matter which is discussed from meeting to meeting.

Non-participation of the observer is necessary to keep him from thinking about the subject matter rather than about the behavior of the group. To become involved in what is being said prevents focusing on the questions of how it is being said, its relation to the direction of the discussion, etc. The observer needs to maintain his vantage point of objectivity at almost any cost, yet without losing his feeling of membership in the group.

The attention of the observer may be directed at a variety of behavior in the group. He notes the general level of motivation, the general work atmosphere of the group, the orientation of the group, leadership techniques, and other factors which affect productivity. Here is an example of the kind of observation sheet used in several recent discussion groups with some sample notes of the kind an observer makes.

GROUP DISCUSSION OBSERVATION

A. Direction and Orientation

1. How far did we get? *Covered only half of agenda. Spent too much time on details.*
2. To what extent did we understand what we are trying to do? *Several members were not clear on goals. Some continual disagreements on purposes.*
3. To what extent did we understand how we are trying to do

4. To what extent were we stymied by lack of information? *None. Relevant information at hand in group.*

B. Motivation and Unity

1. Were all of us equally interested in what we are trying to do? *No. Two or three not sure problem is worth the time.*
2. Was interest maintained or did it lag? *Slowed down during time leader made lengthy contribution.*
3. To what extent did the group feel united by a

common purpose? *Rather low feelings of any unity. Two or three not feeling united with group at all.*

4. To what extent were we able to subordinate individual interests to the common goal? *Antagonisms between R.K. and L.M. outside of group tended to show up here.*

C. Atmosphere

1. What was the general atmosphere of the group?

(a) Formal or informal? *Fairly formal, although some first names used.*
(b) Permissive or inhibited? *Fairly permissive except for period after leader lectured.*
(c) Cooperative or competitive? *Little competition, some positive evidence of cooperative feelings.*
(d) Friendly or hostile? *Lukewarm friendly.*

Observations on the contributions of individual members of the group:

A. Contributions of members

1. Was participation general or lopsided? *All participated at least to some extent. Some monopolization by R.C. and W.U.*
2. Were contributions on the beam or off at a tangent? *Hard to determine as goals not clear.*
3, Did contributions indicate that those who made them were listening carefully to what others in the group had to say? *At points of higher interest in the discussion some were not listening to others.*
4. Were contributions factual and problem-centered or were the contributors unable to rise above their preconceived notions and emotionally held points of view? *Some tendency toward bias, especially during first hour.*

B. Contributions of Special Members of the group

1. How well did special members serve the group?
(a) Leader: *A little tendency to dominate, but catches himself before group reacts negatively. Tried unsuccessfully to get group to draw conclusions.*
(b) Recorder: *Asked for clarification occasionally. This seemed to help group to clarify for itself.*
(c) Resource person: *None in group today.*

Other observations:
J.R. and B.J. criticized solutions while they were being suggested. Is that why so few suggestions came out?

Although an alert, untrained observer can sometimes be sensitive to many of the obvious difficulties in the group, training can greatly increase the value of the observer. Especially is this true in the ability of the observer to detect the causes or relationships which produce the symptoms which he notices. For example, there may be no apparent reason for the sharp remark one member passed to another unless one recalls that earlier in the meeting the second member had criticized unnecessarily one of the contributions of the first member. There may have been some antipathy that developed which had not yet been resolved, With improved sensitivity the observer becomes increasingly valuable to the group in helping them go behind the symptoms and recognize the causes of the difficulty.

A group need not assume that lack of a trained observer prohibits use of this technique for improvement, for the tactful, objective member who is alert to problems of interpersonal relations can function satisfactorily in this role. Increased sensitivity will undoubtedly come with continued experience. The responsibility for self-analysis to which the group commits itself by establishing the role of group productivity observer extends to include assistance to the untrained observer to help him do the best job possible for the group . . .

The observer is a resource which is available to the group at any time, Sometimes groups set aside ten to fifteen minutes at the end of each meeting to discuss their progress and skill with the observer. Sometimes effective use is made of the observer by calling for his help at a crucial or difficult point in the discussion, using his analysis to assist in untangling the difficulty in which the group finds itself. Only infrequently does the group spend

any large amount of time on this kind of discussion, and then only as it is felt to be profitable.

Not only does the observer serve a useful role for the group as a whole, he also becomes a "teammate" working closely with the leader of

the group. The leader-observer team often spends time together outside of the group session sharing reactions about the meetings and planning together the procedures and techniques for the future. A special value of this relationship is that the observer can serve as the "eyes" for the leader who, because of his own responsibility for the discussion, is unable to attend as closely to the difficulties in the group process and to be as objective in his own feelings.

FEEDBACK

The first experience of the group with "feedback" of information from the observer is relatively crucial and requires skill by the observer in presenting his comments. As they are not generally accustomed to put themselves voluntarily into a situation where they might be criticized, the members tend to be a little defensive in their feelings even though no points are actually made about them as persons. With experience they find that the observer's comments. are valuable information and need not cause self-consciousness.

To reduce the resistance of the group, the observer can use several techniques. If he and the leader have developed the desired "team" relationship the observer's first comments, and perhaps the majority of his comments in the first session or so, will be about the techniques of the leader. Because of his experience and understanding the leader will be able to accept these comments objectively and easily and to serve as an example for the group to copy in their own reactions to the observer. "If these comments don't upset the leader, who is in a more crucial position than I, I guess my feelings of insecurity are unnecessary." Later comments about the behavior of the members may be more comfortably received.

The observer frequently phrases his comments about data which he has tabulated or observations he has made in the form of tentative hypotheses or expressions of his feelings and then asks the group if they were feeling the same way. In our description we saw how the observer used this technique. Presenting his observations and especially his interpretations in this tentative manner permits the group to reject them without difficulty if the members are not yet emotionally ready to accept them. The observer can just be "in error" and he can "admit it" at this point with a minimum of damage being done to the relationship.

The skilled observer is alert to the maturity of the group. He is aware of the symptoms of change and the increased capacity to handle conflicts. It may be necessary for the observer to "forget" to mention a serious conflict in the group for several meetings because the group will not have had, in the early meetings, opportunity to develop sufficient cohesiveness to absorb the shock of a discussion likely to arouse strong emotions. By the later meetings they will have gained sufficient experience in group self-evaluation so that they can approach such a problem more objectively.

An untrained observer sometimes feels that he must spend a major part of his time commenting on the "nice" things he observed in the group, and give only casual notice to difficulties and conflicts. Although comments about the effective things that occurred in the group should not be overlooked, the members usually feel that the observer "lets them down" if he doesn't talk about the difficulties. Sometimes the group members wonder if he has enough courage to tell them about something of which they are all quite conscious in the group, but which they, as participating members, feel unable to verbalize. Once the observer suggests such an item, he is usually greeted with nods of agreement and perhaps little sighs of relief —"the problem material is now something we can talk about."

The principal advantage of the use of an observer rests in the comparative ease with which comments about behavior which is not usually talked about can be brought into the group discussion. A participating member would find it extremely difficult to offer such comments because of his own involvement and his role in the group. But the observer, although he, too, is an accepted member of the group, can make the comments "as a part of his job." The group is then able to orient their remarks toward "what the observer said" rather than toward "what is wrong

with our group." This slightly different direction in the orientation presents major differences in the amount of emotional blocking in the discussion of the same problem, even though the same contributions are made.

GROUP SELF-EVALUATION

We have talked at length about the role of the observer and the feedback process. Let us now look at the direction the group discussion takes during the evaluation session. The leader in our example suggested three things the group needed to do: (1) get a common agreement on what actually happened, (2) analyze the reasons behind the event, and (3) suggest some ways of improving the procedure in the future.

The leader of the evaluation in the basic skill training groups encouraged expressions of recognition about the description that was reported by the observer by asking, "Is that the way the rest of you felt it happened?" There may be disagreement among the group members about the actual event, but a common understanding needs to be sought before the discussion continues to the other phases. Sometimes the individual who is most concerned in the situation may be the only one unaware of the event. Often "problem behavior" of group members is something they do of which they are totally unaware until the observer and the group mention it.

Once the event itself is agreed on, the group turns to the discussion of "why did it happen?" Everyone can express his feelings here as feelings are the facts which are often most relevant in group interaction. In our illustration we found members indicating quite different reactions to the same situation. Recognition of these differences may lead to a relatively quick understanding of the causes of the difficulty.

The leader needs to help the group in its self-evaluation to move from analyzing their difficulties to the discussion of desirable changes in group procedure. To become acutely aware of a problem, and no more, may sow the seeds for group disruption. A consideration of the possible solutions to the problem and a decision to try out a tentative solution allows the discussion to terminate on a positive note. In future meetings attention may be given to evaluating the success of the solution as it has worked out in practice. Satisfactory experiences in changing its procedures encourages the group to become more experimental in instituting new techniques.

Not only, however, does the self-evaluation result in specific changes in techniques or behaviors by the group but it frequently builds improved feelings of group cohesiveness. When one of us, as a group member, becomes able to share his feelings of happiness or frustration with members in our group, others are stimulated to participate in a similar vein. Shared feelings become common property. It is this common property which heightens the identity with the group and feelings of belongingness to the group. Increased cohesiveness makes the group more able to handle constructively 1arger amounts of overt conflict.

Self-evaluation by the group trains the members to become more sensitive to the difficulties in interaction and discussion which exist in the group, their causes, and some techniques for avoiding them. In truth, this increased awareness is a learning which can be generalized, a new or improved skill which the individual person can utilize when he enters new group situations.

As he gains this skill he begins to mature as a productive group member.

SUMMARY

If it is to be an effective producing unit a discussion group must give attention to its mechanics of operation. Awareness of its direction and goal, its rate of progress, present location on its path to the goal, use of the member's potential ability and its ability to improve itself, are important factors which lead to increased efficiency. The use of the group productivity observer as a feedback mechanism and the self-evaluation of its process by the group are techniques which have been worthwhile in improving the functioning of groups.

7
A CLOSER LOOK AT THE ROLE OF GROUP OBSERVER

(From *Report o the Second Summer Laboratory Session of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development,* Watson Dickerman, ed., 1948, pp. 116-121)

II. WHAT IS A GROUP OBSERVER?

The observer is a group member who has been assigned the specific job of observing the group's functioning as a totality and of helping the group evaluate its ways of working in order to help it increase its efficiency. In practice, this has meant that the group observer (who may be a rotating or a fixed member) does not participate in the group's discussion of its various subject matter topics. Instead he makes observations about group process at times set aside by the group for this purpose.

His observational material consists of the notes, mental or written, preferably the latter, which he makes of the way the group operates and which he "feeds back" to the group upon its with varying degrees of interpretation. Three "levels" of observer feedback may be shown by the following examples. Descriptive: "We were not able to reach any decisions today although we discussed two problems which required decision-making." *Low-level interpretation*: "There were no decisions reached today. Was it because none of us played the role of decision-initiator?" *High-level interpretation*: "We seemed to feel that the issues we discussed today were just too hot to handle. Were we afraid to commit ourselves on them because it would mean taking sides with one or the other of the two members of our group who have strongly opposing opinions?"

The belief is—and practice has justified this belief to a great

extent—that the use of an observer will lead to the group's increasing awareness of the problems of group efficiency and to continuously improving its functioning.

III. WHAT KINDS OF PROBLEMS DOES THE OBSERVER FACE?

It would seem logical for the next step in this "pocket-guide" to be a discussion of those practical problems involved in the actual task of observation: problems of what to observe when, what sorts of notes and records to keep, what to feed back, how and when, Members of the BST group with which the writers were associated during the Second Laboratory did not, however, feel this to be the most helpful next step. A single try-out at the observer role convinced many of them that practice of the skills of observation should succeed an exploration of some of the theoretical and ethical problems inhering in the practice of the role.

For example, according to what standards or criteria should one evaluate a group? That is, what constitutes a "good" group, what is "good" group functioning? It would seem that the purposes and functions of the observer can more readily acquire form and meaning through the formulation of such a "yardstick." What, then, are the functions of the group observer in the light of this to-be-formulated yard-stick? What are the levels of observer-functioning appropriate for the various kinds of group settings? In the exercise of his group function, does the observer have some special kind of ethical and psychological "philosophy," some particular kind of personal "value system," as a foundation for the practice of his specific skills? If so, what kinds of philosophy or value system? What sorts of skills should the observer have? Some understanding of problems such as these seemed to many of the delegates to be essential background to the effective practice of group observation.

(I) PROBLEM OF AN EVALUATION "YARDSTICK"

What, then, are the factors to be considered in attempting to formulate even a non-definitive answer to the question: what is a "good" group? Is it possible to formulate a consistent answer to this question in light of the fact that there seem to be as many different kinds of groups as there are group goals or purposes? One writer has made a classification of groups ac-

cording to the kinds of "production" or "action" goals they have set for themselves and has come out with seven types of groups as a result. The standards of evaluation of a foreman as to how well a group of workers are producing would seem to be very different from the criteria involved in the classroom in the judging of how well a group of children are learning.

But if we suggest that one criterion of a good group is that it reaches its production or accomplishment goals, whatever those goals may be, we may resolve our first objection. The problem then becomes one of examining the steps the group should take in efficiently reaching its production goal and of determining the stages of group growth leading toward efficient group production.

But is a consideration of only the goals immediate to a particular group adequate to the formulation of a "good" group, in democratic society? Should the group not inquire of itself what its inter-group goals are—that is, how its goals relate to the broader social framework of goals within which it operates? For example, a profession, say the medical profession, may not only be assessing how effectively it is moving towards the standards or goals it has set for itself as a profession; it may also be continually assessing its objectives in terms of what should be the goals of the medical profession in a democratic society. Similarly, a classroom in a school may not only be assessing its immediate objectives and responsibilities, but also the broader responsibilities of the public school within the framework of a democratic society. So it appears that some consideration of how a group's immediate goals relate themselves to the broader social goals of the society in which we live should also be included in formulating the description of the "good group."

A new element has come into our discussion: we are beginning to assume that a good group is one which is conscious of its democratic responsibility. But is it enough for a good group to be aware of its democratic ends on an external basis only, that is, in terms of its work goals? What of its internal functioning? Does it not have a democratic responsibility on the member-functioning level also? In other words, to what extent is it utilizing its member-potential towards the achievement of its work goal? Further, are there not responsibilities which group members have to one another? Are they not responsible for the promotion of each other's growth towards increasingly efficient group functioning?

We have come to the definition of the good group as a democratically functioning group on both the external goal level and the internal member-functioning level. Can we, then, evaluate any group in the light of these four relative, rather than absolute, criteria? (1) How well is this group as a group progressing towards some production or action goal it has set for itself? (2) How well is this group fitting its immediate goals into the broader framework of our democratic society? (3) How well is this group utilizing the potentialities of its members to contribute towards its work goals? (4) How well is this group "growing" its members, how well is it helping them become even better contributors, to assume a wider variety of essential group roles, than their present potentialities allow them? The assumption being made is that the further the group "grows" along these four dimensions, the more "mature" a group it is.

The fourth criterion contains implications which should not be overlooked. It leads us into the broad area of personality development—how the personalities of individual members can affect the functioning of the group and how the functioning of the group can affect individual personalities. And here, perhaps, is the one criterion which may distinguish the democratically oriented group from one operating within an authoritarian social framework. A wise dictator would probably want groups to achieve their "work" goals as efficiently and rapidly as possible. He may see that full utilization of member-potential results in more effective group production and so advocate it. But it would defeat his own purposes to promote the kind of group interaction that helps persons become secure, in-

dependently functioning personalities, persons whose willingness to cooperate with others, to be socially inter dependent, arises from their recognition and acceptance of themselves as adequate, inter dependent, mature personalities. On the contrary, it would seem to be essential for the continuance of an authoritarian group or society to foster the kind of group process that promotes the individual's continuing emotional and intellectual dependence on the leader.

This point leads us directly into the concept of member-roles, or rather, the concept of the distribution of good group roles throughout the membership. That is, the authoritarian functioning group will tend to keep the group functions or roles necessary for group production concentrated in one person, the leader: the chairman or social-control role, the action-suggester role, the clarifier role, the content coordinator role, the peace-

maker role, the tension-reducer role, the information-giving role, the decision-making role, the evaluator role, and so on. The democratically functioning group not only works towards an increasingly wide distribution of these roles among the members of the group but also towards increasing the individual member's repertoire of such group roles.

(2) PROBLEM OF OBSERVER PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS

With these four criteria of the "good group" as our yardstick, what would seem to be the group observer's purposes and functions? Ideally, his role is to stimulate the group to assess its degree and rate of progress in the four areas of: efficient group functioning, awareness of broader social goals, full member-utilization, promotion of member-growth. Accordingly, it would be his duty to make observations pertinent to these four areas and to call the members' attention to their functioning in these areas. It would be his further duty to perform these functions in such a way as to assist the group to utilize these observations to improve its functioning, to make decisions, to do something about the way it has been functioning.

(3) PROBLEM OF APPROPRIATE LEVELS OF FUNCTIONING

The word "ideally" was purposely used in the preceding section. The problem of levels of observer-functioning is the question of to what degree and in what ways the observer should attempt to exercise these functions in various types of groups.

Two general levels of functioning can be differentiated: the calling-to-attention or descriptive level and the why-did-it-happen or interpretation level. The descriptive level in a sense serves the same sort of purpose as would the playing-back to the group of a record of the meeting. However, because such reporting back should be selective, it focuses the attention of the group on specific points or happenings far more than would an all-inclusive play-back of a record. Thus, even on the descriptive level, the observer functions to stimulate group evaluation and decision on specific group problems. This might be termed the most "superficial" but nevertheless the most suitable level for such groups a single committee meeting, a one-day institute, a week-end conference. Feedback such as, "We were able to

arrive at three decisions today," or, "The meeting seemed to drag at the beginning—we didn't seem to warm up and get going until about the second half, when member participation became more active and general" are typical of the descriptive level of observer-functioning,

Such "evaluation" can be made available to the group by the observer at the end of the meeting. Again the observer may call the attention of the group to an event immediately after it occurs, interrupting the group to do so. (This latter method has been found particularly effective where a demonstration group is operating before an audience.) Which method is used by the observer can depend only upon group preference. It has been found in practice that the first method, that of a short "evaluation session" at the end of a meeting, is the most used. But there is as yet no definite evidence as to which of these three methods of descriptive-level feedback is felt by groups to be the most useful.

The second level of observer-functioning is actually a wide range of functioning, rather than a level. Here the observer takes on the responsibility of advancing hypotheses or making interpretations about the reasons why certain things happened. What type or degree of interpretation is used most depend on the sensitivity, experience and diagnostic skill of the observer, in terms of both his actual perception and understanding of persons and events and his judgment as to the timing and manner of his interpretation. Situations in which there are regular periodic meetings, for example, would seem to provide the kind of group setting suitable for gradually-increasing depth of observer-interpretation. Again the sensitivity of the group to its problems and the degree of group objectivity present would determine the extent of observer-interpretations. Two examples of this range of functioning have been given in Section II above. The greatest potential danger in interpretive "feedback" by the observer would come if the observer pronounced judgments or appeared to think of himself as superior to the group. To the extent this occurs, the observer is seen as judge and jury and the group seems to win the "judge's" approval rather than use the observer to help the group objectively analyze its functioning.

(4) PROBLEM OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE GROUP

In many group situations, then, the observer assumes in varying degree a diagnostic or interpretational function. Does such a function imply that the observer has some special professional responsibility to the group, or is his responsibility no greater than that of any other group member? Again, no definitive answer is possible: both aspects seem to operate in his role. On the one hand, because the practice of his role is more likely to provide him with more pertinent observational material than any other member, he would seem to have a greater responsibility to the group for making use of this material. Since he can use such material either as destructive or as constructive tools, he must always be keenly aware of the possible effects that his statements or questions may have on the group and on group members at certain stages of group and member development.

On the other hand, one can question whether the observer has any greater, or any different, responsibility for expressing or withholding material relevant to group and member functioning than any other group member. Perhaps one of his "professional" responsibilities is to realize that to have been assigned a specialized role by the group does not mean that he thereby acquires a higher group status or the right to play the role of God.

If we accept both points of view—that the nature of his role may provide him with more insight and sensitivity than other members concerning group and individual functioning and hence invest him with greater responsibility, but that any group member should also be aware of the same factors and exercise personal responsibility for feeding observation back to the group—we may arrive at a third observer responsibility. This is his training responsibility. It requires him to try to foster more and more insight and sensitivity to group process among the group members, and to attempt to get the group to absorb more and more of the observer role, just as the chairman attempts to get the group to absorb more and more of his social control function.

Three responsibilities of the observer seem to emerge: (1) He must consider himself to be a member of the group rather than some outside person, who as an outsider has some kind of special professional relationship to the group. (2) Like any good group

member, he must have a high degree of sensitivity concerning his responsibility to make contributions that will be constructive for the stage of growth the group is in at some particular time. (3) He must attempt to pass on to the group more and more of his observer functions or roles in order to free the group from any dependence on his specialized role.

Perhaps the implications of these points for the trainer of observers should be made explicit. One of the things for a trainer to do might be to

try to inoculate prospective observers against the idea that in two hours, "I have become an observer, and that because I have become an observer I am a special kind of person in this group, I have a special status, and because I have a special status I can talk down to people." The trainer might further try to make his trainees aware of the fact that there are many good-member roles, that the observer role is but one of the good-member roles, that as an observer there are many of these roles which the observer is not familiar with and which he will continually want to learn.

(5) PROBLEM OF A PERSONAL VALUE-SYSTEM

But it would seem that the foundation which will give the observer or any group members such an approach to his group responsibilities is some ethical and personal philosophy or system of values relating to the group. If the observer is to carry out his responsibilities in the manner suggested, he would seem to have to believe in the worth and effectiveness of the democratic group process, in the possibility of the continuing growth of the individual and in his role being shared as much as possible by other group members.

(6) PROBLEM OF OBSERVATIONAL OBJECTIVITY

It may be a truism to point out that essential as constructive attitudes and values may be, they must come to the level of actual expression in the form of appropriate techniques and skills in order to be effective. Just as the mechanical practice of specific skills with little understanding of their underlying rationale may be ineffective and even socially dangerous, so also the possession of the best intentions in the world can do the world little good unless they are channelized into skills and techniques which can effect the goals of these intentions.

There are several skills, or cultivated sensitivities, involved in the effective practices of the observer role as we now know it. Perhaps the primary skill is the capacity to constantly sort out what we ourselves contribute to a perception from what actually does happen. That is, we must train ourselves to distinguish between our perception of Rome event and what is really happening. To recognize that we cannot eliminate such personal factors from our perception is the first step. To attempt to distinguish what part subjective interpretation plays is the necessary next step for the person who has any kind of observational responsibility, group or otherwise. Suppose he notes that Mr. A- was angry when his suggestion was rejected. Was the judgment of "angry" arrived at as a result of the subjective inference that Mr. A- "must have" reacted with anger to the rejection of his suggestion? Actually, for all the observer knows, Mr. A- may have reacted with indifference. Or was the judgment of "angry" arrived at as a result of noticing specific things Mr. A- did and said: such as snapping the pencil he was holding in two, becoming very flushed, making audible comments to his neighbor about the mentality of certain people?

The basic technique question then becomes, "What kinds of things can the observer do with his eyes and ears (and his pencil) to best insure that his own needs are screened out of what he sees?" First, he would have to arrive at some objective criteria of observation: He would force himself to write down the actual things that happened, not what he thought happened—so that when he does make any generalizations or interpretations he can check back to the actual behavior and events on which his generalization was based. Merely for him to recognize the necessity of separating his own needs from the actual event in his perception—that is, to recognize the existence of the problem is not to solve it.

Second, he would consciously train himself to become as sensitive as possible to a widening range of clues, so that he could get more and more pertinent material for the group to look at. The cultivation of the first primary skill would seem to lead him inevitably to the second skill.

IV. WHAT SORTS OF THINGS SHOULD THE OBSERVER OBSERVE?

But what sorts of things should be observed in a group? It is necessary to select what to observe because it is impossible

to notice everything that is going on. Therefore, on what bases should the selection be made for a particular stage of its development?

The answers to these problems would again seem to depend on the level of observation employed. For most individual meetings of most groups, the descriptive level is most suitable and useful. The "Suggested Outline for Group Observation" (page 123)* is an example of the sorts of things that can be observed on almost exclusively the descriptive level: group atmosphere, cohesion, leader behavior, member roles, procedures for group progress, and so on.

Which such "dimensions" to choose for a particular meeting would seem to depend on what the outstanding problem or event or focus-of-interest is for the group for that meeting. If the group seems to be continuing overlong as a collection of individuals rather than becoming a cohesive group, such dimensions as atmosphere, cohesion, communication, or perhaps leader behavior, may be helpful. If the group has decided to try out a rotating-chairman system, it may be helpful for the first one or few times a new chairman is used to observe leader behavior. If a tendency has arisen for most of the member-roles to be concentrated in the leader and two or three members, or for a number of necessary-to-good functioning member-roles to be missing from the group, it may be helpful to the group to point out member-roles played (and not played) during that meeting. Or if the group has shown discernible growth in some sore spot of its functioning, highlighting this change may ensure maintenance of change.

Once the group has become familiar with the kinds of dimensions of observation which are possible, it may specifically request its observer to observe or to feed back, or preferably both, along a particular dimension. The decision on what to observe and to feed back should be increasingly the group's decision as group life continues, rather than the observer's alone or a joint observer-leader decision. However, if the group requests the observer to feed back material which he feels convinced can be highly damaging to the group at its present stage of development, he should feel free to suggest this not be done, giving his reasons, or to suggest the substitution of some other material.

What about the interpretational range of observation? When

* [Editor's Note: This reference is not included in this quotation. See pages 166-168.]

and how should it be used? Here it may be useful to introduce what has been termed the "time-perspective" aspect or the growth "gradient" in group functioning. These terms refer on the one hand to the age or stage of development of the group members, and on the other hand to the length of time a group has been meeting. One cannot judge a group of children in kindergarten, a group of high school adolescents, and a PTA committee by the same absolute set of standards. Nor can one expect the same sort of things of a group that has worked together, meeting regularly for six months, as of a group that has come together for its second meeting. Nor can one expect the same sort of behavior of a group of school children during their first month with a progressive-methods teacher after they have an authoritarian teacher for six years, as one can expect four months after the new teacher has been with them.

It would seem, then, that an observer functioning at the interpretational level of observation should take into account the current gradient in the group's growth. This would suggest that the interpretational level might be used most fruitfully at various strategic intervals during the group's life, utilizing the growth-gradient approach: how much have we grown, in what directions have we grown, where have we not grown—during some period of group time. Some or all of the four criteria of the good group may be used as the dimensions for evaluation and interpretation. It would be preferable to have the group itself judge how well it is functioning in the various dimensions and to attempt some self-diagnosis of the reasons why it has or has not progressed in the different areas. Group self-

evaluation of this nature is not only preferable, but usually possible in the case of groups meeting regularly over a period of time.

But there may be group settings in which the time factor precludes extensive self-evaluation and makes it necessary for the observer to assume the full evaluation load. Evaluation of an interpretive nature might be done most effectively by the observer at the last general meeting of a week's workshop, or of a week-end conference, utilizing the observer reports of the various group meetings held during the course of the conference as the "raw data" on which to base his evaluation. However, self-evaluation may be feasible and stimulating in such situations also. Even a one-day institute might set aside with profit part of its last meeting for a growth-gradient evaluation.

V. WHAT SPECIAL TECHNIQUES SHOULD THE OBSERVER USE?

(1) RECORD KEEPING

The problems of evaluation introduce the practical problem of the kinds of records an observer should keep. Observer experience during the Second National Training Laboratory in Group Development has begun to point to the necessity for close cooperation between the group's observer and recorder (secretary, keeper of minutes). In order to keep track of as much of the group interaction and process as possible, the observer can include very little actual "content" or discussion subject-matter in his notes (except, possibly, for occasional pertinent "anecdotes"—the actual interaction on which his observation is based). For instance, he may designate the participation of a particular member by noting his member role: "C.A. decision-suggester" (incidentally, this is a highly useful form of observer shorthand), but make no attempt to note just what decision C.A. suggested. It is the responsibility of the group's recorder to take note of the actual decision which C.A. suggested.

It would seem, then, that the observer and recorder should work out their respective methods of record-keeping in cooperation in order to aid the observer to integrate process with content with a minimum of delay and difficulty. Where the observer and the recorder roles are made rotating functions and the group meets regularly for some time, such a project may well be included as part of a total group "courses of training" for the observer role. The two record-structures at the end of this section are meant only for the sake of example.* Since these "structures" have not even been tried out in the coordinated manner suggested above, it is not known whether these examples used together have effective practical application. The example of structure for the observer's record alone has been applied and found a useful form for organizing basic observational material.

It was general observer practice during the Second National Training Laboratory in Group Development to use such a record as the basis for an "Observer Log," written up for every meeting in a narrative manner and considered the observer's permanent record. It may be, however, that with closer cooperation between observer and recorder, the narrative report should pref-

* [Editors Note: These "record-structures" have not been included herein. See pp. 156-159 and 166-168.1

erably be in the form of a "Recorder's Log" or "Minutes" which might be either read as a report or handed out to members of the group in duplicated form. The observer's record could then be a more coherent and legible copy of his original notes, plus a write-up of the actual feedback given to the group by the observer, including group contributions and decisions relevant to the valuation. Observer and recorder might cooperate on these latter "memory" items to insure an accurate and reliable report.

There is no doubt that many group situations will not justify or allow time for the keeping of as careful records as has been suggested. If a choice is necessary, it may be permissible to forego the transcribing of the original observer notes into more permanent form. But the original noting-down of observational material should be considered as indispensable. . . .

8
UNDERSTANDING THE BEHAVIOR OF "PROBLEM MEMBERS" IN GROUPS

(From *Guide to Study and Experimentation in Cooperative Planning in Education,* Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947, pp. 15-20)

. . . The following suggestions and questions are not meant to be an easy course in psychiatry "in a nut shell," but rather are intended to suggest a few factors which may help as reminders that people are important—and human . . .

When your patience is tried to the utmost remember this: *There is always a reason for people behaving as they do*, and, almost without exception, *people want to be liked or respected by the group*. True, the reasons for the way an individual acts may

not be clear to the group, or even to himself, but the reasons are there nevertheless. People's methods of getting liking and respect must be better understood, We must learn more about how to deal with methods that interfere with the individual's effectiveness and with the group's progress.

There are aspects of liking and respect which all of us want and need. Some which frequently are evident in cooperative planning situations are: the need to establish or maintain self-respect; the need to "belong" to the group; the need to establish or maintain a role; and the need for recognition or affection. For some persons, working with the particular group at hand is a satisfying way of meeting such needs. In that case the needs may be said to operate favorably for good group relations. . . .

It is important, therefore, for the group members to try to understand the needs of one another and, when possible, to meet these needs. In fact, one of the great values of cooperative planning is that it makes it possible for the group to strengthen each of its members, in addition to leading to efficient results and being within our concept of democratic action.

Meeting Unfulfilled Needs

Some of the ways people may behave when they have unfulfilled needs, and some of the things a group may do about each, are suggested below.

(Caution: Human behavior is far too complex to be analyzed as simply as the following statements may imply. Keep in mind that these statements are merely suggestions for further study.)

1. ***Need to establish or maintain self-respect.*** Each of us has a mental picture of a minimum pattern for himself, a sort of personal "height-weight" chart by which he measures himself and which indicates whether he is above or below par. Many and various things may go into the making of this pattern. For some, it is a religious creed; for others, it may be a personal philosophy, or a picture of what makes a "good" person; for still others, it may be a picture of "success"—in areas ranging from sports to professional skill; for many, it is a combination of all of these. But if anyone falls below par in his own estimation, watch out! He will fight, consciously or unconsciously, to get up to that point he considers normal for himself. (And don't forget that this may be quite different from what others may consider normal.) The way the individual fights to get up to par may not always be

acceptable to the group. He may talk too much. He may be sullen and not talk at all. He may oppose what someone else suggests just to show himself that he had the strength to oppose the other fellow. For whatever reason he behaves as he does to get "up to par" with himself, it is not going to do any good to argue with him. Argument may just make him feel worse about himself, and therefore make him fight the harder. The best approach is for the rest to show him they respect his ideas, even though they may not agree with him. Sometimes this requires considerable tolerance and self-control, but it will further group processes in the long run.

2. ***The need to "belong".*** In almost every group there are people who cannot say: "I belong in this group. I am wanted. I can make a contribution here." But those people want to belong. If they do not think they belong and are wanted, watch out! It is probable that the individual who does not belong will act in ways not conducive to good group action. He may "go with the crowd" even though he doesn't agree with the proposition, just to show he is a good guy and ought to be accepted. The result is that the group is not able to make use of his possible contributions because his own thinking never emerges. Or he may resist what others suggest, just to show that if they do not accept him (as he thinks) he will not accept them. The more one argues with him, the more he has to argue back, and the group gets nowhere. The best approach is to help him feel that he does belong and that he is wanted, whether or not his ideas are similar to those of the group. Give him a "we" feeling if possible, and avoid any "you vs. us" attitude by word or gesture. Sometimes these feelings of not belonging can be forestalled by making everyone feel welcome and wanted from the very beginning. The leader of a group has a special responsibility here, though every group member should help. The leader protects the right of every member to contribute to the group and sees that all suggestions are considered by the group. It is his special responsibility to help the group grow as a group without the exclusion of any member, physically or psychologically.

3. ***The need to establish or maintain a role***. This need may be thought of as a combination of needs 1 and 2. Everyone wants to belong, and everyone strives to find a place in the group which is consistent with his idea of what his role in the group should be. Some people seem to feel they should always be "boss" and

others feel they should always be "followers." Cooperative planning discards, to a large extent, this leader-follower concept and implies that all get together on an equal basis. This is difficult for some people to take, It asks them to rearrange that mental picture mentioned earlier, and this is never easy. For some people, it takes considerable time and extended experience in a cooperative planning atmosphere. They may resist strongly being thrown out of role. The person who feels he ought to be boss may try to grab the reins. He may talk too much, act aggressive, be autocratic in his actions and suggestions. In other words, he tries to act like the boss he thinks he should be. The person who feels he ought to be a follower may try to be inconspicuous, refuse to enter into discussion, claim that group planning is inefficient and wasteful. In other words, he tries to act like the follower he thinks he should be. In either case, the person is not operating on the group-equality basis which is best for group planning. Probably the best antidotes are time and experience in an atmosphere of group planning, but some special helps may be given as well. The "boss" may be given some assurance that his ideas are important to the group (as he feels only a boss's ideas can be), and the "follower" may be reassured that if he expresses an idea he is not being presumptuous.

4. ***The need for recognition and affection***. This need, too, is closely allied with others mentioned above. Perhaps the most satisfying sign of recognition and affection is for a person to be made to feel that he "belongs" and that his ideas are respected. If he does not have this reassurance, the individual may react negatively. Some persons become more bossy, more loquacious, more autocratic. Some become more silent, more servile, more mousy. Some let their feelings out in crabbing. These persons seem to feel that the way to become respected is to be feared. They may make cutting remarks, they may gossip, they may boast about their "pull" or other forms of power they think they have.

Each individual hopes through his actions to be liked or recognized-according to *his* mental picture of a likeable or respected person! Where, in a group of thirty-five people, there are thirty-five different mental pictures of how a likeable or respected person should behave, it becomes a bit difficult to keep up with all of them, but there are things to do. As mentioned before, helping people feel wanted, that they belong, is perhaps the most important all can try to understand the mental picture

of each and give the kind of recognition which will fit the picture and at the same time further group action. As group planning progresses and each understands the purpose of group action, how it operates and how each individual can find his place in it, the diversity of "mental pictures" becomes less, and the group will very likely become more unified. To make things more complicated, the source of any one need may be quite outside the group in which the individual finds himself. The teacher in a cooperative planning group may feel that he does not belong to the teacher group because he feels he has not been accepted by the community. The youngster who needs affection and recognition in the classroom may feel as he does because he believes his mother does not love him. It is best to recognize that the cause of the feeling cannot always be corrected within the group, but the group can go a long way toward correcting the feeling itself. In fact, the group must find ways to meet unfulfilled needs of individuals if there are to be satisfactory group experiences.

How to Deal with People Who Are Problems

So far, we have talked in terms of the reasons people behave as they do in cooperative planning situations. Trying to understand reasons is of major importance. Until we recognize these, we have little hope of permanently effecting change for better group living. However, it often happens that certain types of behavior must be dealt with before there is time to know people well enough to understand basic reasons. In such situations one must probably operate on the basis of hunches. Perhaps it will be helpful to have some suggestions of things to try with different type members who are problems to the group.

First, the member who ***just does not contribute***. Perhaps he is scared to talk before a group. Many of us were scared out of talking rather early in the game by some rather severe teacher or parent. Try to find out in what size group this person will contribute. See if he will contribute if asked a question about something that is his specialty.

Perhaps this person has found that whenever he speaks up he gets squelched, or gets put on a committee! Maybe he is just playing it safe and easy. Will he begin to contribute if he dis-

covers that suggestions are not jumped on as they are being given? Will it help if he sees that jobs are assigned later on the basis of interest and ability and not to the person who happened to bring in an idea for the group to consider?

Perhaps this non-contributive member is new to the group and feels that his contributions will not be welcome until he has been around a little longer. Will it help if the "old" people make a point of asking how a given problem was handled where the new person was before? Will it help to learn the new person's interests and special experiences through individual contact so that he will not be embarrassed by being asked in a group for an opinion he is unprepared to give?

Second, the member who ***talks too much***. Perhaps he is only trying to be helpful. Maybe he belongs to that large group of people who, for some unfathomable reason, are scared to death of silences in a group discussion and feel compelled to rush in and fill a gap. Maybe he really knows more than anyone else about the topic under discussion, and, knowing that he knows, is making his contribution (in which case he may not be talking too much after all). Maybe he just thinks he knows more than the others and that's another matter, Maybe it is all just a habit. Some people seem to have a "gift of gab." Perhaps he feels a need to exert his influence on the group in order to seem important. Maybe he feels very strongly about the matter under discussion.

In any case, great tact is required in helping the talkative member to share the floor with others. One thing that may help is for the chairman not to set an example by monopolizing the discussion himself. Might the leader or someone in the group help to make the "talker" aware that he is monopolizing time by suggesting that *everyone* should have an opportunity to express his opinion; that others of particular competence in this area should be heard from? Could the talkative one be given the feeling of importance he may need by expressing gratitude for his contributions, then turning to other people for their

ideas? Can he be helped to feel he belongs by calling on his "we" feeling, by suggesting to the group as a whole, "Now we have heard from ---; we want to know what the rest of us think"? Can we offer the talker a particular responsibility to help him feel important and wanted so he need not put all his energies into talking?

Third, there is ***the wanderer***. He does not seem to be able to stick to the point of the discussion. Is it because the purpose of the present discussion is not clear? Has the group shifted to another phase of the discussion without a definite statement to that effect? Is the wanderer less mature or less intelligent than others in the group? Is he being expected to deal with abstract things when he can understand only the more concrete situations? Is he wandering because his attention is tied up with how to be important, how to get the approval of the group, rather than with the point under discussion?

Will it help to have the jobs to be done in this meeting listed on a blackboard and checked off as they are taken care of? Will it help to have the chairman summarize frequently: "We have decided this and this. Now let us get ideas on our third item." Are there things we can do to help him feel at home, to feel that he belongs to the group?

Fourth, there is the individual who is ***slow to learn*** cooperative techniques. All of his experience may have been to the contrary. He may have been brought up on a diet of being told what to do. Perhaps he does not yet see the values in the new way of working. Maybe he has always seen himself in the role of boss or follower.

Will it help to focus on group processes once in a while, attempting to point out how the group is trying to operate? Will it be easier for the "slow-learner" to understand if it is made quite clear that everyone has a place in the group process?

Fifth, there is the ***out-and-out scrapper***. This individual seems to enjoy a fight. Against whom are the fighting remarks usually directed? Are there personal antagonisms in the group? Does this individual tend to stereotype others, reacting to what he thinks others ought to be saying to fit his stereotype rather than being a genuine listener? Do others in the group stereotype the scrapper, always expecting him to have a chip on his shoulder and failing to give him credit when he is reasonable?

To what extent will soft voices, patient reasoned statements disarm the scrapper? Will it help to preface answers to the scrapper by such remarks as, "I see your point, Miss Smith. I don't blame you for feeling strongly about it because it is very important. Perhaps we could think of several ways of handling this." Or might the leader urge Miss Smith to go ahead and map out a rather complete program of caring for her complaint?

Does the scrapper appear more reasonable when dealt with in small groups or individually? Is he seeking prestige in a non-constructive way? Can this desire be met by giving him definite responsibility that is most congenial to him? . . .

9
INTRODUCING THE GROUP IDEA TO PEOPLE

(From Ronald Lippitt, Leland P. Bradford, and Kenneth D. Benne, "Sociodramatic Clarification of Leader and Group Roles, As a Starting Point For Effective Group Functioning", *Sociatry*, 1:1 : 82-91, March, 1947)

The newly appointed committee, or the two day professional conference, or the two week workshop is about to begin work. The members or delegates are new to each other, they are all unacquainted with the leaders, and the leaders do not know them.

Again and again this situation occurs. Usually the warm-up process of group members to each other and to the leader is a slow process, fraught with many misunderstandings, feelings of frustration and unmet expectations. Often the leaders' picture of the appropriate leadership role is not at all similar to the expectations, conscious or unconscious, of the group members for a sat-

isfactory leader. Frequently the group member's image of appropriate delegate participation is very different from, even incompatible with, the expectations for his behavior in the mind of the chairman or conference leader.

After the first session the leaders of the work groups irritably remark, "What a dead bunch . . . I just can't pull them out . . . They seem to want me to do all the thinking. . . . I just had to keep on talking to keep things moving at all, etc."

On the front steps a number of the delegates who have begun to know each other a bit from corridor relationships remark a bit cautiously and mildly to each other, "They don't seem to know quite where they are headed for in this conference. . . .I hope we'll have a real chance to get into the discussions soon, I've got a lot of questions I want to bring up. . . . I wonder what they were driving at in that session. . . . I couldn't see the point to bringing up my problems when they asked for them; they know the field better than I do, etc." "Just the same old conference—the leaders talk about their problems, so why say anything about ours". And the result of this conflict of misunderstandings about each other's expectancies is often a group that drifts nowhere as the gap widens, or one that is pushed autocratically by the leader toward a goal he perceives but which is in no way really accepted by the participants.

Participation in a variety of such "starting sessions" convinced us that these unproductive, and even negative, warm-ups to effective group functioning could be prevented if there could be a straightening out of some of these crossed expectations as a first step in the group process. This should include both a mutual acceptance of the definition of satisfactory leader and member or delegate roles, as well as shared anticipations as to the type of group experience which lies ahead.

In a recent two week state workshop* for fifty-six community workers concentrating on improving their techniques of bettering local intergroup relations we experimented with a role-clarifying sociodrama as the opening session. . . .

The sociodrama was planned to illustrate successful leader-

* The Connecticut Workshop in Intergroup Relations is the core of a cooperative project in the discovery and development of community leadership and the evaluation of its effectiveness in dealing with community tension.

The Workshop was initiated, organized, promoted, and will be followed up by the State Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations comprised of representatives from the State Inter-racial Commission, the State Department of Education, and the Connecticut Valley Regional Office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

It was conducted by the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology which organized and directed the faculty.

The experimental phase of the total project and the evaluation of the workshop is being conducted cooperatively by the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, the Research Center for Group Dynamics, and the State Advisory Committee on Inter-Group Relations.

Organization representatives: Frank T. Simpson, State Interracial Commission: Charles E. Hendry, Commission on Community Interrelations, American Jewish Congress; Kurt Lewin, Research Center for Group Dynamics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Siegmar J. Blamberg, Jr., National Conference of Christians and Jews; Palmer Howard, Bureau of Youth Services, State Department of Education.

Workshop faculty: Leland P. Bradford, Director, Division of Adult Education Service, National Education Association; Kenneth D. Benne, Teachers College, Columbia U.; Kurt Lewin and Ronald Lippitt, Research Center for Group Dynamics.

Project Director: Ronald Lippitt.

delegate interaction. The roles planned for the demonstration were: the commentator standing at the elbow of the audience, who prepared the audience for the demonstration, who broke in on the scene from time to time to clarify and reinforce for the audience certain strategic points in the scene, and who briefly summarized the demonstration at the end; the group leader role in the conference; the auxiliary leader who served as group recorder (chosen in each group from the delegates) and the delegates. Persons to play the delegate roles were chosen from the members of the state [leadership] group and from the delegates at the conference. The state [leadership] group were picked deliberately to play "bad" participant roles so that the delegates would not feel that they were being held up for ridicule.

A brief warm-up session was held prior to the demonstration with those in the sociodrama at which time the purpose of the demonstration was quickly clarified and discussed by the group and decisions made as to, what typical delegate roles each would take, i.e., the vague thinker; the one who started a statement and timidly retreated, the dominant center of attention, those who did not participate.

Following is an edited recording of the sociodrama.

COMMENTATOR: This promises to be a very unique workshop. We can only hope that it is not the workshop to end all workshops but rather the workshop to start better workshops in the future. I think that as we consider the kind of workshop that we want to have we will need to think fairly clearly and deeply about how we act or behave in this workshop. Let's think a few moments about the roles of the various people in our workshop during the coming two weeks. These are the roles of leaders, delegates, observers and resource persons.

In too many workshops the leader is supposed to be the person who knows all things, has infinite wisdom, while the participants are to come in as complete vacuums. The problem is to transfer the knowledge from the leader with the infinite wisdom into the vacuum of those who are completely ignorant. If this is the kind of conference you are expecting, I am sure that you will be greatly disappointed. Rather, I think that we can consider that the leaders are bringing to this workshop skill and experience in the techniques and methods of helping all of us find our problems and do something about them but it is up to the

delegates to supply the problems on which to focus our work if we are to make any progress during the next two weeks.

This brings us to the role of the delegates—the role all of us are to play. One thing we have already mentioned is the responsibility of the delegates to provide the material for our workshop—the problems we have. This means that we have the responsibility of really coming out with our problems, of not sitting back and saying, "Well, let somebody else tell them." Because, maybe no one else does tell them and my problems are never mentioned and consequently the rest of us get a distorted sense of the total picture or situation. Second, it is the responsibility of the participants to be just as concerned as the leader is in this process of keeping on the ball, of keeping direction. It should not be the responsibility of the lender to say, "Well, we are off the track. Let's get back," pulling them back like sheep who strayed away.

Thirdly it is the responsibility of the participants to be concerned with the results of the group. You have all seen discussion groups or workshop groups to which a number of people came who were only interested in getting the answers to their own problems, not really caring about the other member's problems and not noticing the relationship of their problems to the others. Then, there are others who know all the answers before they get to the workshop and usually all the answers are just one answer. They have the same answers for all problems and they are insistent that everyone agree with this answer—this one cure-all. Even if they are right, in some cases, it is rather tough on everyone else. It is the responsibility of the participants, all of them, as well as of the leader to have the attitude that this is our group; we need to keep our own direction; and we need to keep on the ball; and we need to be willing to look at all sides of the picture so that we can test and can see which solutions of our problems are the best and the most adequate solutions.

We have talked about the roles of leaders and the roles of delegates. Equally important is how they work together. If the leaders go one way and the delegates go another, no conference can be successful.

I think we would all agree, furthermore, that how we get started during the first session is extremely important in determining how things go for the rest of the conference

For this reason we are going to look at a group like ourselves get started on a workshop like this. After they are finished we can discuss how they did. This is a group which has not had any particular preparation and is composed of a group of delegates from a number of communities in Connecticut, meeting at a workshop for the first time. I think that as we watch them and participate with them we shall catch a lot of little things which will help us this afternoon as we get started in our work groups. I'm going to be standing over here at the aide, and I shall occasionally break in and comment on two or three things that they are doing. My purpose is to highlight and emphasize points which will help us in playing our own roles successfully. There they are and we shall just let the group go right ahead from here. This is their first meeting.

(Group gradually walks on stage and sits down around a conference table.)

LEADER: Here we are, ready to get started together in our workshop. We represent a variety of communities. It seems to me that each of us is at least three things—we are someone from a given community, which is similar to being from a foreign country and we must show the others how it feels to be in our particular shoes; and then we are from different organizations, with certain kinds of responsibilities, and we have the obligation of getting before the workshop certain prob-

lems from our organizations; and then thirdly, and perhaps most important of all, we are individuals who represent ourselves and have certain questions of information we'd like to have, for we have all had experiences of bumping our heads against stone walls and wishing we knew our way around them. Therefore, our job here now is one of suggesting the kinds of problems and difficulties that we would like to have considered on the agenda of this workshop. From other groups here at the workshop who are doing this same thing we are going to get their problems and put into one large pool these ideas that all of the members of the workshop have as to what should be worked on during the conference. Then we are going to be getting together a smaller representative group tonight and will decide on what particular groupings these problems fall into. It is our job now to be free and easy and reflect and tell each other our problems, difficulties, and kinds of information that we would like to have some help on in this workshop period. We'll get our list up here on this sheet, with our recorder to help us.

COMMENTATOR TO AUDIENCE: I think it is a good point to think about here, that although we are each working in one group, the problems we have are being shared with other groups so that we are not losing anything by staying with one sub-group here at the workshop. Anyway, this is an important thought while we are working through our problems. (All remarks of the commentator were of course spontaneous reactions to the unfolding sociodrama.)

LEADER: Who has an idea to start us off on?

DELEGATE 1: I believe that we should have a greater stress on a happy family life. Radio and visual aids are our greatest mediums of education today and we can use those two sources to great advantage. If we begin, in terms of a motion picture, showing the children in the home and the contribution that each child makes as the family grows up, we can show that the happier an individual that child is the greater contribution it can make as it goes out into life in the community.

LEADER: Your suggestion is then that the workshop could show, how to influence family life in a more constructive way. You have some good suggestions about the techniques of solution to the problem, but perhaps here we should just get the problems on the agenda and then as the problem comes up you can discuss the techniques and have more than enough chance to bubble over with ideas. We now have our item number one; the problem of improving family life. Who is next? (Recorder writes on sheet and turns each time for affirmation of his wording.)

COMMENTATOR TO AUDIENCE: Note that the leader makes no evaluation of the suggestions by the delegate, Now he is concerned with getting people to feel free and easy in talking about problems they have. All he does at this point is to suggest that it is too early for solutions until all the problems are seen.

DELEGATE 2: I feel the suggestion and problem just mentioned is a fundamental one and yet in some senses there are some other problems perhaps more immediate and which we can hope to tackle with more success. Among these would be the very fundamental one of just how do we get together in a community. We have a lot of good will in communities but how are

we going to organize in the community to use that latent good will in the most effective manner?

LEADER: So it is how to go from latent good will to organized effort?

DELEGATE 2: Yes, that is the problem.

LEADER: We all no doubt have many problems in mind. Let's go right ahead bringing them out. Who has another one?

DELEGATE 3: Mr. Chairman, --- er --- no, I don't think I'll bring that one up. Let me think about it a little more. It's probably not an important one.

LEADER: Let's have everybody's problems—no matter what they are-problems of dealing with your maid more effectively or whatever the problem may be.

COMMENTATOR TO AUDIENCE: Here is a situation where the delegate doesn't feel that he should contribute to the group discussion. He starts and then stops timidly. He is still worrying about what other group members will think of him rather than feeling free to think and contribute spontaneously as a group member.

DELEGATE 4: Well, I'd like to bring up something which has a personal angle to it. I am a veteran's wife and I think that the housing problem is a very serious one, and I would like for us to tackle the problem of how to bring the groups together. I would like to see better housing for veterans and for other groups—in fact, this whole problem has me down.

RECORDER AT THE BOARD: The problem of housing—Do you think just the veteran problem is the greatest one in housing?

DELEGATE 4: Well, I think that the veteran problem has made the whole thing so much larger. I am thinking of the real estate boards and the tremendous growth in industry, making the manufacturers the chief buyers and sellers of property.

DELEGATE 5 (whose role is "to think vaguely"): I think 1 might be interested in the educational system or something like that.

LEADER: Let's see if we can get a little more explicit about

this. What exactly do you see is the problem in regard to education?

DELEGATE 5: Well, I don't know exactly where this will fit in, er --- I'm not quite clear about it in my own mind.

COMMENTATOR TO AUDIENCE: This is a situation where the participant has not thought through his problem and feels that someone else will straighten it out for him; he is, therefore, letting someone else take the responsibility for working out the stating of the problem.

DELEGATE 3 (the timid one): I'm not quite certain that it is the sort of thing we want, but (hesitates) I have noticed that in playgrounds and places like that we may have clashes of groups and fights, but how can we know whether they are because of racial prejudice or because of childhood differences and faults?

LEADER: Then the problem is whether these differences have an intercultural basis or are problems for child psychology. How can we tell whether a problem has its roots in intercultural difficulties—interracial, and so on? You have certainly put your finger on a key problem.

COMMENTATOR TO AUDIENCE: You see here an example of what is usually the case. He had a lot to contribute once he took the responsibility to become a participant.

DELEGATE 5: (the hazy thinker): We shouldn't forget the UN in this discussion. We should give some time to that.

LEADER: You are bringing up an interesting point. We should, as we go along, look at the larger and more international aspects of the common problems that we have locally. Is that the idea?

COMMENTATOR: If only he could be a little more explicit the leader would not have to do the rather dangerous thing of "making something" out of what he says.

DELEGATE 5: Yes, I would also like to bring up the question of just what constitutes a good program of intercultural education.

LEADER: In the school-system, in the community or where?

DELEGATE 5: In the school-system first, I believe, for discussion here.

COMMENTATOR TO AUDIENCE: Note how the leader has carefully not blamed the delegate for his hazy thinking but has gradually helped him to think more specifically.

LEADER: Now, we have quite a few interesting problems.

COMMENTATOR: You will notice that there are still members of the group who have not taken up participant roles and have not decided whether they are present psychologically or not. They are not taking their share of the leadership role that they as participants should play. Perhaps they shall become members of the group in a little bit.

(Here leader invites the forty-five delegates in audience to become part of group. They are obviously very warmed up to the discussion.)

DELEGATE FROM FLOOR: Mr. Chairman, I wonder, how does prejudice come about?

LEADER: Yes, how is prejudice developed? Are you thinking largely in terms of individuals or what?

DELEGATE: I would like to raise the problem of how to build a curriculum and of how to develop skills in community leaders.

LEADER: You have two problems there, it seems to me—one of how to build the curriculum and one of how to give community leaders the necessary skills to meet the problems of inter-group relations effectively. What do these leaders need to know about prejudice, inter-group relations and so on? These are closely related problems.

ANOTHER DELEGATE FROM FLOOR: He is raising the teacher education aspect of the question. And I am also interested in how can these community leaders become active in the communities in which they are to work. They need to learn many techniques in order to do this and I am most interested in our approaching this problem of getting specific techniques.

ANOTHER DELEGATE FROM FLOOR: 1 would like to bring up the problem of the program planning techniques and

skills for all organizations. I am particularly interested in the PTA organization on this problem.

(Discussion comes faster and faster from floor.)

LEADER: Well, our time is running short and I guess we will need to continue this discussion at our next session. Now let me give some picture of our work ahead. We plan to get together in smaller groups to continue this discussion after lunch, and try to organize the lists a bit tonight. Then me want to call in our resource people, not to solve the problems for us, but to ask them how they see these problems, how do these problems look in other states (for we will have some national people here) and perhaps they can give us a large understanding of these problems so we can go ahead and work on them with greater perspective.

COMMENTATOR TO AUDIENCE (as demonstration ends): Just one or two comments to close us up. I

think that we saw an excellent picture of a pretty good group session, although there were still a few people in the group to be heard from and there are probably some things about the leader's performance you might like to raise questions about. I am certain the other delegates would have entered into the spirit of things before very long. I think we saw how necessary it was for the delegates to enter thoroughly into the discussion. Delegates who hung back were not really working members of the group.

However, the leader can do much to help delegates enter in. The leader we saw was interested in the ideas the delegates had. He did not evaluate them or judge them which might have made some delegates afraid to speak. He did help to sharpen up some of the points and he did help the delegates separate problems from solutions. We noticed also how he helped the one delegate go from vague hazy thinking to clearer thinking. We have a good start for the afternoon group sessions, I believe. We are warmed up to each other and to our joint job.

Summary

In planning the sociodramatic demonstration, the workshop leaders were very clearly aware that they were interpreting their idea of leader and participant skills to the delegates, rather than using sociodrama to uncover and reconcile differences in expectancies of each subgroup for the other. Certain purposes of the

present conference, however, made it desirable to employ sociodrama as here described as a starting point.

Again, the depth of leader or participancy skill demonstrated was not great. The attempt was to take just a first step from the existing sensitivities and skills of the delegates. It was important not to introduce inhibiting effects through too high a standard of group process. Much of the conference emphasis was to be placed on developing increasingly deeper understandings on the part of the delegates of the process of successful leader-participant interaction. At the opening session it was desirable to develop mutually accepted expectations of "how we will work together," which would be quite different from those of most delegates with their previous backgrounds of experience in passive, unspontaneous educational procedures. It had the further purpose of preparing delegates for future daily evaluation sessions in which the groups would look back objectively and critically at their own group process. Sociodrama used in this way is thus an introduction to using the workshop as a laboratory in skills of group process as well as for the solution of the action problems for which the workshop has been called. . . .

10
COMPLACENCY SHOCK AND RETRAINING

(From Leland P. Bradford and Paul Sheats, "Complacency Shock as a Prerequisite to Training", *Sociatry*, 2:1 and 2:38-48, April-August, 1948)

. . . This was a summer school workshop for school administrators conducted by a state university. The authors were asked to work as resource leaders for two two-hour morning sessions with

the fifty-odd elementary and secondary school principals and superintendents present. A sprinkling of teachers was included with the administrators.

As the authors thought through the task facing them and the time available, they saw the necessity of spending at least part of one session in a careful diagnosis of the situation. This diagnosis needed to be twofold. The leaders needed a diagnosis of what the participants thought to be problems, their attitude toward the problems and toward others concerned with the problems (blame aggressions toward others in place of analysis of own inadequacies) their level of understanding of the causes of their problems, the degree of skill they had in the problem area, and the degree of sensitivity toward opening up their problem in front of others. At the same time the participants needed help in beginning their own diagnosis of their problems. Accordingly the first session was planned as an informal discussion devoted to securing a problem census of human relation problems faced by school administrators, and incidentally to give the leaders a picture of the growth level of the participants. Such a census could only be secured after a feeling of permissiveness to have and to talk about prob-

lems had been developed. The census indicated the following problems:

A. How can you get teachers to show interest in staff meetings?

B. How can you get teachers to keep from having jealousies among themselves?

C. How can you get teachers to be willing to enter into committee assignments?

D. How can you get teachers to enter into an in-service training program?

Voice tone indicated even more than did the phraseology of the question that difficulties with staff meetings were seen, for the moat part, as resulting from the uncooperativeness of teachers. Blame for failure was projected to teachers; at the same time further discussion gradually disclosed that many of the administrators present saw faculty staff meetings as a time to give needed directions to teachers, to explain a change in policy the administrator thought desirable, or as a way of proving they were democratic administrators. Few looked at staff meetings through teachers' eyes, or saw such meetings as an opportunity to find out what problems teachers faced or realized the opportunity to build a strong staff through staff meetings.

The first session was brought to a close with the following results:

A. A census (still on a fairly surface level) of problems of relationships between school administrators and teachers.

B. A gradual increase in feeling of being free to really mention problems without being on the defensive.

C. A growing awareness of the commonality of the problems listed.

D. An uncovering, on the verbal level, of present ways of handling these problems, and an indication that the administrators were looking only at their side of the problem.

E. An indication that the group tended to blame teachers for problems in teacher-administrator relations.

As the two leaders later discussed the results of the first session, certain factors became very clear.

A. The group of administrators had never thought through very clearly the purposes of staff meetings.

B. While there was no demonstrated evidence, indication was present that the administrators had no great skill in leading staff groups (there was no real reason why such skill should be expected). Courses in educational administration and supervision seldom give sufficient attention to practice in key individual and group relations skills.

C. There was, further, every evidence that the group had had no experience with really productive staff meetings, and so had no adequate picture of what could be expected of staff meetings in which group leadership skill was present.

D. There was some indication of defensiveness about how the group members conducted staff meetings. This was to be expected even though the leaders made every effort to help the group feel permissive about having problems. We typically labor under the assumption that human relation skills need no learning—that persons are born with the skill of group leadership. When the untrained person fails, he develops guilt feelings and becomes defensive about his behavior.

This analysis helped in the planning of the second day's session. The second session, while it could not go very far in

real training, still could create a greater readiness to change and could open up ways in which the group members could secure more help in bringing about a change in their staff leadership skills. The leaders agreed that the next session should endeavor:

1. To enlarge the perception of the group to a point where they would see also what teachers thought about and wanted from staff meetings.

2. To shock their complacency that any problem that arose in leading meetings resulted

from other's mistakes.

3. To bring about a realization of how really productive staff meetings can be.
4. To practice better ways of leading staff meetings.

At the opening of the second session one of the leaders quickly summarized the progress of the preceding day's session and pointed it toward further analysis by suggesting that now they would want to go right down to the heart of the problem of getting teachers to show greater interest in staff meetings. He pointed out the difficulty of their problem and indicated that some fairly deep analyses of the whole situation would need to be made. He suggested that perhaps a small experiment might get them started and he suggested that they pick one of their best administrators for this experiment. The group quickly focused on one individual and the leader then asked if he would step out of the room for a moment.

The leader then suggested to the rest of the group that it might be interesting to see how the person sent out of the room would react if he listened to a number of teachers talking about a staff meeting he might be going to lead. Five or six administrators from the group were asked to volunteer as teachers. A quick briefing meeting was held, with help from the entire group, as to how these "teachers" would act and as to what personalities they would assume. Then the person out of the room was called back in. He returned to find the half dozen persons sitting in a group up in front of the rest of the group. At the same time he saw a single chair set apart from the small group, but also in front of the larger group, The leader then instructed him as follows:

LEADER: You are the principal of a school and you are

sitting at your desk (points to the solitary chair) and you have just had installed an inter-communication system to enable you to listen to each room or to speak to each room. You plan, at this hour, to tune in to Miss Smith's class in history. Unfortunately the mechanic made a mistake and you get the teacher's lounge room instead, you quickly recognize the voices of some of your teachers and, because of what the first says, you continue to listen. (The "principa1" nods that he understands, sits down on the chair to the side, and turns an imaginary switch.)

TEACHER A. Another staff meeting this afternoon, I suppose it; will be as useless as the rest.

TEACHER B. I'll spend an extra hour getting nowhere—just wasting time pretending he's being democratic when all the time he called a meeting just because he has some order to give. He never really wants us to get at our problems.

TEACHER C. He thinks he kids us about his policies. In the first meeting this year he gave a talk about wanting to maintain high professional standards for the school, and last meeting he told us to raise all the grades so parents wouldn't complain.

TEACHER D. What really irritates me are those two stooges he has. That new blonde and the old war horse who has always been here. He can always count on them to back him up.

TEACHER A. I know he isn't interested in our problems and so I wish he wouldn't pretend to be. I'd rather we never had any meetings than the kind he has.

TEACHER D. But think of his reputation as a democratic school principal. (A few more comments such as these and the leader cuts the scene. He turns to the principal.)

LEADER: Well, you have now a pretty good idea of what your teachers think of staff meetings. However, you still face the staff meeting you had planned for this afternoon. Certainly after hearing these comments, you are having quite a few thoughts. Suppose you think out loud now, both as to how you feel about what you heard and as to any re-thinking you may want to do about this afternoon's staff meeting.

After a slow start, and aided by a few probing open-ended questions by both leaders, the "principal" began to soliloquize concerning his reactions to the previous scene. Both from his reactions and from expressions on the faces of many in the total

group, there was evidence that "seeing it from the teacher's side" was quite a shock and was bringing thinking on a much deeper level than had been true the day before. Furthermore, the shock was produced by themselves. It was they, in the role of teachers, who had opened up another perceptual dimension.

The soliloquy was continued only long enough to make certain that "how the teachers felt" was seen as a major factor in planning for a staff meeting. After this, a staff meeting situation was quickly set up and led by the principal.

This scene showed evidence of the shock of the preceding scene in the efforts of the principal to bend over backwards in his efforts to seek out teacher problems. However, this effort became so distorted that the meeting quickly degenerated into a laissez faire situation with discussion merely wandering without direction.

After this scene was cut the two leaders were able to lead a very intense discussion, in which the majority of the group participated, on staff meetings. The leaders were able to help the group see difference between autocratic, laissez faire and democratic groups. Suggestions for conducting staff meetings were measured against "what the teachers thought" in the first scene. Little of the defensiveness of the preceding day was seen. The discussion went deeper into basic causes of group problems than had been true the previous day. Furthermore, question and discussion probed toward what kind of help to school administrators in the area of human relations was needed, and where such help could be secured. . . .

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11
HOW TO USE EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS

(From Alice Miel, *Changing the Curriculum*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1946, pp. 130-132)

. . . The whole matter of use of experts from outside the school awaits extensive development. Schools have not begun to make use of the expertness that resides in various members of the community. The state education department, teachers colleges in the area, and other sources outside the community have not been used to their utmost, although lessons about the use of consultant service are being learned. The leaven of an outside point of view is essential for introducing ideas that might be long in originating in a local community.

A consultant brought into a western state had the following suggestions for ways in which he could serve the centers of the state:[41]

1. Acting as a resource leader for a day's conference of representatives of the region on ways of promoting school-community relationships.
2. Addressing faculties of colleges and universities concerning the need for a vital and significant social education for teachers,
3. Discussing with faculties of individual schools or school systems the place of community-school projects in the curriculum.
4. Sitting down with the planning group of the center and

[41] Final Report, Colorado Statewide Commission on Teacher Education to Colorado Education Association" (Mimeographed), p. 17.

making suggestions relative to the improvement of activities already underway.

5. Sharing with a group, large or small, his own experiences in school-community relations.
6. Suggesting the general directions which a given center, might follow in its future planning.

This consultant happened to be particularly sensitive to the need for vital community-school projects in the curriculum and believed that he could best serve the function of stimulating thinking along those lines. Teacher reactions to his visit were mixed. Three typical ones are offered as evidence that discovering the most useful role for the outside expert is a problem:

> Teacher A: The talks by Dr. M. were interesting and well given but I don't feel that they will be of much value to us in this community. We are aware of our problems and he did not solve them for us.
>
> Teacher B: The talks given by Dr. M. were educational and inspiring; but they were very different from what I had expected and also a little disappointing. I had assumed help would be given on specific teacher-problems.
>
> Teacher C: Although no specific plans have been made to follow up any of the suggestions which the consultant gave, the thinking of many of his listeners went around a curve as a result of what he had to say.

Two of these reactions reveal the frequent desire of teachers for immediate, specific solutions for their problems. In planning, the use of the outside expert, the stage of development of those who may expect to benefit from his service should be taken into account. There is increasing recognition of the value of the outside expert who has "specialized" in being a general consultant. Often this person can render the best service by helping school faculties and other working groups in a community to learn useful techniques of group problem-solving. Such a consultant should be an expert in social processes with particular reference to curriculum change.

The best strategy in the use of all experts who are outside a given situation would seem to be to find the point at which the group wants help, And the person most likely to be able to furnish that help, find out under what conditions the expert feels he can

do his best work and then clear the way to be his most effective self. For the expert of great repute, ways should be sought to reduce the suspicion people tend to have of the great. Having teachers and community adults meet the person socially is one way of helping them to discover his human qualities. . . .

12
TRAINING CONSULTANTS AND GROUPS TO WORK TOGETHER

(From Leland P. Bradford, "The Use of Psychodrama for Group Consultants", *Sociatry*, 1:2,192-197, June, 1947)

Characteristic of most conference and group meetings throughout the country is the inadequate utilization, and frequent misuse, of the consultant, resource person, or expert. The. following picture of the roles of these persons is all too typical.

1. The expert is called on to give a talk to the group under the assumption that he will answer all unasked questions. The participants become an audience with an attitude of passivity. Essentially unfamiliar with the particular problems plaguing the members of the audience, the consultant, trying to meet the unknown needs and unaware of the degree of sophistication in his field of the listeners, either so generalizes that he meets no problems or gives an exhortatory pep talk. In either case the participants, immediately or later, depending upon the oratorical skill of the expert, sense futility. Two further disastrous results of this use of the expert occur. One is to build in the expert's ego satisfaction in oratory and in "getting a laugh" that is antithetical to the development of a deeper and more last-

ing contribution to the group. The other is the development in participants of a satisfaction with the lazy passivity of being a member of a listening audience and with the temporary emotional exaltation of being "uplifted."

2. The consultant, or resource person, is brought into a discussion group with the vague hope that he will lend authority and weight to what is too infrequently merely a rambling interchange of opinionated ignorance. Often he comes in long after the beginning of the discussion. The discussion leader, feeling impelled to make use of the expert, stops the flow of group thought "to have the expert tell us what we ought to be doing." The expert, again relatively unfamiliar with the exact problems and the degree of sophistication and experience of the group members, proceeds to "tell" the group. The result, obviously, is a change in the status structure of the group to a point where the expert dominates the group while the members become more and more reticent about expressing their problems, experiences, and points of view. The expert frequently causes discouragement and rejection of action by setting levels of aspiration too high for the present level of the group.

3. Frequently the expert has become too centered on one aspect of a problem or on one area of a field. He sees invitations to act as a consultant or resource person as another opportunity to spread the gospel as he views it. The result is an

effort to pervert the group thinking to his opinion and a destruction of the process of group thinking.

Many more pictures of the typical use of experts could be given. The foregoing, however, will suggest to the reader similar experiences. The net result of these misuses is frustration and lack of growth of both participants and experts, increased lack of communication between those facing problems and those having contributions to the solution of their problems, and an increased false dependency upon the expert.

In facing the problem of a more adequate use of the consultant, three general points should be seen. These are, first, the desired results from the use of the consultant, second, the role of the consultant, and third, the specific steps in using the consultant.

1. Desired results from consultant use.

   a. The group should receive definite assistance in terms of their problems.

   b. The group should be further aided by the consultant in their growth as a group and as individuals in their ability to solve problems.

   c. The consultant should, in recompense for his services, have an opportunity to learn more about the problems of people in the area of his concern and should grow in his ability in the role of the consultant.

2. The role of the consultant.

   a. To help the group uncover problems and to delineate the specific aspects of the problems.

   b. To bring a background of information and experience to the group to aid in the diagnosis and solution of problems.

   c. To bring alternative points of view which may help in the thorough determination of problems and the adequate solution of problems.

   d. To bring specific information to the group where needed.

   e. To help the group test their diagnosis of problems and their tentative solutions.

   f. To help the group evaluate the process of their own group thinking.

Obviously the role of the consultant should not involve:

   a. Setting too high a level of aspiration for the group activity.

   b. Dominating the group by insisting on bringing in information where not needed.

   c. Perverting the group to the consultant's way of thinking.

3. Specific steps in using the consultant.

   a. Opportunities should be planned to enable the group to think through and analyze its problems and to determine exactly the kind of help they wish to secure from the consultant.

   b. Opportunities should be provided for the consultant to be thoroughly prepared in terms of the problems of concern to the group and in terms of the degree of awareness of these problems, the depth of thinking and total experience of the group.

Experimentation has been carried on in various conferences

on the use of the consultant, The following examples indicate ways in which psychodrama may be effective in making a more use of the consultant.

Example A: --- In this conference an education officer of a major labor union had been asked to attend as a consultant during one general session of the conference. The director told the consultant that instead of being introduced from the stage he would be asked to sit quietly in the back of the room while a preliminary discussion was held with the conference group on exactly what they wanted to get out of this consultant. After this preliminary discussion, the consultant would be brought into the picture with a clearer understanding of the problems as seen by the participants and of their perception and growth. For a while some discussion was held by the consultant concerning the problems raised by the group. However, the consultant tended to generalize and to make a speech on each point. The leader then endeavored to lead the consultant into role-playing as a means of developing spe-

cific group thinking.

LEADER: "What we really want, Mr. Blank, is a picture of how we in education can work more closely with local labor groups. We often find difficulty in getting down to brass tacks on specific projects, To help us out, I wonder if you would mind being the President of a local union and one of us will play the part of a local director of Adult Education. Who will play the role of local director?"

(*After some discussion, it was finally decided that one of the participants would play this role.*)

LEADER: "Let's see, I assume that this would be in an entirely industrial community of 60,000 to 80,000 people, is that about; right?"

(*Nods of assent from the group and also the consultant*)

"All right, you, Mr. Blank, are now the president of a Local Union and you are in your office and the Director of Adult Education is coming to see you. Are we all agreed on that point?"

(*The consultant sits at the end of a small table with a chair beside him, and is engrossed in his work, as the local Adult Education Director comes into his office.*)

AE DIRECTOR: "How do you do, Mr. Jones. I am Mr. Smith and I am responsible for adult education activities in the

Board of Education here in our city. I know you are busy and I hate to bother you but I have a problem, I think, which concerns you just as much as it concerns me."

(*The Adult Education Director leads very gradually and somewhat timidly into his proposed project which is that of establishing a number of family-living discussion groups among the wives of the union members. Both the union President and the Director of Adult Education have difficulty in talking freely with each other. The Director of Adult Education seems uncertain as to how he should approach the union President and the union President gives evidence that he feels the proposal of the Director of Adult Education is somehow a reflection on his union's activities. His statements are almost entirety directed towards defending his union's activities.*)

UNION PRESIDENT: "Well, Mr. Smith, you know of course that we are always interested in education here in the union and I will be glad to take this up at our next meeting, and let you know how they feel about it." At this point the scene is cut and the evening's discussion leader enters again into the general group discussion.

LEADER: "While I think, Mr. Blank, that gave us some picture of problems which concern us, I have a feeling that we still don't know very well how to approach the President of a local union. I think it might be more helpful if we switch roles at this point. Why don't you be a Director of Adult Education and one of us will play the role of the union President. We have a clearer idea of how to play that role now after watching you in that position."

(The Leader very quickly sets up a similar scene in which another member of the audience now becomes the union President and Mr. Blank prepares to come in as a local Director of Adult Education. This scene is played through much more successfully. Mr. Blank knowing thoroughly the way of thinking of the union President, does a very excellent job of reducing any suspicions the union President may have and of setting up an atmosphere of free interchange of thought in which the two work together towards accomplishing the purpose the AE Director had in mind. After the scene was cut, the whole conference group discussed with considerable interest and almost total participation, the ways in which they in their own community

could develop greater cooperation between labor groups and educational groups. The discussion, in fact, went much deeper into the techniques of developing cooperation with other agencies on the community level. Instead of a situation in which the audience listened, courteously but somewhat indifferently, to Mr. Blank as consultant, there was developed a definite feeling of friendliness and mutual cooperation between Mr. Blank and the rest of the group. So warm was this feeling of fellowship that some of the members talked with him for over two hours after the close of the meeting on common problems.

Example B: —In this conference a number of groups had been working for days on the problem of developing community participation in the educational and social problems and in practicing needed leadership skills in this area. On this particular afternoon one consultant was brought to the group. This consultant was an editor of a newspaper in a nearby city. He had previously met the discussion leader, who had talked to him briefly about the problems this particular group was facing. When the afternoon session began, the consultant merely joined the group without the discussion leader doing more than introducing him by name, but not by occupational responsibilities. Some of the group

looked at the leader with the expectation that he would tell, just who this member was and what he had to tell to the group but the leader ignored these glances and continued with the work of the group. The group itself was carrying on a sequence of psychodrama scenes concerned with developing community concern over the problem of juvenile delinquence and the lack of recreational facilities. Gradually the psychodrama scene pinned down the thinking of the group to a point where they could see more clearly the kind of program which ought to be developed in this community. One of the ways of tackling this problem was seen to be getting the cooperation of the local press. In a particular psychodrama scene the group talked over the problem of going down to meet the local editor. At this point, the group leader suggested that the consultant might well play the role of the local editor. Having watched the thinking of the group for a previous hour, this consultant was in a good position to understand the problems faced by the group and to grasp their level of experience and competence. As a result, in his role of local editor he was able to help the group to analyze very clearly exactly how they would approach the local editor and what they would do to win his cooperation and assistance.

It was only after the scene was played that the group realized that the person playing the role of the editor was himself the editor of a large newspaper, and that the help they had received had added to it the authority of the expert.

. . . In each instance the consultant was carefully prepared for his role in terms of understanding of the group with which he was to work. Because the problems were specific problems his contributions were specific rather than vague and general. Again, the consultant was accepted more as an equal worker with the other group members than as an expert who was merely to be listened to.

13
WHAT IS ACTION RESEARCH?

(From Ronald Lippitt and Marian Radke, "New Trends in the Investigation of Prejudice", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 244:171-176, March, 1946)

. . . One of the facts most frequently found in studies of prejudice is that inconsistency exists between the thinking and the action of an individual or a group. Prejudiced behavior occurs in spite of objective knowledge of facts upon which unprejudiced behavior could be based. Values are expressed verbally which contradict the behaviors and attitudes which are manifested.

Data on attempts to re-educate prejudiced behavior reveal that when the usual re-educational procedure points out this inconsistency, even without directly attacking it, two reactions frequently occur: (1) the challenging facts presented by the "educator" are rejected as not valid by using one or another

of the ego defense mechanisms, e.g., the data are inadequate, the fact collector was biased and so forth; (2) the awareness of the inconsistency brings feelings of guilt which lead to tension and anxiety but very seldom to changed behavior with regard to the prejudice. As Lewin and Grabbe[12] have pointed out, a basic problem in the process of re-education is spontaneous, voluntary acceptance of the new values and behavior patterns, and the most effective stimulus to, and reinforcement of, change is belonging to a group of persons who feel and act in the desired way.

A number of recent research projects have tried to take these factors into account in experimenting with a fact-finding procedure which will serve not only to discover prejudiced attitudes and behavior, but also to encourage changes in the conduct of the prejudiced individual or group. This research method has been called "action-research" in two recent statements by research

organizations focusing on the study of conflict and misunderstanding between ethnic groups.[13]

The major assumption in action-research is that individuals and groups can be guided to participate in a research role in discovering the facts about their own prejudices. There is evidence that this type of research experience makes possible, psychologically, the acceptance of facts and their implications for changes in attitude and behavior which under other circumstances would be rejected or "not seen". Because of the almost uniform failure of re-education programs in combating prejudice, and because the authors believe the action-research project offers an opportunity for social scientists to fulfill an important unique function as scientists in a democracy, the remainder of this article is an analysis of the action research procedure.

ACTION-RESEARCH PROCEDURE

Analysis of eight recent studies14 using the action-research approach reveals the following major points of procedure:

12 K. Lewin and P. Grabbe, "Conduct, Knowledge, and Acceptance of New values" *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 1 (1945). pp. 53-64.

13 Commission on Community Interrelations; "Task Force," a brochure announcing its research and action program, 212 W. 50th St., New York City, 1945; Institute of Ethnic Affairs, brochure announcing its research and action program, 1719 K St. N.W., Washington, D.C., 1945.

14 Commission on Community Interrelations, "The Baltimore Project" (in preparation); C. Hendry and staff, *Boys in Wartime*, New York: Boy Scouts of America, Research and Statistical Service. 1942; Ronald Lippitt. R. Hogrefe. *et al., Camp as a Laboratory for Scoutmaster Training*, New York; Boy Scouts of America, Research and Statistical Service, 1944; Rosemary Lippitt, "Campfire Girls Program Study" (Part I), New York; Campfire Girls, Inc., 1945 (Mimeographed); Marrow and French, *op. cit.* Note 3 supra; National Council YMCA, a study of its USO literature program (unpublished); A. Zander, *et al., Straight from the Boy on Why Scouts Drop Out – and What to Do About It*, New York; Boy Scouts of America, Research and Statistical Service, 1945; A. Zander, *Centerville Studies Itself*, Ann Arbor; University of Michigan, Adult Education Program, 1941.

1. *Initially a group-need to discover some facts exists or is created.*

This may be the aroused curiosity of a community to know how it compares in certain aspects with other communities[15], or it may be the desire of the group to discover how well it is achieving its objectives[16], why it is having the problem it is[17], or what the facts of its present operation would suggest for improvements.[18] Not only must the group be able and willing to recognize that a problem or "need to know" exists, but it must take the attitude that "there are ways of finding out" and "finding out will be worth while." A group of supervisors with which one of the authors recently worked held an initial attitude that "there are a lot of things wrong with our situation for which we'd like to know the reasons"; but a second attitude then appeared of, "Even if we find out, there won't be anything we can do about it-we are powerless to do anything." Finally the group was willing to launch into a fact-finding venture on the basis of accepting a very tentative attitude, "we'll give this procedure a try, although we don't expect much from it."

Usually the action-research worker discovers that the group is well aware of certain problems but unable to accept the need for a further factual diagnosis as a step toward solution. As a spokesman of one group said recently, "We know what our gripes are, so I guess we ought to know what to do about them." Research on prejudice often finds this close linkage between strong feelings and the assumption that these feelings automatically reveal the direction of "what to do about it." For this reason the next two steps of the action-research approach to prejudice are very important.

2. *In the second place, the group, or representatives of it, share in the deciding of "what do we need to know?"*

At this stage the research technician, who has been accepted in a consultant or guiding role, takes the attitude that, to answer the questions posed by the problem which has been agreed on, people on the inside of the group probably have excellent hunches as to what kind of facts are needed and where they may be found.

15 Hendry, op. cit. note 14 supra; A. Zander, *Centerville Studies Itself*, *op. cit.* note 14 supra.

16 Rosemary Lippitt, op. cit. note I4 supra; National Council YMCA, *op. cit.* note 14 supra.

17 Zander, et al., *op. cit.* note 14 supra.

18 Ronald Lippitt, R. Hogrefe, et al., op. cit. note 14 supra: Marrow and French, *op. cit.* note 3 supra.

In a study of why members of certain groups dropped out, the representatives of the group drew up a list of questions which they felt should be asked of individuals who had dropped out, in order to discover their reasons. In another study of why a certain age group was so negative toward certain group activities, the group members working with the research worker listed their observations of reactions and their hypotheses as to the reasons for these reactions.

In all the studies referred to here, the research worker made clear that he also had ideas about possible facts to go after and places to probe for them. The final list of hypotheses, and facts needed to test them, was a combination of ideas from research workers and group members. As Marrow and French[19] point out, this early involvement in research procedure is essential if the facts which are discovered are to be accepted as valid and conclusive enough to combat prejudice in the group of fact finders.

3. Scientific research instruments arc constructed.

At this stage, in each project, the research worker was willingly delegated the role of specialized technician. Now decisions had to be made as to the wording, the form, and the sequence of the questionnaire or interview schedule or observation check sheet or rating scale. Two major questions confronted the research personnel in each case: (I) What would be the best instrument, or set of instruments, from the methodological point of view? (2) What types of research instruments would laymen be able to use with satisfactory reliability and validity? In two of the studies interview schedules were developed,[20] in another a written questionnaire was used,[21] and in three of them a variety of instruments were constructed and used.[22] In five of the projects, the idea that laymen would be using the instruments was given little consideration as compared to the building of the best possible tool for the getting of the facts needed. We do not know whether this was true also in the remaining studies. In one project, committees of laymen worked closely with researchers, serving as resource personnel in the construction of all instruments; in two others, laymen participated in the pre-testing and evaluation of the research tools; and in the other studies, the

19 Marrow and French, *op. cit.* note 3 supra.

20 Rosemary Lippitt, *op. cit.* note I4 supra; National Council YMCA, *op. cit.* note 14 supra.

21 Hendry, op. cit. note 14 supra.

22 Commission on Community Interrelations, op. cit. note 14 supra; Ronald Lippitt, R. Hogrefe, et al., op. cit. note 14 supra: National Council YMCA, op. cit. note 14 supra.

instrument construction was done entirely by research personnel after the original joint planning.

4. Further achieving of the "objectivity role" occurs in making decisions about sampling and learning to use the research tools reliability.

In each of the studies some of the most interesting discussions took place around the problems of sampling. In several cases a hesitant research technician was much surprised to discover-how eagerly the lay research committee grappled with the problem of getting enough facts from the right places to "have proof". Numerous insights about inadequate bases for research conclusions were grasped and verbalized during this stage of the projects, and helpful suggestions made from inside knowledge of the population as to refined sampling breakdowns.

The motivation to learn to use the instruments correctly also proved to be high. Interviewers were ready to be observed and to discuss the problems of personal bias. In two cases regular reliability checks were instituted and the results were reviewed with great interest. Where the training procedure was well presented, it was found that becoming an objective human instrument was tackled as a challenging and absorbing problem. In another case the refined mechanics of data collection were never perceived as necessary, and a sloppy job was done by a number of the workers.

It is our conclusion that laymen are very re-

ceptive to "learning how to be objective" or "to be scientific," and can do a very creditable job of it when limited training is conducted in an interesting fashion, and if, as noted in the next paragraph, there is proper supervision to ensure quick success.

5. *Supervision of data collection must help to ensure success and deal sympathetically with discouragement problems.*

In one project, a major drop of morale occurred when the mechanics of making appointments with interviewees proved difficult. The laymen researchers must be relieved of as much drudgery of this sort as possible. In another study, the observers felt very discouraged about "how little they were getting" until the research worker did a rough tabulation of several observations with them to show how the cumulative data began to build

up a picture. Little group sessions on difficulties and interesting anecdotes proved one of the most successful techniques of correcting mistakes and ensuring a feeling of progress, and thus securing consistent motivation in the early stages before internalized criteria of achievement made feelings of success more possible.

6. *Evidences of attitude change often appear during this phase of participation in fact gathering.*

One administrator who was participating in making observations of staff operation remarked, "You certainly see things differently when you are looking for facts." An interviewer who had just finished her interviews with several adolescents said reflectively, "You really see things through different eyes when you are trained to listen and not be on the defensive." These laymen were discovering that when taking an "objectivity role" and playing the game according to the research rules there was little room or need for the distortions of ego defensiveness and attitude bias that belonged to their "regular citizen role."

7. *Collaboration in putting the facts together and interpreting the facts requires special skill of the research technician.*

Two temptations beset the research personnel in this phase of an action-research project: (I) to take the data off to a room with a calculating machine and come back with the results, or (2) to assign a lot of tabulation drudgery to the lay research workers. In the most successful projects, the work of setting up the first tables of data was done by the research technicians, who then shared this first stage of results with groups of laymen with the question, "What do you begin to make out of these? What lines do you see for further analysis?" The excitement of making sense out of the fragmentary elements of data was thus shared, and, because of this, much "tougher facts" could be faced without psychological rejection. One administrator who shared in the analysis of the observational data about how he looked as a staff leader was able to accept with a reaction of positive challenge a very unflattering picture of himself which was completely out of line with his own expectations and ideology. This same reaction was seen in other cases, both of individuals and of groups.

8. *Sometimes more is needed than a change in the values and social perception of the individual or group.*

In most cases the changed outlook, which comes with the new ability to see and accept the facts, results in changed action, particularly if it has been a group acceptance. But sometimes understanding the facts does not automatically ensure skill in behaving differently. A group of head nurses recently discovered why they were having so much trouble with aggressive behavior of medical students on their wards. The understanding carried with it the implication that they needed to change their behavior toward the students quite radically. But they discovered that new behaviors, like new tools, are often awkward to handle on first usage, and result in a sense of failure. To overcome this difficulty, the nurses set up practice situations where one nurse could keep her role as head nurse and others would become medical students. In this secure situation of "not playing for keeps", the new behavior pattern was tried out, co-operatively evaluated, and perfected to the point of ensuring success.

9. Spreading the facts to other groups by oral and written reports can be a final step—and a new first step.

In four of the studies reported here, representatives of the lay group participated in the writing up of research reports, and in two cases they presented these reports orally at meetings of other groups. There is no research evidence, positive or negative, that changes in prejudiced attitudes or behavior occurred in the other groups because of the reading or hearing of the reports, but there is evidence that one important result was achieved. Several requests originated from other groups to have similar projects of their own. It is doubtful that material written or reported by unknown "experts" would have met with this type of acceptance and stimulated the readiness to enter into "the experience of measurement". . . .

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14
WHAT IS ROLE PLAYING?

(From Charles E. Hendry, Ronald Lippitt, and Alvin Zander, "Reality Practice As Educational Method", *Psychodrama Monographs*, No. 9, Beacon House, Inc., 1944, pp. 9-24)

. . . A "Reality-Practice" Session

The classroom use of a role-practice presented here is based upon a parent-child relations problem in a sociology course on *The Family*. This description of the role-playing technique of studying such a problem is hypothetical in order that it may more quickly cover and more clearly discriminate the usual stages in the development of the method than might a verbatim account of an actual classroom situation. The procedure is typical of that used in a wide variety of teaching projects. Marginal notes indicate the various steps of the role-practice process. These notes are expanded in a later section. The educational objective of the teacher here is to go beyond textbook information to a situation that will forge attitudes and give "behavior-practice" more likely to result in a changed pattern of actual living.

The scene is a typical co-education classroom with about 25 students. The teacher opens the class period . . .

TEACHER: We have been examining the problems of modern family life and effective parental behavior. To review a bit: We spent several days examining carefully the changes in family living, and the change in the functions of the family during the last fifty years. Then we studied the findings of

SENSITIZING THE GROUP TO THEIR TRAINING NEED for deeper insights into the dynamics of family living. This is especially necessary in learning areas tat ordinarily give the student complacency because of their "every-day nature. This discovery that "we see the same event differently" Is a stimulation to "learn to look more deeply."

research on parent-child relations and saw how the pattern of these conflicts has changed over the years and how it is different for different; aged children and for different cultures. Yesterday we heard reports made by two teams on their actual observations of family life over several days and in a number of situations. You will remember how amused we were several times, and how disturbed we were in other instances when we realized how frequent and petty parent-child conflicts can be, and how differently those in one group see and interpret these events. In our discussion of the reports. we agreed that parent-child conflict is probably inevitable, but that it might better lead toward an eventual improvement in understanding rather than a constant running battle. . .

Pointing out the value of common experience for the thinking of the group. Words mean different things for us. We need to check up on ourselves.

TEACHER: Today we are ready for a deeper look into parent-child relations. The procedure we will use, the playing of roles, in a specific situation, will ensure us that we are talking about the same thing when we use the same words. Today we will share our experience. This will prevent the kind of confusion we had several days ago when Hanson said that mostly family troubles were concerned with "discipline", and a number of clam members revealed that they had entirely different notions of what "discipline" is. Today we shall be able to discuss something we have all experienced rather than to talk about the "meaning" of words. Then too, as you shall see, we'll get some practice in the skills needed in meeting an actual parent-child relations problem.

THE WARM-UP

All right, let's imagine our family is father, mother, and young adolescent girl, say 12 or 13 years old. What might be a typical problem for this small family?

Defining the situation

STUDENT 12: She wants to wear make-up and her parents think that she is too young.

(After some counter proposals this conflict is accepted as a. typical one.)

TEACHER: What kind of a family might this be?

STUDENT 5: Middle class.

Sometimes a specific problem of one class member is used but there the total class shares creating the problem and situation.

STUDENT 6: And the parents are late middle-aged.

STUDENT 23: He owns a shoe store, a fuddy-duddy one.

STUDENT 5: In a small town.

(Similar additions round out the *general* situation)

Cooperative defining of the roles.

TEACHER: That is enough about the situation to give our players cues for setting up the role-playing. Let's give them some leads on the kinds of persons these three are. Krall has already suggested that the parents be middle-aged. Any other suggestions?

STUDENT 12: The girl is a cry-baby.

STUDENT 24: She never tries to think things through.

STUDENT 23: She tells fibs.

(Other suggestions are made about the girl's personality. Note in the review of methods below that there are a number of methods for getting characters defined)

Getting specific examples of behavior for role defining.

TEACHER: What is the Father like?

STUDENT 20: A middle-aged man with a soft mustache and a big pipe. The kind that wears white suspenders!

STUDENT 23: He is a Deacon in the church.

STUDENT 15: If he worries about make-up he must be bothered about the behavior of kids.

(Other suggestions are made about he Father's and Mother's personality)

Taking the roles

TEACHER: Now we know what the family is like. Who'll take these parts? (Most of the class become suddenly intent on writing notes or examining floor) (silence) Who do you suggest for the role of the girl?

STUDENT 20: Jeanie Harris!

TEACHER: How about it Jean? All right. How about Jud as the Father? (Class grins assent) Who'll be Mother?

STUDENT 24: Ann Lombard would be swell.

Defining the situation—continued.

TEACHER: We'll give the three players about two minutes out in the hall in order for them to rough out the plans for depicting a family conflict over the wearing of make-up. Remember, just the situation, no planning of what to say. (The three role-takers leave the room). During the role-playing let's keep notes on the aspects of effective parenthood and those of ineffective parenthood that we see. We'll discuss these observations later.

Getting the group to observe intelligently.

STUDENT 15: When the players return will they be trying to give a picture of an ideal family, will they be acting as they, themselves would in such a situation, or what will they be doing?

TEACHER: They will each give their own interpretation in action of the role we sketched out for them in broad terms. Remember that the object here is not an accurate portrayal of roles or a portrayal of a "perfect" family but a sample of parent-child

interactions which we can all observe and discuss.

(The players return)

TEACHER: What are your plans?

MOTHER: We have decided that our setting will be in the living room shortly after supper. Father will be reading the paper and listening to the radio. Mary, the daughter, will not enter until we have talked a bit.

The situation further defined by the role-players, to make it as "real" as possible and to warm up the participants in their roles.

TEACHER: Tell us a little about the room. Where are the chairs, the radio, and so forth?

MOTHER: (Indicating) This is Father's chair next to the radio.

FATHER: And here is the entrance from the kitchen.

(More questions are asked about the setting)

TEACHER: O.K., let's go.

FATHER: (Seated before radio, fiddles with the dials, leans back to enjoy paper and pipe)

MOTHER: (Entering) Mmmm! That is nice music. (Sits absently)

FATHER: Yes, it is.

MOTHER: Be home this evening?

The role-playing starts easily. The behavior and conversation flow spontaneously from the family experiences of the participants, rather than from any "learned lines".

FATHER: Uh-huh. What is Mary getting ready for?

MOTHER: She's going skating with Sunny Morse.

FATHER: Better be sure to tell her to get home early. (A bit of silence) I hear the most terrible stories down at the store. Some of the kids in this town are plenty wild. (pause) In fact, kids aren't like the way they were when we were Mary's age. Why Lennie's kid doesn't miss a single movie that

comes to town. When I was his age, I wouldn't have had the time to go to shows if they had 'em. I was so busy. And they're on the streets at all hours!

MOTHER: (Nods as though it is an old story from her man but one with which she agrees. She is knitting)

FATHER: (Mumbles as he swings sheets of newspaper)

(Mary enters)

MARY: Good night, Mom. Good night, Pop.

MOTHER: Have a good time. Your father says he wants you home promptly at 9.

FATHER: (Looks out from behind newspaper) And we mean nine! No later! (Frowns, looks closer) What have you got on your face?

MARY: (Begins an embarrassed reply) Its

FATHER: 1 know very well what it is! (louder) It's ROUGE and LIPSTICK!

MARY: No it isn't. I just washed my face and rubbed hard with the towel.

FATHER: It's paint! Enough to make you look like a painted woman!

MARY: (Doggedly) But I'm old enough to

Taking roles releases many inhibitions of "polite classroom behavior."

FATHER: Old enough be damned! I don't want your Mother to wear that stuff!

The portrayal of actual problems mustn't be censored.

MARY: (Voice beginning to break) Oh Daddy! All the kids wear it. They would laugh at me. . .

FATHER: So, it's more important what they think than what; your father and mother say? The scandal I hear about kids in town

makes me shudder . . . and now you're one of them!

MARY: I never have anything to do with the Olympic Athletic Club kids but I might as well. You think I do Oh! I won't go!

MOTHER: Now you are going too far. You said just the other day that you knew that you could always trust Mary. . .

FATHER: This has nothing to do with trusting her. I want her to wash her face, that's all.

MARY: Never mind, I'm not going, (On verge of tears)

MOTHER: I agree with you about the paint but I don't think that makes Mary any 1ess trustworthy.

FATHER: Why, she denied that she had the stuff on, a few minutes ago! That was a lie, wasn't it?

(Mother continues knitting while Mary softly sobs)

FATHER: (Self-righteously) Now, I'm not going to soften like I usually do. I know what I'm doing. I made a point and I am going to stand by this one.

MARY: (Still sobbing)

MOTHER: I think that father was too harsh too—never mind, Mary. (Gently) Stop crying.

FATHER: (After a pause-somewhat softer) Mary, stop crying.

MARY: (Continues sobbing)

MOTHER: There, there. . . (to Mary)

FATHER: (Beginning to retreat) I didn't

mean that you never could wear it. Maybe when you're old enough you can wear it.

MARY: (Still sobs)

FATHER: Well, go ahead, Mary. Wear just a little bit. Maybe that won't bother me so much.

MARY: (Rises and wanders out of the room, still dismal in the midst of her victory)

TEACHER: That is a good place to stop. Let's first; list the behavior. that is typical of the father, then we can experiment with other ways in which Father and Mother may have handled this family situation.

GROUP EVALUATION of the "drama"—making use of the common experiences of the audience.

In the discussion the following points are made about the father's behavior:

1. He is not aware of modern mores.
2. His imagination is colored by an uncritical belief in vague rumors of scandal about young people.
3. The child is unfavorably characterized in her presence.
4. The father is inconsistent.
5. The father is far from firm in his convictions.
6. The father has no comprehension of the pull of loyalty and the degree of judgment an adolescent attributes to her friends.

The discussion turned to the girl:

1. The friend's esteem is more valued than that of parents.
2. "make-up" is apparently considered a sign of "belongingness" to the group—both boys and girls.
3. Though she does engage in mild tantrums, it is probably because she is unable to develop any other course of

action under the unreasoning pressures put upon her.
4. She is showing signs of snobbery.

Evaluation continued

TEACHER: What specific suggestions would you make for changes in the behavior of the father, assuming he wanted to be a better parent?

After a vigorous discussion as to whether such a man could change his behavior the following behavior changes are recommended:

1. The father should have and state a more adequate reason than "his own wish" for asking the daughter to refrain from wearing make-up.
2. He needs an accurate conception of the present mores of youth and should indicate to, his daughter that she can trust his information.
3. He should be more consistent, since his inconsistency is confusing the girl. Part of his change in that respect can be taken care of by making sure that he does not take a stand which he feels he may not be able to give full support.

RE-PLAYING THE ROLES. Practicing more desirable behavior patterns. The teacher-director has an intimate role of friendly supervisor.

TEACHER: Let's have Jud play the father aver again trying to make the changes in his behavior recommended thus far. We'll assume that the daughter and mother know nothing about his resolve to change his behavior so that they will act the way they always have in their relations with the father.

(Scene is repeated as before with attempted changes in behavior on the part of Jud but no changes by mother and daughter)

A concrete discovery and verbalization of a basic psychological principle.

TEACHER: Now, what problems did you have in your attempt to change roles? We'll Evaluation continued.

gain understanding of parent problems if we know the difficulties they have in making changes in their relations with their children.

JUD: One difficulty was the way the mother and daughter were acting toward me. They expected me to act just the same. That expectation of theirs, and their behavior being the same as it always was, put me in the position of repeating my previous pattern of relations with them. It was more comfortable to return to the former way. For example, I wanted to make sure that I said nothing against her friends. Yet, she lied to me the minute I spoke to her and didn't seem to notice that I was trying to be a better parent.

Learning to get insight into "the other fellow's role" is an important part of achieving this particular educational objective.

TEACHER: Probably Mary needs more knowledge of how you actually feel toward your daughter-arid how you react to her. Mary, you assume the role of the father, and Father, you take Mary's role. As soon as you are in the mood of these switched roles, let's go through the scene once more.

(The spontaneous drama is repeated with switched roles)

Summarizing learnings from this experience.

TEACHER: On the basis of this glimpse into a family conflict what general principles about parental behavior may we derive? We can test; them later in role-assuming experiences.

The summary discussion of learnings points up that:

1. One of the most important conflicts between today's parents and children is a cultural one—disagreement between past and present standards.
2. Parents can push so hard that their children are forced to tell lies.
3. Attempts at changing behavior in a family setting are complicated by the expectation that the rest of the family

puts upon you to behave the way you have been doing in the past.

TEACHER: The last suggestion is especially pertinent to today's role-playing experience. The first two suggestions can often be found in the literature on the family. What other ideas about family life did you get from this class experience which we have not seen in our readings?

JUD: I felt as though I were having a chance to experiment in living with people. You gave me the idea that the father was a scared, crabby man—so I just got as mad as I wanted to. I don't think I ever noticed before how people act when I get sore. Poor Mary! I was afraid she thought I meant it!

STUDENT 12: I have come much nearer to an understanding of the concept of "role". The descriptions in the sociology books have never made it "live" for me as did this (play) today.

Keeping the whole classroom experience oriented toward the realities of life outside the classroom for which this reality-practice experience serves as a genuine preparation.

TEACHER: Let's continue the observation of family life this week-in our own homes or in other families with which we come in contact. Look particularly now for examples of how potential conflict situations are handled so that harmony instead of conflict occurs. And of course those of us that are living at home can do a little "trying-out" of some of the techniques we are learning—and perhaps make a report to the class on what happens.

DISCUSSION OF METHODS USED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REALITY-PRACTICE EXPERIENCE

The development of the educational role-playing situation usually follows a definite sequence of steps: (1) sensitizing to need for training; (2) the warm-up, role-taking, and definition of situation; (3) helping the audience group to observe intelligently; (4) evaluating the role-playing; and (6) re-playing the

situation. In the classroom the methods used in fulfilling each of these stages may vary with the topic, group, and teacher. The following discussion summarizes some of the variations in practice that have been used in each of these stages of role-playing in using this method to achieve a variety of educational objectives . .

Sensitizing to Need for Training

The object of need-sensitizing is to disturb the complacency of the student and thus to make him aware of his need for learning certain skills or information. It is premised on the assumption that few persons are able to realize, let alone verbalize their lack of skill, especially in interpersonal relations. Relatively seldom is there an active and intelligent readiness to learn-oriented toward a specific educational objective.

The teacher in the above classroom used two techniques for sensitizing her students to the need for deeper insights into family relations: (1) *presentation of the dramatic facts*; and (2) *reports on observations of family* life. The former is a familiar technique and needs no enlargement here. The latter method suggests a variety of possibilities. The observation is usually made with the aid of an observation instrument, the development of which may be a student project[11]. This tool is a set of rating scales, check list, or questions, which serve to guide the eyes of the observers to areas of importance. Observations may be made of *films, stories*, printed *descriptions of group action*, or *case materials* on class groups, families, nursery schools, offices, indeed whatever reservoir of specific description of human interactions are suitable for the topic in hand. Observations made on personal interactions without an instrument to guide the observer have their value. Reports made by several observers who viewed the same situation at the same time reveals, as does no other method, the lack of reliability between observers due to predisposition to select different aspects for notations, thus implying that "your way of seeing things" is not the only way. This method reveals the basic semantic difficulties for students of social events and shows the common problems of misunderstanding social interaction dynamics. This experience usually creates or heightens the feelings of "need to learn something more" about all this.

11 Lippitt, Ronald and Zander, Alvin. Adult-youth participation sheet. (Mimeographed) New York; Boy Scouts of America Research and Statistical Service.

The collection by the trainee of anecdotes pertinent to the topic for which he needs sensitizing is a helpful "complacency shock." In parent-child relations, for example, the student might note instances of parent-child friction (or potential friction avoided) adding his own interpretation of causes and cures.

Sensitizing to needs may also be done by means of a simple check list of typical problems

(needs) which the trainee marks indicating those which he feels are his. In other cases an experienced "expert" is brought in who is able to describe typical problems in the situation for which the person is training.

The trainer or teacher will need to vary his sensitizing techniques, depending upon the extent to which the individuals or group are likely to be put an the defensive by a recognition of a "need to learn." Perhaps a special atmosphere of objectivity will need to be fostered of "a majority of folks are in the same boat" in needing to master this problem. The teacher can set this atmosphere by taking the lend personally in verbalizing a need for further knowledge or skill in the given area-often debunking himself as an "expert," defining himself as a fellow learner. If the group is starting from ignorance and the topic does not involve learning to change personal attitudes or behavior, the problem of creating readiness is not such a major one. But if the group is starting with a fund of misinformation or inadequate performance, and the re-education is in areas of attitudes and social behavior, the careful selection and use of techniques of need-sensitizing through one or more types of complacency shocking is an important first step.

The Warm-Up

The "warm-up" is the stage during which the role-situation is set, the roles defined, and the role-players helped to feel "at-home" in their characters.

In the classroom protocol above, the situation was created and the roles defined by the group as a joint creation after the teacher had suggested several ideas about the family situation and turned to the class for advice on the rest of the detail. In other cases the situation and roles may be defined by someone in the group, perhaps the teacher, who has expert information or exclusive experience on the type of problem or with the type of roles under study. This might be true if the students were studying the customs and people of a foreign country which the

teacher had visited or where a special guest was a native. A third procedure, quite different from the two mentioned above, is to take the actual personal life situation of some member of the group. In psychotherapy Moreno calls this a psycho-dramatic role-playing situation as compared to the sociodrama exemplified by the non-personal role situations of the first two examples [(12)]. If the actual daughter Mary were in the class and worked through with the group her own "lipstick we would be using the psychodramatic technique. This is frequently the most valuable method in working with trainees already on the job for which they are being trained, or for classes in mental hygiene, adult consumer education groups, etc., where the real problems are being faced already in daily living for which the course is attempting to give useful skill or knowledge.

A single informant sometimes describes a situation in brief and the rest of the class provides the stereotypes which gives the problem typicality for them all. For example, a club-leader-supervisor roughly described a problem which club-leaders often have in the planning of future meetings. The rest of the group at once knew of types of youth and a typical leader role which they would like to see put together in a "program planning" dramatization. In some cases the group involved does all of the structuring of situation and roles. In a few cases it; may be most profitable for the total group to take roles—as representatives in a legislature, for example.

The most important of the above techniques for use in a specific teaching situation will depend upon several questions: Which method will most effectively introduce the topic content to be studied? Which procedure will help the group achieve greatest insight into the problem being studied? Which approach will help the group feel most at home in the roles to be played? There is great flexibility in tackling such varied problems as: Insight into group psycholological dynamics, sensitivity to personal latent attitudes, an understanding of other cultures or of minority groups, a functional knowledge of a foreign language. In general there has been almost no difficulty in getting people to assume and portray roles. All ages take a hand at this job with little hesitation. There is practically no resistance as one might expect there to be, on the grounds that such

teaching technique harks back to "kid" days of "make-believe," and most

12 Moreno, J.L., The concept of the sociodrama, *Sociometry*, VI, No. 4, November 1943.

persons readily understand what it means to play a role and are willing to "give it a try."

In a classroom situation, students may not as readily jump to the opportunity of playing a role as they do in less formal training situation. In the family conflict earlier described, the teacher asked for group suggestions, and made one assignment herself. If an informant is being asked to develop the problem, he may have persons in mind for the various roles. An informant may be willing to describe a certain problem but dislike to portray any of the roles himself. The director may gradually build confidence in the informant by cross-questioning him up to the edge of a point which can best be made clear only if the informant acts it out with the director. Transference of this interaction with the director to group role-playing becomes an easy job.

Another way for an informant to be brought into the actual role-playing is to have him observe others acting out a problem he has described in order that he might criticize any errors in the conception of the roles. His involvement in this job will often break down ally resistance he might have originally had to portraying the roles.

In general, volunteers and group suggestions will provide the teacher, or "director," with all the role-players he needs. Any reluctant; individual who, it; is felt, ought to portray one of the roles, may be given confidence by placing him in the initial position of the informant as described above.

Helping the Audience Group to Observe Intelligently

Much of the value of the role-playing technique depends upon the discussion following the spontaneous dramatization. The effectiveness of this discussion is limited in turn by the accuracy and relevance of observation by the group while the role-playing is in progress. The teacher in the above protocol simply asked the group to take notes on the good and bad parental practices. At the opposite pole is that procedure in which the director gives the group prepared check lists[13]. These forms guide the observer to perceive cues considered important in either group or individual behavior. A class group that has made its own check list will be especially insightful in its use. Another advantage of this total group observation is that they will learn to be

13 Hogrefe, Russell. A mimeographed observation checklist for use in training group discussion leaders. New York: Boy Scouts of America, Research and Statistical Service.

specific in terminology and to avoid the use of vague terms which have no definable behavior-counterpart.

The use of a "clarifier," a person who interprets to the audience what is happening in a group as it happens, is valuable for some learning situations. A detailed description of the "clarifier" in action is reported elsewhere [14].

Re-Playing the Situation

Several interesting variations in "re-doing" the situation have been tried out. Where one aspect of the educational objective is getting an understanding of "the other fellow's point of view", "how parents see things", etc., there is great value in having the same persons change roles and find out what the situation looks like from a different angle. This technique is also helpful where the problem of a specific individual in the group is being studied. Very often this person can be greatly helped if he can be stimulated to gain insight into "his father's point of view" by portraying that role while someone else in the group plays his. Or very often it is helpful to replay the same personal episode with the person sitting on the sidelines observing himself as portrayed by someone else in the class.

Quite a different use of the replaying situation is typified by a leadership problem analysis in which three different members of the group volunteered to take the leader role to work out a

problem of an "apathetic committee". All three leaders went outside the room as the committee members defined their roles. Then the leaders came in one at a time to handle the situation[20]. The audience made observations of the three examples of leadership role and discussed the differences—arriving at a prescription of how the group might have been handled more effectively. The same leaders then replayed their roles trying to make use of the group prescription for better performance.

A surprising number of episodes can be enacted or re-enacted in a short period of time. In several training sessions as many as five or six persons have re-played the same problem, with intervening group critique, in a class period of an hour. Moving back and forth from a role-playing episode to discussion or critique or lecture and back to more tryout experience has proven to be a

14 Zander, Alvin. The interaction-awareness panel, *J. of Psychol.*, Vol. 19, May 1944.

20 Moreno, J.L. A Frame of Reference for Testing the Social Investigator, *Sociometry*, III, No. 4, 1940.

very effective learning sequence in "sinking deeper" than the transmitting of verbal information.

Group Evaluation of the Role-Playing

A most important feature in the use of role-playing is the evaluation of the episode by the larger class group. If the drama has done nothing but provide an example of human relations in a specific setting for a group analysis it has performed an important function.

The foregoing family-problem drama was followed by a discussion in which both players and audience participated. First, they discussed the behavior of the father and suggested ways in which it might have been improved. After the actors had made several attempts to change the interpretation of their roles, the discussion turned to the insights that class members had acquired as a result of this experience. The discussion, or evaluation, attempts to criticize the roles so that the players may re-play them and thus acquire greater skill in inter-personal relations. It also summarizes learnings and explores new problems following the drama.

Questions that are often raised by the director or students following a role-playing are: What was typical of good behavior for that role-type? What was typical of bad behavior for the role-type? What behavior would have been more typical of this situation? On the basis of these criticisms how should the role behavior be changed? What differences did you find in the interpretation of your different roles? What problems did you find in changing your behavior after the class had suggested ways of changing your role? What principles of behavior did we perceive here that might have more general application?

In short, the role-playing may be considered mutual group experience comparable to a common reading reference, movies, or lecture. The fact that all group members saw the activity at the same time makes it possible to discuss a mutually known segment of human inter-relations. And the fact that it is spontaneously portrayed adds a note of reality that no other communication tool could provide. In addition, there is the opportunity for group members to try out other forms of behavior than those which they might ordinarily use in a situation that will not penalize them for blunders in human inter-relations, as does real

life. As Moreno[16] and John R. P. French[21] have pointed out this is one very important advantage of classroom role-playing over supervision on the job where the greater stake of each person in the things he does makes for greater caution and resistance in trying out anything new or different in his performance.

Directing Role-Playing

The teacher-director, during a role-playing situation, must adopt a pattern of behavior which is distinctly different from that of the usual "teacher" stereotype. The director must keep in mind that "non-approved" behavior may very well occur during a dramatization and that his part is to keep from showing any signs of disapproval. Inasmuch as a role-playing episode is a spontaneous affair, it cannot be expected that it

will be an example of a "perfect" or a "best" kind of behavior, nor should it be. The success of the whole group atmosphere depends upon the example of objectivity the teacher is able to give at the revelation of "private'" types of human relations in uninhibited interaction. This teaching method will provide problems for the teacher who conceives of his job as one of dealing only in information-dispensing. Role-playing is especially valuable for the development of attitude changes and may be used for that specific educational purpose. However, while attitudes are being changed, there is very often no new information acquired; instead there is simply a reordering of already known facts. This lack of "fact learning" will worry some teachers.

We have already seen in practice the job of the director during the warm-up period. When the dramatization is under way, he has little to do until it is time for him to help the group and players think through how far they have come at a certain point and to start out on a new angle. Infrequently the director may whisper encouragements or advice to one who may be "losing-a-grip-on-his-role", or who cannot spontaneously find "what to do next". However, it should be cautioned that the tendency for a classroom teacher to interrupt may be more frequent; than is wise. The spontaneity of the situation must be

16 Bavelas, Alex. Morale and the training of leaders. Chapt. VIII in *Civilian Morale*, Goodwin Watson (ed.), New York; Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942.

21 John R. P. Retaining an Autocratic Leader. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 39, No. 2, April, 1944.

protected above all. It is from the spontaneity of reaction that the "reality" arises. . . .

15
SOME COMMENTS ON THE USES OF ROLE PLAYING

(From Alex Bavelas, "Role Playing and Management Training", *Sociatry*, 1:2 : 183-190, June, 1947)

. . . Management consists of getting jobs done through people. The efficient manager has a double objective: a) to fulfill the technical requirements of the job, and b) to do so in such a way that the human resources he employs are maintained and developed. Management, on the whole, is impressively competent in the technical aspects of its job but is only beginning to appreciate the responsibilities and possibilities of the human relations aspects. While many of the human problems in industry derive from the workings of social and economic forces "outside" a given industrial organization, it is clear that the larger part of a particular management's troubles can be traced to inept handling of human relations problems "inside" the industrial organization. These difficulties do not arise entirely out of incorrect philosophies of human relations. There are notable examples of failures of "theoretically" sound industrial relations programs, and of theoretically suicidal ones that have had a surprisingly long life. These cases are understandable, however, when one examines the quality of the "face-to-face" relationships which exist within the organization. All organizations reduce ultimately to such direct contacts, and these are critical links which determine to a large extent their success or failure.

Developing and maintaining optimal face-to-face relationships is, for many managers, a very difficult thing to do. And the prevailing notion that this phase of management is a matter of "personality" or "knowing human nature" etc., has obscured the problem and made it difficult for the manager to get the help he needs. Actually, both casual observation and research indicate that the quality of personal relationships depends upon specific social skills, and that like other skills they may be learned by practice. They cannot be learned out of books to any greater extent than skill in playing tennis can be acquired by reading a book, and a traditional, course in psychology is little more helpful than a course in physics would be to the tennis player.' What appears to be the most effective method for teaching these skills is a common sense one—watch others, let others watch you, discuss and evaluate differences, and try it again. Practical

considerations usually make such a procedure extremely difficult if not impossible to follow in the actual work situation. Because of this, training ordinarily takes the form of meetings, in which the conference method has been generally conceded to be superior to "formal" instruction methods.

The conference or group discussion method, successful as it is in presenting points of view, genuinely involving the participants, and changing attitudes, suffers from one grave disadvantage in that its activities are confined to "talking about" rather than "doing". Group discussion may effect considerable understanding regarding the problems of face-to-face relationships, but it is not very effective in transmitting behavioral skills. It is this defect in the discussion method that has led individuals interested in the problem of training social skills to experiment with role-playing. The central idea of role-playing is the assigning of roles to various members of the training group and the acting out of problem situations. While role-playing as a method of training in industry is not widespread, it has been used enough to show that it is possible to proceed in a variety of ways. The problem situation and the roles to be played may be defined so strictly as to constitute, for all intents and purposes, a demonstration; or they may be set so loosely that the "play" is highly spontaneous and the outcome all but unpredictable. The play may deal with a single incident, or it may contain a series of incidents each growing out of the preceding one. Various individ-

* This statement, of course, refers exclusively to "skills", and not to matters of philosophy and attitude.

uals playing parts may be instructed as to how to react if certain events take place, or they may be told to react "naturally"

Whatever the form of role-playing used, if it is well planned and directed, the following advantages for teaching are usually gained:

1) Playing a role before an "audience" makes an individual self-conscious. Since the purpose of role-playing is not to present a finished performance, this self-consciousness is desirable because it makes the individual aware of his actions in a new way. It is a common occurrence in role-playing that a person makes the same mistakes he has been observed to make unconsciously while on the job, and immediately after the play is over points out, himself, that he has made errors. He becomes, as it were, "sensitized" to himself.

2) Since the roles other than the one primarily under consideration are also played by members of the group, it is possible to get direct expression immediately after the play of the effects caused by the actions of the primary actor. For instance, the foreman who is playing the role of a worker can report how it made him feel when the foreman treated him the way he did. This helps the trainees to get a better insight into the effects of their actions on others. They become, in other words, sensitized to the effects of their actions on others.

3) Since everyone, sooner or later, takes a turn at playing a role, everyone in the "audience" has either taken his turn or is waiting to go on. This rotation of roles causes certain factors to operate:

a) The individuals waiting for their turn take full advantage of the chance to see what the fellow "at bat" will do, and thus eliminate errors from their own performance.

b) The individuals who have already been at bat, elated with their success or chagrined at their errors, are also only too ready to find and point out the good or bad points in the current play.

c) Very often an individual who has just played the role of foreman takes the role of worker in the very next play. For him this offers the stimulating experience of "feeling the difference" between the foreman's and the worker's position in a difficult situation.

4) Role-playing has the advantage of emphasizing showing how you would do something rather than telling how you would do it. Many individuals who "talk a good game" are woefully

inadequate when it comes to performing the actions they describe so glibly.

5) And finally, role-playing has the sound virtue of getting people to learn by doing. The advantages of actual practice over pure discussion, in terms of effecting on-the-job behavior changes, are considerable. . . .

The outline following. is a general description of the succession of events in a typical role-playing session.

1. Begin with a short discussion of the general area in which the problems to be taken up lie. The group may be encouraged to tell about "cases" that illustrate the various aspects of the problem.

2. Select and send out of the meeting room two or three of the trainees. If this is the first time role-playing is to be at- tempted, try to select individuals who you judge will have least trouble in entering into the spirit of the thing, and spend a few minutes explaining what role-playing is all about.

3. Describe to the group the problem situation which will be played out. (This has been prepared by the trainer in advance of the meeting. It might be a situation in which a foreman has decided to have a talk with one of his men regarding excessive absenteeism.) Give enough background material so that the problem becomes alive. For instance, the details might be

a) The man has been employed for a year and a half and is a better-than-average worker; b) up to three months ago his attendance had been very good; c) a month ago he received a routine warning slip on his absenteeism, but the absenteeism continued; d) the foreman has decided to do something about it; e) the man's absenteeism is due to some very personal difficulties, and he would rather lose his job than talk about them to the foreman.

4. Select a member of the group to play the role of the worker, or in initial sessions the trainer himself may play this role.

5. Ask the group if there are any questions—if the problem under consideration is clear. Suggest, or better, obtain from the group, possible lines of action that the foreman might take, and

orient the group toward watching the ensuing play with the set "how could it be done better?" For example, "What might the foreman do? Will he try to discover the cause of the man's absence? When he realizes that the man won't tell him why he is absent, what will he do? Will he threaten him? Will he say it doesn't matter? What can the foreman do in such a situation? 1s he completely blocked?"

6. If the play is to take place in the foreman's office, set before the group a table and two chairs and furnish enough "props" to make the situation quite definite.

7. Call in one of the men waiting outside. Have him take his place at the desk and explain the problem to him. (It is usually interesting in a problem like this one to say nothing of the worker's resistance to revealing the reason for his absenteeism. Let the foreman discover it for himself, as he would in a real-life situation.) Make sure he understands the setting, and then start the action—"The problem is clear? Very well. You are in your office and you had asked Jack to come in. Here he is. He walks in and says, 'Did you want to see me, Mr. Frank?' "

8. This kind of situation may end by itself with the man going back to his place of work. Some situations, however, do not come to an end naturally if left alone. In such a case, the trainer must decide when the play has gone on long enough for the purposes he has in mind, and arbitrarily "end" it.

9. Have the primary player take his place with the group. Sum up the action that took place. Do not enter into a discussion at this point as to how it could have been done differently. Rather, prime the group to look for differences between what they have seen and the next play. It is helpful to outline the events of the first play briefly on a blackboard and cover it up before the next man comes in. If the first player has had difficulty because of factors in the problem of which he was not aware (the resistance of the worker

against explaining the cause of his absenteeism), explain them to him so that he can watch the second player on a par with the rest of the group.

10. Call in the second player and repeat instructions. The man taking the role of worker essentially repeats his previous behavior.

11. When the second play has ended, and assuming you sent out only two people, sum up the action of the second play and review what happened in the first one. The review is important because the second player must be brought up to date. If you are using a blackboard, you will now have two outlines, side by side, each describing the action in one of the plays.

12. Before general discussion evaluating the two performances begins, it is usually best to ask all three of the actors for their reactions. This gives the players a chance to "save face" by pointing out themselves the errors that they may have made, and serves to give the group additional information. It is often helpful to prompt the man playing the role of worker by such questions as "Which foreman do you think you'd rather work for? Why?"

13. Open the meeting to general discussion. As a result of the discussion try to get a third column on the blackboard indicating what the group now feels would be the preferred foreman behavior.

14. Select a member of the group who has not yet played a role and have him act out the foreman's role along the lines indicated by the group. Instruct the group to watch carefully for flaws in what they have set up as "preferred" behavior.

Lectures, group discussion, arid role-playing can be regarded as being on a continuum along which the skill of the training leader is increasingly important. Leading a good group discussion requires skills in addition to those required for delivering a good lecture. Conducting a role-playing session requires a high level of discussion leadership—and considerably more. It requires, obviously, that the leader be able to actually do as well as tell how to do. This is an innocent-sounding requirement, but many a seasoned talker has had cause to smart in retrospect at his first attempt to act out the solution to an apparently simple problem. There is also the requirement of an adequate technique in directing role-playing (not the same problem as method, which was briefly discussed above). And there is always the task of constructing the situations which will be acted out. Almost always they must be planned anew for each group and organization, and it is not easy to find the problem situations which will yield the most fruitful material. . .

The question often arises "Granted that role-playing is an efficient training method, can individuals be trained to use it?" The answer is a qualified "yes", based upon both failures and successes. Attempts to train individuals to direct role-playing yield very questionable results when reliance is placed upon lectures, demonstrations, and trainers' manuals. Experience indicates what should have been self-evident: that the directing of role-playing can best be taught by the use of role-playing itself. In one case, after spending twenty hours of meetings in demonstration and discussion without appreciable effect, a successful transmission of the skill was accomplished in three two-hour sessions in which the individuals took turns playing the role of trainer. In another case, several individuals of a group of plant managers who were using role-playing to solve some of their own problems spontaneously began using the technique with their own subordinates with excellent results. . .

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PART THREE

Groups and Group Methods in Curriculum Change

SECTION C
Putting Group Methods to Work in the School

[Page 250:]

1
INTRODUCTION

In Part I, we tried to show how change in human relationships is an integral part of curriculum development. In Part II, we examined several ways of looking at the problems of change in a school system or in other organizations. In the first; two sections of Part III, we changed our focus and examined the face-to-face group, its operation and improvement, on the assumption that groups are key instruments in planning and carrying out changes in a school program.

The present section takes us back to the larger setting of the school system again but with some new orientation to the processes and problems of a cooperative, group way of working on problems of change. The selections in this section should be react as suggestions for administrators and supervisors in moving toward the installation of cooperative methods for planning changes in the school program. No selection should be seen as the way to start. There is no one way to start which will fit all situations. But, if read imaginatively, the selections in this section offer suggestions both for diagnosing the problems of human relationship in a particular school system and for moving toward the cooperative solution of the problems which careful diagnosis shows to be present.

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2
WE CAN WORK TOGETHER

(From Donald Nylen and Leland P. Bradford, "We Can Work Together", *NEA Journal*, 37:7 : 436-438, October, 1948)

On a Thursday afternoon these conversations are taking place.

In the School Superintendent's Office—*Assistant Superintendent*: "Principal Jones doubts whether he can get the teachers in his building to go along with the new schedule."

Superintendent: "Too bad. We put a lot of thought into the reorganization. The principals did too."

Assistant Superintendent: "Why are teachers so resistant? Reasonable requests meet with apathy and grumbling. They're so shortsighted they harm their own best interests."

In a Corridor—*A Supervisor:* "I wish we could get teachers to take more responsibility. Another teacher from Mr. Jones' building sent back the projector without the cord."

Another Supervisor: "I don't blame teachers. The administration ought to provide a pick-up service."

First Supervisor: "Maybe so, but all the directions are written out. The trouble is they won't read them."

In a Coffee Shop—*First Teacher*: "I'm exhausted. We had visitors from the office. Then there was a meeting about a joint English-history program. Imagine trying to correlate English with the history Mr. X teaches!"

Second Teacher: "That's what the new consultant brought to

town. These things come and go. You work out something for somebody to publish a book about and then it's over."

Third Teacher: "It's too bad, for the children suffer. We do too. The pressure gets worse every year."

A PROBLEM IN COMMUNICATIONS

More than walls arid status separates these members of the same staff. Each group has become lost in separate worlds of thought and feelings. Each member is trying to give his best. But intercommunication between levels has largely disappeared.

Directives moving downward are resented, seen as evidences of lack of understanding and interest on the part of those above, and ignored when possible. Problems moving upward are seen as complaints. Each level has become insulated against understanding the feelings, purposes, and problems of every other.

Improved human relations in any organization mean improved inter- and intra-group relation and increased group efficiency. Solutions to most organizational problems involve groups more of ten than individuals.

Fortunately the superintendent is concerned with resistance to reorganization which Principal Jones encounters. He sees that individual and group-relations problems have grown with the size and complexity of the school system. He realizes the need for skill in group problems.

After exploration, the superintendent brings in a consultant in group process. He talks frankly with him about school problems as he sees them, mentioning apathy of teaching staff, inability of parts of the system to cooperate, jealousy of principals and supervisors, resistance to change.

As the problem becomes crystallized, it becomes obvious that it deals with human relations and that its core lies in lack of group ability to think and work together.

The consultant is pleased to see that the superintendent is objective arid anxious to improve the situation. Together, the superintendent and consultant assess all aspects of the problem, changes needed, forces in school and community which can help bring changes about, and forces likely to stand in the way. They

examine what the superintendent thinks are the attitudes of all groups in the school toward each other and toward himself and his assistant superintendents. The superintendent evaluates the readiness of his central staff and principals to cooperate in such change.

MAKING A START

They gradually develop basic points which they feel should underlie any change. They agree that first steps should be small enough to be manageable but, if successful, clearly visible to all. They agree that *change in human-relations skills can't be brought about by administrative order, but calls for the involvement of all concerned. They realize that any change must be clearly seen as increasing rather than threatening the security of all groups, that any ultimate change must result from the thinking and decision-making of all groups concerned.*

They consider the place to begin and the first steps. Principal Jones' building appears to be an excellent prospect; Jones is aware of the problems and wants to solve them.

The first step calls for a talk with Jones in which his interest and involvement are assessed, and his ideas as to the problems secured. They agree they should discuss with Jones the desirability of getting a clear picture from everyone in the building as to what they think the problems are.

Any proposed change not based on what people think the problems are will have rough sledding. Furthermore, the essence of democratic change lies in the need for all concerned to share in diagnosis of the problem and decision as to the direction and kind of change, as well as in carrying out the change. Such a process tends to involve people in desiring, rather than resisting change.

The next step, if Jones enters into the project, calls for meetings with the assistant superintendent and supervisors who have relationships with Jones' building.

The meeting with Principal Jones confirms his interest and desire for help. Jones suggests a steering committee of representative teachers and supervisors to conduct a fact-finding survey. He suggests the desirability of involving the other principals.

Jones' suggestions are accepted, and it is decided that further decisions will rest upon the survey results. The three then carefully plan meetings to be held with assistant superintendents, supervisors, and principals.

In those meetings the superintendent opens up the problems of human relations and teamwork so that no one feels blame. He also touches upon the depth of the problems so that no one expects a magic cure.

Care is taken to help all groups realize that problems don't lie in Jones' building alone. No one is relieved of responsibility to help with their solution just because the start will be in Jones' building. The superintendent tries to involve all in the desire for improvement.

The steering committee consists of Jones, two teachers, two supervisors, and the consultant. As the committee begins work, it becomes clear that knowledge of how people feel, and what problems they think are important, must be secured from all levels in the system. Facts must be secured in such a way that people say what they actually think. This implies anonymity of responses.

AN OPINION SURVEY

The committee therefore:

(1) Produces a simple interview form to be used by a person alone, by a person interviewing another, and by a group collecting ideas from members. The form suggests problems in individual and group relations, asks for descriptions of more specific problems, encourages reactions to what part people on other levels play in the problems or their solutions.

(2) Prepares a simple discussion guide, encourages teachers to work out answers with colleagues, and suggests ways to carry on informal discussion meetings.

(3) Calls a meeting of all teachers in the building. The teachers on the steering committee explain the project, reassure their associates that no one can be injured since names are unnecessary, and suggest that each teacher fill out the form in groups or alone and mail them to the committee chairman by a certain date.

A similar meeting is held with the supervisors, led by the two supervisors on the steering committee.

The consultant interviews the superintendent and assistant superintendents. Jones interviews himself and a few other principals.

The survey of how people feel and what problems they think important is completed successfully. There are questions about purposes of the survey and what it will lead to. It stirs up more interest than Jones expected.

The steering committee tabulates the results. Eight major problems appear. They are mimeographed so that reactions of each group stand out.

MOST CRUCIAL PROBLEMS

(1) **Decision-making and responsibility**. (a) Teachers feel that principal, supervisors, and superintendent make all major decisions. They feel teachers should help make decisions; they are closer to the students.

(b) Supervisors feel that principals and the superintendent's office make decisions and issue orders regardless of their effect on the curriculum and programs of teacher growth. Such decisions impede supervisor's work.

(c) Principals sense keenly the what's-the-use attitude of many teachers, their tendency to ignore important suggestions and instructions. Principals think supervisors have no loyalty to a particular building and, whether they mean to or not, undermine the principal's authority. Principals feel that the superintendent often makes decisions without consulting them. Directives from the central office often show unawareness of peculiar staff and community conditions.

(d) The superintendent's office feels principals ignore or sabotage important directives affecting the schools.

(2) **Individuals and groups won't work together**. (a) Teachers feel the right kind of help seldom comes from administrators or supervisors. If s teacher reports a problem, he is made to feel he is to blame. Supervisors don't understand classroom problems.

(b) Supervisors feel it is difficult to get teachers to work

with them. Teachers often pretend they have no problem. It doesn't do much good for supervisors to take problems to the principal because he won't do much.

(c) Principals feel that teachers complain but don't describe their problems. If a principal calls a teacher in to talk a problem over, the teacher blames students, parents, or some other teacher. It doesn't pay for principals to stick their necks out in the superintendent's meetings. The superintendent's office doesn't understand the practical problems principals face in their buildings.

(d) The superintendent's office feels it carries the brunt of problems involving school-community relations. Teachers are impractical—they work only with children. Principals think only in terms of their own schools.

(3) **Staff meetings and committee meetings**. (a) Teachers say principals spend staff meetings telling teachers what they have to do or what the new school policy is. Committee meetings are frequently useless because decisions are reversed by the principal or because two or three people use committee time for private grudges. Yet, despite resentment, many feel that meetings should be improved rather than eliminated.

(b) Supervisors feel that conducting teachers meetings is one of their hardest jobs. Teachers resent coming, tho the meetings are to help them improve classroom technics.

(c) Principa1s feel they ought to have more staff meetings but the ones they do have don't get anywhere.

(d) The superintendent realizes that meetings, tho a necessary part of his life, waste a lot of time.

Principal Jones is shocked that his teachers feel the way about him that he does about the superintendent.

Here is a clear picture, Jones sees, of four groups all seeing, as the reason for their difficulties, indifference and lack of cooperation of other groups. No group feels that the problem lies in lack of skill in analyzing blocks to communication and in working together as individuals and groups.

The survey results shock Jones' complacency and give him many insights for Action. The superintendent and the assistant superintendents receive a jolt. They agree that the results help explain previous problems and suggest better ways of working.

Teachers and supervisors realize that people on other levels face the same problems they do.

The steering committee members observed as many results as they could among all groups following publication of the survey results. Their pooled observation indicates considerable complacency shock on all levels and a clearing of many misunderstandings. All groups indicate willingness to work together.

The committee is hopeful, altho the consultant reminds them that only the facts preliminary to change have been secured. But he admits that the kind of facts and the way they are secured may set a sequence of desirable changes in motion.

Apathy and hopelessness are temporarily dispelled. This means, the consultant says, that the entire school must be as thoroly involved in planning and carrying out changes as in securing facts about how they felt.

THEN WHAT?

The committee examines suggestions from the survey. Many show need of widening the number of people who make decisions and of improving the conduct of meetings.

The committee plans a general meeting of teachers, supervisors, the principal, and members of the superintendent's staff to decide what to do next. It plans a brief but dramatic synthesis of major problems and suggested solutions in the survey.

A listing of the number and kind of meetings held in the building is also to be presented. The committee plans to follow this with a demonstration of a typical committee meeting, with the consultant acting as "clarifier", pointing out what in going wrong in the meeting and how things might be improved.

The question arises as to ways of encouraging discussion by all at the meeting. The con-

sultant suggests how a large meeting can be broken quickly into small discussion groups of six to 10 persons without anyone's leaving the room or doing much moving about.

The meeting develops well. Data presented by the committee serve as a springboard to intensive discussion by the small groups quickly organized in the meeting. The recommendations of each

group are immediately listed, as the small groups swing back into the larger meeting.

All groups demand that a similar survey be periodically made in the building. Most groups recommend that something be done to improve all meetings. Out of these recommendations comes a proposal for a leadership-training institute.

Jones starts the ball rolling by wishing to take this training, thereby indicating readiness to accept much responsibility for what has happened in the past and a sincere desire to see things improve. Enrolment for this institute, conducted by the consultant for 10 two-hour periods, includes a number of teachers and supervisors.

The institute is to help leaders learn how to become sensitive to group problems and understand the responsibilities of membership and leadership and aid the group in training its own members.

NOT A MAGIC PANACEA

Obviously, the program of reform thus initiated will not; solve all of the school's human-relations and group-problems. But here are some of the changes which could eventuate:

(1) The institute arouses interest in group development and efficiency, and improves staff and committee meetings thru-out the building.

The newly-trained leaders have progressed beyond skill as group chairmen to the greater skill of helping group members train themselves to work more efficiently in the group.

Most groups learn to appoint one member each meeting to serve as an observer, to watch the way the group works, and, by reporting back these process observations to the group, help it improve its methods. So much interest is shown that a short training program for observers is set up.

(2) So much improvement results in school morale that plans are laid for a second leadership-training institute. Many teachers ask to join because they realize group leadership skills are applicable in the classroom.

(3) It occurs to one teacher that leadership training should be given to student leaders. If successful, staff supervision and

assistance to student groups might be reduced. Furthermore, students would be trained for future college and community demands. After consideration, the idea is broached to the student council which enthusiastically accepts it. Student groups rapidly evidence greater maturity and responsibility.

(4) The superintendent and his staff are so impressed with the results that they work on improving central office meetings and meetings with other school groups. They endeavor to build these meetings around a census of the problems of group members, with an avowed effort to improve efficiency of the central office service.

The superintendent asks Principal Jones to act as observer in several of the first meetings. The superintendent's encouragement of criticism of his leadership helps break down the principals' defensiveness.

(5) Other principals become interested in the changes and ask for help.

(6) Some community groups hear of the development and become interested. Some of the leading industries become interested in these personnel policies and practices.

Many more changes are possible. The important thing is that the blocks to communication and cooperation among groups on various levels in the school system resulting from lack of skill in group efficiency have finally been recognized at all levels of the system and efforts made to gain these [the] needed skills.

3
THE ADMINISTRATOR MOVES TOWARD COOPERATION

(From Arnold Meier, Alice Davis, and Florence Cleary, "The New Look in School Administration", *Educational Leadership*, 6:5 : 302-309, February, 1949)

Mr. Graham, the school principal, reads current educational literature which emphasizes the need for and the effectiveness of democratic procedures in school administration. He is aware that democratic living places heavy demands on the schools and requires able leadership on the part of their administrators. When he attends workshops and meetings, he is reminded that the human personality of the teacher must be respected; that teachers should have a share in making decisions which vitally affect them; that in each faculty there is a real "well of leadership" if it can only be tapped; that schools will more adequately discharge their responsibility if the creative talents of all are released.

He hears, too, about the strides which administrative supervisory hierarchies in private enterprise are making in employer-employee relationships, in job training, or in cooperative endeavors. He reviews findings which seem to indicate that more pay, more light, more rest periods, more sick leave are neither such potent motivations to better work and good morale nor such serious grievances as they once were thought to be. The investigators and theorizers point out that there is an *esprit de corps*, a morale, a feeling tone, a relationship among workers which is an elusive but important factor in the way workers participate in any cooperative enterprise.

So Mr. Graham accepts the values inherent in these ideas

and acts promptly and vigorously in his own school. He finds that as he gains insights he understands the on-the-job behavior of his faculty better. He becomes more human in his relationships with teachers and pupils, and hence does not wear his status leadership so obviously. As he leads faculty meetings he raises problems and invites suggestions. At one time he would have considered such a performance to be an admission of weakness. Soon there are more faculty discussions. Teacher participation is increased. Work groups or committees are organized.

Mr. Graham and his faculty are underway—the first step has been taken. To say that they will or will not eventually sail to glory is beside the point. There will be difficulties. There will be periods of confusion when there is no apparent progress. There may be evidences of open revolt and a desire on the part of some to return to the security of traditional practices.

. . . The observations available indicate that in activities which attempt to encourage broad permissive participation, certain difficulties arise repeatedly and certain perplexing problems recur. Some of these problems and their implications for the many Mr. Grahams in our schools today are discussed in the remainder of this article.

What are some of the psychological blocks which must be partially removed as teachers begin to identify their real problems? What reactions are typical us administrators begin to change their procedures or ways of working with a faculty?

In general, teachers have lived in a culture which expects them to know the answers. To indicate problems, to consider weaknesses, to admit shortcomings, to ask for help is difficult for many individuals and groups. When an individual identifies his own problem it tends to raise in his mind, in the minds of administrators, and in the minds of other teachers some doubts as to his abilities. Unless the teacher is an exceedingly secure person and unless he has learned from experience that admissions of this kind are safe, he will tend to refrain from indicating his serious concerns and will often mention minor problems or problems of administrative detail.

Confusion May Reign

If teachers have been accustomed to a clear-cut, well-defined, more authoritarian procedure, many of them may have some

feelings of confusion as these procedures are changed. When decisions are made and clearly stated by administrators, teachers feel they "know what's what." They know what the decision is and who made it. They know what to do and when to do it; they know where to go for interpretations. They may disagree at times; may feel resentment; or irritation with the decision. They may even subtly sabotage it, but at least there is little confusion.

When on the other hand, the faculty is asked to participate in defining school problems and in working toward their solutions, they find themselves involved in a process which they may not understand or accept. The decisions may not be clear-cut; there is often greater latitude for the teacher's discretion; the limits of acceptable action often are not adequately explored. And confusion and insecurity are apt to result. This is the state of affairs which some people view with extreme alarm and attempt to relieve with emergency measures which negate many of the gains which might have been made. It is patience that is needed at this point.

We Fear Change

If the problems under discussion indicate possible change in traditional, academic areas, there is likely to be considerable concern. Teachers may question whether the course of study can be covered, whether children will experience loss in academic knowledge or skills, or whether time allotments in basic subjects will be reduced. There has been such a glib barrage of hortatives that this and that should be added, without concern as to what should be deleted or done differently, that some teachers have developed emotional mechanisms in self-defense. If the faculty means business it will spend considerable time on the details of what, how, and when.

Even if the problems are not confined to the strictly academic areas, there may still be doubts. If, for example, the school is considering the possibility of giving increased emphasis to the student council, to clubs, or to service groups, teachers will ask if children will be out of class more frequently, who will sponsor such groups, and how this is to be done. They may question whether the teacher will be expected to give more time, whether schedules will have to be reorganized, and whether there will be criticisms from parents.

If someone suggests that teachers need to have or wish to have a better understanding of children, again in spite of theoret-

ical acceptance of the idea there may be some reservations. Does this mean more or different; kinds of school records? Will it mean making more home calls and giving more time to parents? Does all of this business about understanding children mean that there will be less restraint, more activity, more confusion and noise?

Many other questions, expressed or unexpressed, may block teachers as they "begin to work democratically on their problems." To say that many of these questions are petty does not invalidate them. They must he faced. The principal must take time to examine them patiently with his faculty. Implications of proposed action must be considered and the principal must be willing to wait until teachers have gained security before much progress can be made.

How does a faculty organize itself into working groups?

In a large faculty there are some difficulties involved in setting up working groups. This may be done on the basis of grade lines, subject-matter areas, interest groups, special problems, or random groups. If the school is somewhat compartmentalized or departmentalized, there seems to be considerable value in crossing department, grade, and subject-matter lines. There is greater likelihood that values will change if more than one point of view is represented and teachers know and understand the difficulties and problems of teachers working in other areas.

What Skills Are Necessary?

Assuming that a faculty has organized itself into small working groups, the question immediately arises regarding skills which the group needs in order to operate efficiently in vigorous programs of action. No attempt will be made here to elaborate on these skills. Such aspects of

the group process, however, as the role of the chairman and recorder, the role of the participant, the procedural steps to he used in working toward the solution of problems; the mechanics necessary, and the maintenance of good human relationships should be understood.

As a first step each group will need to clarify its function and purpose. Is its function to explore, to investigate, to initiate, to suggest, to recommend, or to carry into action certain specific undertakings?

What is the relationship of the small group to the total faculty group? Where there are a number of work groups, activities need to be coordinated. Shall this be done by the principal?

Who coordinates?

To have the principal solely responsible for the coordinating function will defeat one of the objectives of the process; namely, that all people need to see the over-all program and be involved in it—in its planning, its execution, and its evaluation. It may he wiser to have the entire faculty set up some form of an overall planning committee with the principal as a member. This group might include the chairmen and recorders of the small groups or other members from each of these groups.

The over-all planning group, likewise, should have its own elected chairman and recorder. Its function might be to facilitate communication between groups, to help unify the over-all activities, to plan general faculty meetings, to eliminate duplication of activities, to budget time and money, to facilitate the carrying out of decisions, to arrange for periodic reporting and evaluation of on-going activities, and to help identify the problems which must be referred to the whole faculty.

Where and how may suggestions, ideas, and projects be initiated?

Strange as it may seem, this question causes some difficulties upon occasion. If a school traditionally expects suggestions regarding the total school to come from the larger school administration or the local administrator, teachers understand the formal chain of command and the conventional lines of communication.

If the administration proposes to solicit suggestions from all sources, it is possible that ideas may be initiated by a teacher, administrators, small work groups, the total faculty, the steering committee, pupils, parents, or by non-teaching personnel. While this has advantages in that it releases the creative thinking of many, there may be some confusion as to the flow of ideas. Once initiated, what happens to the suggestions? This raises a question regarding procedures to be used in securing effective communication.

How can effective communication be facilitated?

When a faculty attempts to solicit ideas from individual

teachers, administrators, small groups, the central coordinating committee, pupils, parents, and non-teaching school personnel, the problem of communicating these idem is difficult and complex. For purposes of illustration it will be helpful to distinguish roughly two kinds of communication: spreading the facts when "everybody wants to know what's happening"; and conveying assumptions, values, and philosophy which provides the basis for new insights and new procedures.

Who, What, and Where Sharing

The first type of communication deals with information for which there is ready acceptance. In fact, there is likely to be criticism if this kind of communication is not maintained people feel "left out" when they do not share in it. It is not too difficult to provide information about such things as time and places of meetings, who went where and why, procedures for health inspections, and the like.

The informal communication systems in which A meets B in the hall and says, "Have you heard that. . ." or B has lunch with C and repeats the information with or without embellishment, can be relied upon to carry a heavy load of those details which it is inadvisable to print or report formally. Notices on the bulletin board, regular notes, copies of minutes, and oral summaries in meetings facilitate the communication of factual

information. If there is not sufficient interest in events to guarantee the reading of notices or bulletins, it may be advisable to supplement them with *brief* oral summaries in meetings. The assumption that the mere issuance of a bulletin or report is communication is not tenable. Communication does not exist until the facts or ideas reach the *consciousness*, not just the *hands* of the proposed recipient. No system is effective or efficient which does not achieve this objective.

Communication to Effect Change

The second type of communication involves ideas, values, beliefs, and proposed long-term action. It attempts to do several things at once. It seeks to produce readiness for, interest in, and commitment to new ideas. It implies action and change in behavior. To be really effective this communication must carry some authoritativeness for the individual. It has this authoritativeness only when the individual is ready to act on the ideas.

For certain individuals and for certain situations it may be sufficient to communicate new ideas by a letter, a bulletin, a book, or a speaker. Films are also used on the assumption that the film carries a heavier emotional charge than the plain spoken or written word. Films are effective, but there are few people who would agree that the film is enough. In all too many cases the effectiveness of such communication is in doubt. Books have been written, speeches have been made, films have been shown, educational periodicals have multiplied. Yet the majority of schools have not been materially changed.

People do not change their values or beliefs by being told that they should. The analysis of the time required for complete understanding is not accurately judged. The full implications of vague proposals do not enter the perception of people until they are identified in specific situations.

When extended time is needed for planning and for setting up programs of action, one- or two-day workshop sessions, the weekend workshop or after-school dinner meetings are effective procedures for communicating ideas, values, and plans for the small group. Occasionally field workshops may be used in which the small group, after visiting a school, makes use of on-the-spot resource people to interpret observed practices and to assist the group in clarifying their own beliefs and values. These procedures have been valuable in communicating and clarifying ideas for members of a small group.

Some New Techniques

The problem which remains, however, is the communication of the suggestions, ideas, and plans formulated by this group to the larger faculty group. The traditional faculty meeting which relies upon announcements and reports does not effectively serve this purpose. Such techniques as the sociodrama, the use of role playing, panel discussions, demonstrations, and group reporting help to secure effective communication and to promote acceptance of school policies and programs of action. The final decisions which crystallize this acceptance should be clear cut.

Who participates in the making of decisions?

Some schools have answered this question by stating the general principle that those who are directly affected by a decision need to share in the making of it. If a proposed plan of

action concerns only one teacher, slip, in cooperation with the administration, may make the decision. If the decision concerns a small group of teachers, this group, in cooperation with the administration, may make a final decision. If the decision concerns the total faculty, the decision making, in general should involve the entire faculty group or at least the coordinating committee representing the total faculty.

In schools where there is lack of understanding regarding decision making, frustration will result. As one older man who had worked for years in the inner circle of an educational organization expressed it, "Just once before I die I'd like to know who makes decisions around here and how they are made."

What is the role of the principal in this process of democratic administration?

Some school administrators project dire consequences as a result of any attempt to encourage shared planning, executing, and evaluating. They assume that if they relinquish any of their authority it is equivalent to inviting the faculty and students "to take over."

A faculty of mature people is not likely to feel that a principal who is delegated certain authority from the elected board of education through the superintendent can be divested of that responsibility. The principal cannot abdicate. It is helpful if everyone understands that the principal has responsibilities and that if in discharging these he differs with the majority opinion of the group, he will openly explain the reason for his decision.

The Principal Withdraws

If the faculty members are to be expected to recognize their responsibility in group action, the principal nay be in a dilemma as to how forceful his leadership should be. In some situations principals, in their eagerness to encourage faculty participation, have almost completely withdrawn from positions of leadership. They have delegated authority to individuals, to small work groups, or to the total faculty.

On the surface this appears to have merit. Teachers may more fully realize that the administrator is truly sincere in his desire to share responsibilities for planning and decision making with his faculty. On the other hand, this practice may be re-

sented by certain individuals and groups holding quite different values and beliefs. One teacher aptly stated such resentment when he said that the principal was paid to direct, that he was selected because of his ability to do so, and that he was, therefore, neglecting his duty when he turned over his responsibilities to others.

The Principal Takes Over

In other situations principals have assumed rather direct, forceful roles of leadership. This, too, has advantages in that teachers, if accustomed to this pattern, feel more secure. It has some disadvantages in that teachers may feel that while the principal has encouraged them to participate in planning, he really retains and uses his right to veto decisions and, as a result, the process becomes a meaningless form without reality. As one group of teachers expressed it, "We don't care to waste time in discussion and exploration unless we can also recommend and move toward action." They wanted to see more clearly the purposes of small work groups or committees and the subsequent follow-up in terms of an action program.

The Principal is a Group Member

Perhaps the most satisfactory role for the principal is to recognize his peculiar responsibilities of leadership and to be willing to share these responsibilities without abdicating his position as a leader. One administrator with over fifteen years' experience in democratic school administration discusses his role: "I have a vote and an important one, but only one. I suggest. I recommend. I try to persuade. I vigorously defend. But if my faculty doesn't understand, doesn't believe in, doesn't agree with my ideas, regardless of merit, my ideas haven't much chance of really being carried out effectively—and so I wait. I continue to work vigorously for those things which I believe—those things which seem to me to be best for the young people with whom I work."

* * * * * *

. . . The need for effective skills in the group process increases as schools travel farther along the path previously indicated. The skill patterns seem complex, but so are the behavior patterns of a football team as it tries to reach the opponent's goal. If the school faculty would spend the same amount of time analyzing and practicing individual and group skills in making school changes as the football coach and the team do in preparing for

the season's schedule, much would be gained. Goals would be clarified, difficulties would be anticipated, morale would he considered, skills would be practiced, cooperative effort would be rewarded, and discouragement would he reduced.

4
CHANGING THE ADMINISTRATOR'S PERCEPTION

(From Ronald Lippitt, "Administrator Perception and Administrative Approval", *Sociatry*, 1:2 : 209-219, June, 1947)

A small but increasing number of administrators in business labor organizations, social welfare agencies, and educational in situations are becoming sensitive in the need for consultant or staff specialist help in evaluating and improving the pattern of human relationships that exist in the work situation of themselves and their employees. These men are becoming keenly aware of the extent to which an upward gradient of group and individual productivity hinges on the releasing of the creative forces that can emerge from an increased understanding and an improved utilization of newer techniques of group leadership, group supervision, inservice training, and techniques of evaluation of group process.

The Problem of Communication

However, the vast majority of administrators have not yet become sensitive to this potentiality. Their own experiences and their own observations have not given them any real basis for knowing what they have a right to expect from various unfamiliar changes in the social atmosphere and interpersonal relations

in the work situation. As one sits down to talk to these administrators about possibilities of instituting an inservice training program in relationship skills and group leadership skills for staffs or supervisors, or spending some time with the top staff on problems and techniques of leadership of staff meetings and conferences, a variety of attitudinal barriers appear which must be resolved if there is to be any administrative approval of a first step toward an adequate demonstration of the possibilities of such a program in the organization. Some of the most important of these attitudinal barriers seem to be:

1. A strong feeling [exists] on the part of the administrator that there are no data about what makes productivity in human relationships and [there] are, therefore, no standards of evaluation and no scientifically based technology for improving such productivity. The implicit assumption is clear that, after all, administrators themselves are the best "applied psychologists" in this area of technology because of their great experience in "dealing with" and. "handling" people.

2. A second barrier is the implicit or explicit belief that the crucial aspect of good leadership or relationships is the "intangible" qualities of personality, rather than trainable behavior skills. Therefore, the personnel problem is one of selecting good personalities and little can be done by training in this area of performance.

3. A third and very interesting barrier which is discovered in talking with administrators who are quite sensitive to the importance of good leadership is the feeling that it is a bad thing to have people pay conscious attention to the techniques of human relationships. There seems to be a feeling that "paying attention to technique" is somehow basically unethical and "manipulative".

4. A fourth typically tough minded attitude is that the consultant or trainer should be able to predict in dollars and cents just what this type of training will be worth, particularly as he is usually asking for the involvement and participation of top management personnel.

5. A fifth barrier is the suspicions that are aroused when the administrator discovers that the inservice training program would not be a specific "curriculum package" where it can be predicted just what topics will be taken up and what will not.

This situation not only creates certain doubts about the competence of the consultant, but also as to just what might be discussed and presented which might be "dangerous" and meet disapproval if there were really an opportunity to review it in detail.

The personal conference with the administrator in his office has usually proved very unfruit-

ful in overcoming these barriers, even when a very concerted effort was made to describe concretely what had been tried e1sewhere and just what the objectives and the operation of the training program would be. Because of these failures of communication, two other approaches were tried: (1) Getting the administrator to visit one or more supervisory training sessions as an observer; (2) Making the presentation of the program in a group setting where a number of administrators would be present, one or two of them having favorable attitudes toward and experience with the type of training program being discussed.

To our surprise, "the visiting program" was not at all successful. When the trainer would get together with the administrator for a chat at the end of the training conference, the trainer's enthusiasms for what had been going on were quickly dampened by the discovery that the administrator-observer had really not been seeing very much in spite of the fact that he had been present. In fact, his perception was usually along rather negative lines of wondering why various members of the group hadn't been "set right" or "answered" when they raised certain questions or made various comments which were off the beam as far as the administrator was concerned. It was clear that the administrator was hearing with an ear to content rather than seeing with an eye to process. His value judgments were of such a different nature than those of the trainer that there was really no basis for discussion of the observation.

The verbal presentation of the training idea in the group setting met with equal failure, except that from a number of angles it was a more disastrous failure because of the reinforcement of attitudes that takes place in a group setting. The trainer would attempt to describe the objectives and procedures of an inservice training program in human relationship skills for perhaps twenty minutes or half an hour and then try to draw in the group with a question or two to stimulate discussion. First there would be a cautious round of remarks "in favor of training". Each administrator would be verbally proving to the others how much he approved of such a progressive thing as "training". Usually his remarks also were slanted to show how much he was already doing in a variety of ways in his organization. These remarks showed a wide variety of conceptions of what the term training meant for each of those present and how little the trainer had been able to communicate his specific conception of "human relationship training". After this round of remarks, it was quite likely that one or two members of the group would advance cautious qualifying remarks about some of the dangers and wastes of the wrong type of training. From then on, although one or two members of the group might be attempting to answer these questions with testimonial from their own experience, the band wagon effect would continue with more and more freedom of expression of the real negative feelings of the group members. The only thing for the trainer to do was to get the meeting adjourned as soon as possible.

As we attempted to diagnose these failure situations, it seemed clear that some type of interpretation situation would have to be established where there would be no opportunity for the ambiguity of the verbally described training process into which a wide variety of meanings could be projected. It was also felt that it would have to be some kind of an at-the-elbow pointing out situation in which the trainer could get the administrator to see exactly what the trainer was seeing as a basis for an interpretative discussion. Concretely it was felt that the administrator should somehow be involved as a participant in positively thinking about the meaning of the training process, rather than sitting back in judgment on the value of the training process.

Communications by Sociodrama with Clarifier

To meet these requirements of an interpretation situation, we decided to try a combination of sociodrama and a clarifier role. The plan was to present by sociodrama a picture of some of the salient features of the training process in a situation where a clarifier would stand at the elbow of the observers pointing out important things for them to see and commenting interpre-

tively on the perception. We would attempt then to center the discussion of the administrators on some of the interesting problems of the training situation rather than on an initial evaluation of the training itself.

The first opportunity to experiment with this type of inter-

pretation was an after luncheon session of a group of about twenty-five administrators.[1] It was an excellent experimental opportunity because an almost identical group had rejected a verbal description and interpretation of the training approach just two or three weeks previously. The following is s somewhat condensed protocol of the thirty-five minute presentation:

Preparation for Perception

CLARIFIER: In a few minutes you will have a chance to visit a training session. Before the visit, I'd like to go over with you a few of the ideas about training which serve as the framework for the approach to training which you will see. And during the meeting itself, I'll be at your elbow to call attention to certain aspects of the training procedure.

I. We are interested in training supervisors to supervise more effectively. This means we want to change their skills of behaving toward employees as individuals and as total work groups. This presents us with a much different and more difficult training problem than changing the ways of behaving toward machines or materials, e.g., a typewriter, a filing system, a blowtorch.

2. The research on training lenders or supervisors to change their style of human relations indicates that there are many forces operating against change which do not come up in the other training situations mentioned above. For example:

a. It is found that supervisors usually have an underlying feeling of futility about the possibility that any changes in their performance can make much difference. If only things would change! And after all, with the budget situation and the present level of personnel they are hiring, it's ridiculous to expect a supervisor to be able to do anything!

b. Not only is this attitude a barrier to training, but there is evidence of the strongest sort to indicate that a line supervisor in an organizational hierarchy cannot by himself be a very effective agent of change. Most of the

1 Dr. Leland Bradford cooperated with the author in this specific communication situation with a group of government administrators. A shorter description of this project appeared in *Personnel Administration*, Vol. 8, No. 6, February, 1946.

problems of supervision are not "misbehaviors of a supervisor" but problems of relationship of the whole hierarchy from employee to top supervisor. It is unrealistic and unfruitful to attempt to bring about effective changes by working with one or even two levels of the hierarchy.

c. In this field of human relationships, many of the supervisory behaviors we would like to change are behaviors which provide strong satisfactions to the supervisor. The dominating behavior, or the benevolent kindness which creates dependent loyalty that we know must be eradicted if productivity is to increase, is in many cases the main "ego-support" of the supervisor in question. This is a different training problem from the case of a secretary who wants eagerly to increase her typing and stenographic speed. Her personal "vested interest" is all in the direction of making the change, and she sees that.

d. In stimulating changes in a person's style of human relationships, we also run up against the fact that all of us guide our behavior to a large extent in terms of the expectations others have built up as to how we will behave. These expectations are a strong force "holding our behavior in place" in its accustomed channels.

3. The research evidence also indicates clearly that supervisors may learn to talk very effectively about how good supervision should be performed without this increase of knowledge having any effect at all on their actual performance. The training problem, or challenge, is further

complicated by the evidence that training in human relations skills may be negative in effect, as well as having a zero or positive result. In some courses where great stress is laid on "how the good supervisor should perform", but without giving the supervisor any real practice of new skills, some supervisors become painfully aware of the discrepancy between these high standards and the way they actually do things. Guilt feelings and anxiety are aroused and supervisory performance becomes more tense and inadequate.

With these facts in view, an approach to supervisory training has been developing recently which has been tested experimentally in an industrial setting, a government situa-

tion, and in the training of leaders in a youth movement. The main elements of this training process seem to us to be:

1. The "training course" includes several groups meeting in parallel fashion whose members interact with each other as different levels of the organizational hierarchy in the on-the-job situation. In the example you will see in a few minutes, there are three groups meeting one after the other, division chiefs, section chiefs, and representative employees. The training person acts as leader of each group and one of his jobs is the continuous interpretation of the points of view of each group to the others.

2. The meetings take as their starting point the feelings and ways of thinking of the group members—their problems as they see them. The leader rejects if he gets right to the heart of the supervisory job as he sees it, or if he brings in a prepared curriculum of ideas and techniques to "get across" as dramatically as he can. These approaches have proved effective in teaching certain types of skills but not in the area of supervisory performance.

3. In getting down to a concrete diagnosis of supervisory problems as felt by group members, the psychodramatic technique of actually "living the situation" is used so that discussion and analysis can proceed on the basis of a common experience.

4. But the training leader is careful not to let the group feel that they have "solved the situation" successfully by just arriving at an intelligent diagnosis of why the problem happens and some good ideas as to what a supervisor should do about it. He keeps pushing the point that "doing it" is the only real solution. Because he realizes all the barriers that exist for a supervisor who wants to try out a new way of behaving, the leader provides practice opportunities in the training situation itself where during these first awkward attempts to behave differently, the supervisor is not "behaving for keeps" and where friendly evaluative discussion by the group can provide needed guidance and encouragement.

Observation of Training Process —Guided Perception

CLARIFIER (continued): You will now visit the third

meeting of the middle group, section chiefs, in a training course in the Claims Division of the ABC Agency. At the previous two meetings[2] the group has had some lively discussions of just what problems they run up against in their daily operations as supervisors. It took them a while to get warmed up to sharing this type of thinking, but they have completed a census of about twenty-five problems. At this meeting, it is understood they will select one to start work on.

(The leader arrives, puts a copy of the minutes of the last meeting of each group at each seat and puts a large sheet with the census of problems upon the wall. The group straggles in; members read meeting notes until the last of the group arrives.)

LEADER: You see that you have the minutes from all three groups today. At their last meeting Group III (the employers) voted that they would like to exchange notes just as the other two groups had decided. They had a good, lively discussion as to whether this would put a damper on their discussion in any way.

If you look carefully at the lists of problems of the three groups, I think you'll be struck first by the fact that each group sees their major problems in their relationships with those above them. Even Group I (the administrators) see their main problems up the line or across to others at their own level, rather than looking down to their relations with you here in this group.

Guess from what you say you'd like them to look down a bit more.

CLARIFIER (to audience): Here you see an example of how the groups get a chance to see and understand each other's points of view more fully.

SUPERVISOR 1: I see you've got our problems all classified into five types.

LEADER: Yes, I did a little homework which I want to get your reactions to first off today. I had a feeling as I listened to our discussion last time that it might be possible to boil down our problems so that we might tackle them more

2 Actually the group in this demonstration meeting had only had one brief session to decide on their roles and to project the problems each of them had had in the hypothetical "previous meetings". Within this framework, all the interaction was completely spontaneous. All members of the group had supervisory positions.

effectively. You see, I've tried listing them all under "problems of employee motivation and acceptance of responsibility"; "problems of inadequate communication and clearance"; "problems of getting more backing and delegation of authority from superiors"; "problems of getting a clearer definition of job duties"; and "problems of lack of facilities to do the job". Do they seem to fit? Can you see some other way of putting them together?

CLARIFIER: This is an important step. Here is a chance to increase insight, to make possible the transfer of thinking from one problem to another because they are the "same type", and to make the whole job look more hopeful.

SUPERVISOR 3: It looks like a good idea to me. It seemed a little foolish to me the other day to make such a long list of problems when we couldn't possibly get to all of them. This begins to look as if by tackling certain ones we would be hitting others at the same time. (Discussion continues around this point for several minutes.)

SUPERVISOR 5: Well, where do we start? I can't see as we can do much on most of these. Group I is where they can be fixed up.

CLARIFIER: This is a typical example of an attitude that will drop out as the group matures in its approach to problem solving.

LEADER: I think from their discussions that they'll certainly be glad to chip in their bit. Don't we first have to have some pretty good ideas, though, about what changes are needed?

CLARIFIER: This type of reassurance is usually necessary in the early stages. The lowest groups are apt to be skeptical as to the genuine interest of "Group I" in the whole process.

(Rather general assent, with some doubtful looks. Discussion turns to what problems they want to start on. A consensus finally swings to "employee motivation".)

LEADER: Well then, let's get down to brass tacks. Is one of the items you've got listed there a good example to start on or does somebody have another one in mind?

SUPERVISOR 8: That one about the file clerks sure hits me. How about the rest of you?

LEADER: Let's see, "Can't get file clerks to take any interest in improving filing procedures; seem to be bored and can't get them motivated". Sounds like an interesting one. How about the rest of you?

(One or two other items suggested but majority are strong for the problem of the file clerks.)

SUPERVISOR 2: Looks to me like you're just too easy on those fellows. They get away with a lot of loafing, I'd say make clearer just what you expect of them and make them toe the line.

(One or two others chime in along the same vein.)

CLARIFIER: There's a good example of the type of everyday faulty thinking that jumps from problem to solution without; diagnosis. This is one of the main thinking problems.

LEADER: Let me make one suggestion. I have a hunch that like any doctor we've got to be pretty clear about our diagnosis before we can write out the prescription. Personally I'm in the dark. No matter how hard I listen, I can't get any real picture of just how these clerks behave, and how you have been handling them. Let's really take a look at what happens. Who really knows how the clerks react to your supervision?

CLARIFIER: Unless they take a look together, they will just talk past each other without knowing what each has in mind. This observation situation is a first step to a real group diagnosis.

SUPERVISOR 8: Guess I've got; more than my share of them.

SUPERVISOR 10: I've got a couple I can't seem to do much with.

LEADER: Okay, now if you're willing, I'd like you two to step out for a minute and plan to show us a typical episode between a supervisor and clerk. Don't rehearse what you will say. Just take a minute to decide what the situation is.

(They leave with a bit more coaxing. This is the first time the technique has been used in the group. Volunteers will be no problem after another session or two.)

LEADER: Now, while they are out, just one suggestion. Let's watch this little episode carefully with two or three questions in mind. (1) Is it typical of what you have seen or experienced? How is your experience different? (2) Why do you think the clerk is acting the way he does? (3) Is there anything different the supervisor might have done that would have brought a different reaction? You might want to jot ideas that come to mind so we won't lose them.

(The two supervisors come back.)

LEADER: Let's see now—where does this little situation take place?

SUPERVISOR 8: He's the clerk, on a chair at the files. I come over. Where are we?

LEADER: Good. How's this for the file? And here's a chair. Let's go.

(He takes a seat to the side and leaves the front of the room to the supervisors.)

SUPERVISOR 8 (Going over to the "file"): Smith, I noticed the other day we have a lot of folders piling up in the back of some of the drawers.

SMITH (Supervisor 10): Yes, they don't fit the way we file things. Guess somebody will have to fix some new headings.

(The situation develops spontaneously and waxes quite vigorous for about ten minutes when the leader interrupts.)

LEADER: Guess we'd better stop there. We've certainly gotten a clear picture of how this situation is developing. Is it a familiar scene to all of you? (Practically everyone assents readily.) Arc there any important variations?

SUPERVISOR 3: Some of the clerks are a lot snappier than he was, but they seem to think the same way and act just as irresponsibly.

CLARIFIER: You see how quickly and spontaneously these supervisors have gotten immersed in this everyday

situation they know so well. The group now has something concrete to tackle.

LEADER: Let's sit back and think about that file clerk for a few minutes. Just why might he be acting that way?

A lively discussion ends up with the following items on the blackboard:

1. Maybe he didn't know the importance of the work he was doing.

2. Probably nobody ever told him the purpose of it all.

3. It's easier not to do much reading of the stuff.

4. He doesn't see much chance of promotion: he's in kind of a hopeless spot.

5. Maybe nobody has given him any training in the system.

CLARIFIER: The observation of this situation in the objective atmosphere of the training situation is making it possible for these men to begin to look through the eyes of the clerk. This is a major step toward a successful solution.

SUPERVISOR 10: Sure looks like he needs some training in what it is all about, but nobody has any time for that.

SUPERVISOR 2: If the training would really help, it would save a lot of time it seems to me.

SUPERVISOR 8: I've got a feeling that it wouldn't take very much time to get him to see it differently, but I surely felt irritated at him. Seems as if you just fly off without thinking about it.

LEADER: Our time is up today, in fact we seem to have gone overtime, but I'd like to suggest that next time we take a look at some of these ideas of yours about how you might make him see this job of his differently. Let's take time next time for several of us to try out these different possibilities. This will get us right down to brass tacks.

CLARIFIER: And next time when they begin to practice "doing it differently" they will be acquiring a skill which is likely to be transferred to their daily performance. (Meeting adjourns.)

Filling out the Picture

CLARIFIER: And so at the next meeting they will begin to practice behaving differently in a typical supervisory situation. Of course, they see some of their ideas for improving the work situation of the clerk are beyond their power. They will need to call on Group I for help. Because the leader will already be interpreting these problems to Group I, they will find a cooperative readiness—and have a real success experience and move ahead on the next problem with a lot more confidence and group spirit. Various other problems will come up which will probably call for committees made up of members from two or all three of the groups. As these vertical relationships develop, the transition will have begun toward getting the problem-solving approach and spirit into staff meetings. This is the stage we are aiming for.

Group Discussion After the Demonstration

The Clarifier took on the role of discussion leader with the administrator group as the dem-

onstration concluded. The discussion was very active and continued for the allotted period of about twenty-five minutes. First there was a flurry of questions about specific aspects of the training technique—whether the role playing situations were realistic or artificial, whether you could really get people as easily as this to enter into spontaneous reproducing of life situations, whether the problems brought up by any given group were really the "important ones that they needed training on", whether such training sessions didn't turn into gripe sessions rather than learning better techniques, etc. The discussion leader found that he was in an entirely different atmosphere from the previous meetings with administrators in that he was being accepted as a skilled technician who was now the focus of questions of information rather than of critical attack. Toward the end of the discussion, it centered more and more on the administrative mechanics of putting such a training program into effect, how many meetings were needed in such a series, how could you involve employees and have small enough groups, how large should the groups be, was there a manual describing this procedure, what type of training personnel were needed to conduct such a program, etc. Although two or three of the group came forward with rather critical evaluations at one point or another in the discussion,

they in no way disturbed the total group atmosphere or changed the constructive direction of the discussion. At the end of the period the training leader and Clarifier were asked for specific dates for follow-up consultant sessions by three of the administrators.

Concluding Observations

From this and a variety of other similar experiences, it seems probable that there are a great number of communication situations where verbal description and interpretation are inadequate but where concrete sociodramatic situations with guided perception and interpretation stimulate interest, create understanding, and stir up action minded motivation.

5
THE SUPERVISOR AND GROUP WORK

(From Leland P. Bradford and Ronald Lippitt, "Building A Democratic Work Group", *Personnel*, 22:3 : 148-152, November, 1945

. . . Let us take a look at the performance of the adequately trained supervisor who has just been assigned to his job:

I. *Having problems is permitted*

First of all, the democratic supervisor takes steps to demonstrate that he does not view as a reflection upon himself the group sharing and discussion of problems which employees feel exist in their work situation. Only the supervisor who is convinced of the basic superiority of group airing and group solution of most group frustrations will have the personal security to heed the public expression of problems in his work unit, and to stimulate thinking about them, without becoming defensive and even

blaming in his reactions. The real solution of work tensions before they arise to a dangerous pressure can be achieved only if the supervisor is felt to be "one of us" toward whom there can be continual freedom in communication of feelings.

II. *Regular time for group thinking and action*

Our supervisor discovers that under the previous supervisor "calling the group together" was an irregular occurrence which usually was the occasion for exhortation to special effort or the issuance of new orders making some change in the work routine. These meetings had been rather tense affairs, with no one except the supervisor saying much. Often employees remained standing and became painfully conscious of how hard the floor was. This is now changed. The new trained supervisor has meetings held regularly, which everyone

can plan for well ahead of time. These are occasions for sitting down and thinking, as a group, about work problems and the interpretation of new management plans and policies. The supervisor does all he can to stimulate reactions to the ideas and suggestions which he or group members present. They are not long meetings, but they are regular and they "belong to everybody who comes to them."

III. *Democratic group meetings more than "talk"*

These meetings begin to have a very definite and important meaning in the lives of the work group. They are not college "bull sessions" which ramble on and on; they are not uncomfortable gatherings where one listens to the boss "sound off"; nor are they "gripe sessions" which never arrive at anything constructive. The supervisor, with his agenda committee of three representative employees, has a definite plan for each meeting. It is the responsibility of the agenda committee to see that the concerns of their fellow-workers are taken into account in the agenda planning. In the discussions at the meetings, the group members do not just talk about the problem or topic under consideration and then hope that the supervisor will make a decision that takes their talking into account. Most of the discussions actually move on from group thinking to group decision and shared responsibility for "doing something about it." The supervisor shares frankly with the

group his own limitations of power to do anything about certain conditions. This helps the work group to be realistic about the necessary limitations to their own thinking and decisions, but at the same time gives them the experience of partnership in doing the best they can within the work environment in which they operate.

IV. *Definite group goals*

If the work group is to develop a sense of unity and of responsibility, it must have a sense of direction and must see that it is making progress in that direction. The good supervisor helps his work unit see its place in the overall job of the organization. Together he and his group discuss and set immediate production goals for their work unit. The supervisor realizes that feelings of success are basic to high morale and sustained productivity. He further realizes that success involves a sense of progress—of moving forward as the result of one's own effort. This feeling of moving forward occurs only if there is a definite destination or goal, and some sign posts which tell you you are moving toward the goal. So the supervisor, as a group leader, stimulates the work group to set distant and immediate work objectives. Only if these objectives are their own, set by themselves, will they serve fully as motive power for increased quantity and quality in production.

V. *Performance standards mutually accepted or determined*

Most supervisors have some responsibility for rating the employees working under them. Our democratic supervisor discovers that under the previous supervisor these ratings were never clearly understood by the employees. Several times the opinion had been voiced by disgruntled employees that the supervisor played favorites and was biased in his ratings. The new supervisor takes quite a different tack in developing this aspect of a democratic work atmosphere. First, he has a full discussion with the group about the desirability of work performance standards as the basis for a fair system of recognition. The group then has a discussion of the meaning of the performance standards that are in use. The definitions are fully explored. Or, if he is free to, the supervisor invites the group to participate with him in creating adequate def-

initions of good performance in the particular work unit. When ratings are made, he uses them as a basis for a personal conference with each worker. In these conferences and at all other times, his praise or criticism is accepted by employees as fair because it is based on mutually understood standards rather than on standards known only to the supervisor.

VI. *Understanding the reason for decisions outside the work unit powerfield*

Often the supervisor must see that plans and decisions from higher up the line are passed down and followed through in his work group. Our democratic supervisor has helped his group think through and accept the fact that many decisions are outside his or its field of power but are usually made in the best interests of the total work organization. Then, when such decisions and plans do come down the line, the supervisor gets all the information he can as to the reasons for them so that he can inform his group. He realizes clearly that a main factor in the work morale of those under his leadership is that the work assignments and activities must "make sense."

VII. *Supervision of the individual as a group member*

All these observations stress the importance of group communication of feelings and group thinking in a democratic work group. Actually the democratic supervisor still spends most of his time in personal contacts with individual workers. But he realizes keenly that every decision he makes with regard to an individual worker's request, every grievance he handles, and every word of praise or criticism he voices have group repercussions-either constructive or destructive. He sees that newcomer Sam is pretty much an outsider yet so far as feeling at home in the work group is concerned, so he enlists the aid of Jim, the natural leader of the group, to take a friendly interest in seeing that Sam gets pulled into things more at lunch hour. He recognizes that Nate feels quite insecure about his work and needs more recognition than the others, but he realizes he will only make it worse for Nate if the special attention should look like favoritism. He notices the little clique in the corner whose members are becoming rather lax in some of their work habits. The supervisor

knows Max is the person who is "listened to" in that subgroup, so he has a friendly personal chat with Max and the problem disappears. To sum it up: (1) This supervisor knows that in a democratic work group social control of the individual can usually come best from within the group itself; (2) he knows that every personal contact with a worker must be thought of in terms of its possible group implications.

VIII. Progressive growth in independence and responsibility

The most important point about the performance of this democratic supervisor as we watch him on the job month after month is the flexibility, the progressive changes, in his supervisory behavior. He does not have one set of leadership habits or tricks for keeping people at work under him. Week by week his work group grows in its ability to assume responsibility and in its desire to take initiative. Week by week he becomes progressively unnecessary as a motivator, director and pusher of workers. The group personality has matured to the extent of taking on many of the functions of maturity—self-starting ability, internal sources of motivation, ability to get satisfaction from work progress rather than external praise and rewards, a clear sense of direction, and creative capacity for seeking new, more efficient directions. And so week by week the supervisor is able, to spend less time on problems of employee morale and satisfaction and more on thinking about and trying out new work methods and ideas for improving the quality of production.

Concluding Remarks

Democratic leadership is not easy of accomplishment. It demands continuous effort and growth on the part of the supervisor.. It demands psychologically secure supervisors not circumscribed in their effectiveness by their personal needs for power and status . . .

Certain cautions need to be noted. Every supervisor must realize that he starts from where the group is. If the group has been accustomed to rigid supervisory control, with not opportunity for initiative or responsibility, to give complete responsibility in the beginning would only result in a laissez-faire situation. In such cases responsibility must be gradually extended,

with more careful encouragement and leadership given to the employees.

It is usually the wisest policy to share with the group the knowledge that efforts to develop a more democratic working relationship are being planned. Get across the idea that success will depend on the group as well as the supervisor. Discuss and plan with the work group ways in which the group members can assume more participation and responsibility.

Be prepared for suspicion, indifference to responsibility, efforts to get away with less achievement. These are natural employee reactions to previous autocratic control. They have been observed again and again as transitions take place in the type of leadership. The supervisor should be prepared for discouragement. Participation in democratic work groups is not an experience for which many of us are well prepared as yet. Democratic leadership is a long-time process, though certain gains in morale and productivity are often almost immediate results.

6
LAUNCHING A PROGRAM OF CHANGE

(From Helen G. Trager and Marian Radke, "Will Your New Program Work?", *NEA Journal*, 37:9 : 612-613, December, 1948)

Almost universally, efforts to introduce change in educational practice are resisted. The resistance comes from many quarters in the school and the community, takes many forms, and seriously interferes with progress.

This article deals with that resistance to change in educational practice which stems from the practitioners themselves—the teachers. . . .

"FIGHT ON ALL FRONTS"

What procedures have many administrators followed in introducing a new program? It is the method we shall call the "Fight on All Fronts" method. It commonly relies upon these tactics:

Directives—to stress the significance of the new program—issued by top administration to principals and supervisors, who in turn interpret them to teachers.

Instructional materials—curriculum bulletins, teachers manuals, units of work, courses of study, to tell what and how to do—issued by administration to teachers.

Supervision—to demonstrate new technics and to see how the program is getting along—sporadic classroom visits from principals and supervisors.

Conferences—citywide, district, or area, to stimulate and communicate—planned by top administration and organized on different levels of supervision and instruction.

Courses—to supply information and skills—planned by administration for teachers.

Publicity—to inform the public—planned and released by administration.

Teachers differ in their reactions to a program introduced in this way, a few are interested. Many are apathetic. Some are hostile.

Even the apathetic or hostile teacher, however, learns the new phrases early and uses them often. He goes thru all the motions called for. He adheres to the schedule literally. He conforms—but dutifully, bloodlessly.

In a formalistic sense, we might presume that the program is beginning to take hold-but is it?

Can the results be significant if the teacher teaches with neither insight nor conviction? Can he teach mechanically yet effectively? Can the children "take to" the new program if the teacher has not?

WHAT IS WRONG?

First, the planning, communicating, activating, stem from a single source—from administration out. The teachers have no part in defining problems or planning the program. They are recipi-

ents, not participants.

When a new program is introduced in the manner described into the schools of the average city, the classroom teacher (on whom the program ultimately depends for its success) is supposed to accept it and carry it out to the later, whether or not he sees the need for the change or approves the methods proposed.

His critical judgment, individual or collective, is not sought, nor are channels for the expression of his opinions provided. "Papa knows best" is written large over all the proceedings.

It is small wonder that the program is rejected before it has a chance. Basically, however, it is not the program that teachers reject, but the undemocratic processes.

And the ill-will teachers in such a situation often express toward the administration comes from the same source. The campaign to initiate a new program does not produce these attitudes; it merely intensifies them.

A second difficulty lies in the emphasis on program. All attention is directed toward getting new methods, materials, information, into the classroom. The teacher is considered only an instrument, not a person who must feel effective to be effective.

Third, the teacher's problems are ignored. The new program is all too frequently something else or something more-his problems, as he sees them, remain unsolved.

Fourth, the teacher is under constant pressure to deliver. When it appears that the program is not going over, more pressure may be applied.

THE PHILADELPHIA PROJECT

In the initial stages of the three-year project in the Philadelphia public schools, it was essential to keep teacher resistance

to a minimum. The old cliches—change is slow, teachers are conservative, institutions are complicated—could serve only to solace failure. How could teacher cooperation be facilitated?

The Philadelphia project was based upon these assumptions:

(1) Teachers must feel the need for change if they are to help to bring it about.

In the effort to get these teachers to see the problem and to see it meaningfully, so that they would be eager to do something about it, they were asked to study their pupils by direct observation of both ongoing behavior and responses in specially created situations, anecdotal records, friendship charts, and the like. (A book to be prepared with the assistance of the teachers themselves describes the procedures used thruout the project and presents the evidence on outcomes.)

Thru these devices, teachers began to see the problem with their own eyes; pupil attitudes and beliefs were revealed to them.

For a long time it seemed to some teachers that these were merely academic exercises or tasks performed for someone else's benefit. Only gradually did interest in the problem grow, and with it a sense of their own potentialities as teachers competent to deal with it.

Leadership from their own ranks, and value placed on each teacher's participation in terms of his own interest and at his own rate, provided a sense of security. Public recognition of their genuine contribution to educational research lent a new sense of professional status.

(2) Teachers have a contribution to make to the formulation of program. They have special insights derived from their classroom experience and special understanding of how their children react.

Without the teachers' help the methods employed would have been far less practical and the program possibly unworkable. They alone could anticipate reactions of their pupils, the pupils' parents, and their principals and fellow teachers.

At study-group meetings, tentative plans were proposed for analysis, criticism, and revision in the light of the teachers' special knowledge.

For example, before a parent interview sched-

ule was adopted, it was discussed with the teachers. As a result, both general procedure and specific questions were revised so that teachers could feel comfortable using them and achieve rapport with the parents.

(3) It is the teacher who effects change and not the programs in and of itself. A new program implies new values, with which the teacher's values must be compatible. Training for competence involves experiences for the teacher which will clarify his beliefs and values and if necessary change them. Merely imparting information and skills to him is not enough.

Those few teachers whose participation in the project remained half-hearted to the end were not significantly changed. Their work with their pupils remained essentially affected even tho they had acquired some new knowledge and a few new skills.

The majority of teachers in the project, however, came to have new feelings about their pupils, their fellow teachers, themselves, and their work. Information and skills they acquired and these new feelings as a context were enlightened by new insights into behavior. These teachers were changed as persons and their work with children changed.

New feelings toward children grew out of such experiences as studying their own pupils nonjudgmentally; in a workshop situation observing a group of children with a permissive teacher, sensitive to individual and group needs; learning their own children's responses in play-test situations.

New feelings toward their colleagues came from such experiences as working with them on common problems of genuine concern and without fear of invidious comparison, in the course of such work hearing the other fellow tell about a problem identical with one's own, enjoying professional relationships in a situation where each feels accepted by all.

New feelings toward self and work grew out of all the teachers did in the three years of the project, the respect with which each was treated and his contribution received, and the satisfaction personally derived.

(4) Teachers have purpose in their work.

The teachers repeatedly and in a variety of situations expressed the following needs:

To feel that administration is democratic.

To be able to make mistakes.

To be a part of a developing professional movement.

To feel free to experiment.

To have time to study children and to treat them like human-beings.

To have time to know the children's parents and neighborhood.

To have a chance to talk over problems with teachers in other schools.

To meet and work with people different from themselves.

To learn to understand themselves better.

To learn to talk up in a group of teachers without fear.

TEACHER RESISTANCE LESSENED

The project succeeded in avoiding the pitfalls already identified in the "Fight on All Fronts." Did it succeed in lessening teacher resistance, and to what degree?

For the majority of the teachers the answer is clearly "yes". However, tho the resistance of the others lessened, it was not entirely eliminated. All were to some degree resistive at various times.

This was probably due in part to the fact that the project was only a small fraction of the teacher's total professional situation. More important, it was due to the failure of the project to identify all the causes of resistance, let alone designing all the appropriate methodology.

The fact remains, however, that the project effected change in both program and in teachers by recognizing that what appears to be teacher resistance to change is really resistance to methods ordinarily used to introduce change, and by substituting methods that do not in and of themselves induce resistance. . . .

(p.293—blank)

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PART FOUR

Democratic Ethics and the Management of Change

[Page 294:]

1
INTRODUCTION

Some large measure of concerted action on the part of those responsible for any social function, public education for example, is necessary if the function is to be carried on efficiently and with a minimum of internal contradiction. That cooperation among teachers, administrators, and students is essential to an efficiently operating school is so obvious that it needs no exposition. The ways of attaining and maintaining common action, the ways of inducing people to work together, are various. "Democratic deliberation" is one of these.

The different ways of getting and keeping cooperation within a social system vary with respect to the quality and extent of the participation involved in forming the policies and decisions on which common action is based. "Democratic deliberation" puts a high premium upon the full participation of all persons concerned in a given action in determining the purposes and plans which are to guide it. The norms of "democratic ethics", therefore, define the ideal conditions of participation by persons and groups in shaping the controlling policies of a social system. The "ethical norms" of alternative systems of social control justify various limitations upon responsible participation in directing common conduct. The first selection in Part IV, "Democratic Cooperation Over Against Its Alternatives", reviews the general modes of social control available to educational leaders in inducing concerted action within the social system of the school and suggests the considerations which seem to justify the superior efficiency of "democratic" cooperation.

While the choice of a method of social control is always an ethical choice and while such a choice dogs the "status" leaders of any social system at all times, the choice is particularly crucial when changes in a social system are required. For changes

typically occur in a setting of dissatisfaction, confusion, and conflict with respect to the goals and the means of common effort. The crucial test of commitment to democratic norms of participation comes in the handling of the conflicts and compromises involved in engineering a change in social structures and motives. How can those responsible for leading in the changing of people and their interrelationships be assured that they are operating democratically? How can those who are being led to change their ways and the values and beliefs that support these be assured that they are not being manipulated undemocratically by their leaders?

It is clearly no adequate answer to this problem to deny the "democratic right" of leadership to induce educational workers to change their ways and their beliefs. For the current necessity for changes in our school program is dictated primarily, not by the whims and vagaries of educational leadership, but by inherent maladjustments between the school and our unevenly and drastically changing society as Part I made clear. To deny rights to "democratic" leadership in influencing the course of current educational change is, in effect, to sell out control of required changes to non-democratic leadership. The more adequate answer seems to lie in the translation of the norms of "democratic" ethics into principles of procedure in the engineering of deliberate changes in human conduct and interrelationships. If "democratic" change is to occur in the school, these norms must be observed by educational leadership at all times, and the norms must also be communicated and taught to those participating *along with* effective methods and techniques for inducing changes in persons, groups, and social systems. Benne has attempted to formulate the norms of democracy in this way in his "Democratic Ethics and Human Engineering", the final selection in Part IV.

2
DEMOCRATIC COOPERATION OVER AGAINST ITS ALTERNATIVES

(From Kenneth D. Benne, George E. Axtelle, B. Othanel Smith, and R. Bruce Raup, *The Discipline of Practical Judgment in a Democratic Society*, Yearbook No. 28 of The National Society of College Teachers of Education, 1942, pp. 19-31)

PREVAILING WAYS OF ATTAINING COMMON ACTION [1]

The method of democratic deliberation is the best way which men have devised to attain common action in and through conflicting outlooks and purposes. Our purpose is to deepen and broaden our understanding of this method and its demands upon each of us who seriously and genuinely wishes to see this method survive and grow in managing the relations of men today. It will help us better to understand this method of social deliberation and control if we see it first over against alternative methods which now operate among us and which are finding eager advocates among groups and nations of men as more adequate and efficient than democratic method in meeting the crucial problems of social change in our time.

PHYSICAL COMPULSION

Co-operation based on compulsion lacks common purpose.—One of the most primitive forms of social control rests on the obvious difference in command of power possessed by different individuals and groups in a social situation. Let us start with the simplest instance of two men, one of whom is physically stronger than the other. The stronger man compels the weaker to serve the former's purpose, to work with him in an action whose consequences the weaker does not approve or in whose benefits he does not equitably share. The co-operation is attained because the stronger man has the power to compel the weaker to co-operate. No common purpose guides the working-together. As soon as the balance of power changes, the cooperation will cease. The weaker man's proposes play no part in forming the plan of the action. His critical judgment plays no part in evaluating the consequences of the common action and in replanning the effort. Planning and the evaluation of the action are the privilege and function of the stronger. The weaker co-operates only in the execution of an action planned and evaluated by the stronger.

In more complex situations the instruments of power are diversified and expanded far beyond the actual respective bodily strengths of the compeller and the compelled. The compeller may wield the power of weapons, of armies, of economic position. The corrupted "authority" of the law of the group may serve his interests. Again, the compelled—may be a group and the compelled a group. The groups concerned may be as large and complex as nations. Still the pattern of control which operates to attain and maintain concerted action, to suppress conflict, and to determine the ends of co-operation may rest essentially on a marked difference in the power possessed by the parties to the common action. . . .

Coerced common action is neither stable nor efficient. —However justified and necessary we may judge this means of control to be in the short-run, emergency situations, the reasons for its long-run wastefulness and undesirability are not hard to establish. One may note, first of all, its precarious character. The compelled are not bound to the common task by any bonds but the superior power of the compeller. The conflict in purposes is not resolved in a plan which excludes the purposes of the compelled. The plan of action is not theirs. It is not a task which they put upon themselves. Thus a shift of power means a

1 We wish to express our debt for a similar analysis of "co-operation" in *Cooperation: Principles and Practices, Eleventh Yearbook of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association 1938). We, of course, assume full responsibility for the analysis in its present methodological setting,

breaking-out of the conflict into the open. Moreover, the freedom of the compeller is limited, since he must devote much of his energy and attention to maintaining the relations of subordination and dominance and not to the improvement and advancement of common purposes and actions.

Furthermore, the plan of the action is poorer than it might be, for it excludes the variety and uniqueness of experience and vision which the suppressed characters and minds of the compelled might contribute to it. The growth of the minds and purposes of the compellers is seriously limited, because, as they deliberately make plans and set policies, they are not in communication with those who are denied a part in forming the purposes of the action. The characters and minds of the compelled do not grow, because they do not find their way responsibly and congenially, in all their potential variety and uniqueness, into the common action. This pattern of control, whatever its short-run advantages, is, in the long run, as wasteful of human resources, those of compeller and compelled alike, as it has been shown to be precarious in character.

COMPROMISE

Compromise involves equality of power and diversity of purpose.—In some social situations where a conflict of purpose appears, the parties to the conflict are possessed of approximately equal power. In such cases, although if there were a greater differential in the power of the persons and groups concerned, compulsion might set the pattern of "settled" action, the relative equality in power compels a compromise with respect to the issue which divides them. Each person or group concerned has to make concessions to the other. These concessions are made not through each party's coming to see the justice and value in the opposing position and through remaking (enlarging and enriching) its outlook to include the hitherto opposing values but because each compromising person and group feels it can get something of what it wants ill the common plan of action by admitting something of what the opposing person or group wants. If it becomes stronger, the concessions will be reduced.

Again, it is not hard to find examples of this pattern of social control in current educational and social experience. Nearly all of us have experienced a compromise "solution" of some problem with respect to school policy among factions of a school faculty. Should, for example, the students plan and present the commencement program or should the faculty plan the affair? The question is argued in a faculty meeting. The underlying views of the different factions on the degree of student responsibility in the planning of school affairs remain divergent and conflicting. Perhaps the discussion never reaches the level of underlying

principles. The groups may be insensitive to the conflict in the background notions which really divides them and of which the particular contest is a special case. Or, though the parties to the conflict are conscious of their basic differences, the necessity of an immediate decision may cut the discussion off before any common agreement can be reached. Or perhaps the rules of parliamentary procedure by which the group structures its discussion are fitted for the winning of debater's points by one side or the other and the final arrival at some sort of compromise rather than for the reaching of common, fundamental agreements on educational principles by the whole group. For whatever reason, the particular issue is settled by a compromise, the teachers planning half of the commencement exercises and the student group the other half. For our present purposes it is sufficient to note that this method of attaining common action leaves the minds, the outlooks, and the perspectives of the conflicting groups unreconstructed or at best partially changed. If either side can gain enough strength, the minority will be voted down or otherwise compelled to conform when this underlying issue presents itself in the guise of another particular decision, . . .

Compromise is not the democratic ideal of method.—Now we should recognize the short-run merits of compromise solutions under certain conditions where events press for an imme-

diate solution of issues and where only a limited number of common purposes are present or can be readily developed. But we should not erect compromise into an ideal method for attaining common action. As we have noted, it possesses fundamentally all the long-run faults of the method of compulsion. The minds and characters of parties to a compromise do not grow measurably through inter-communication one with another. A richer synthesis of common purpose and outlook does not grow out of the conflict of partial purposes and outlooks. "Solutions" to problems of policy rest upon the relative strengths of opposing parties rather than upon the respective merits of the various proposals or of some synthesis of these for meeting "permanently" the problem which the group is seeking to solve. When democratic persons and groups do compromise (and they will have to do so often), they should recognize that the compromise offers no abiding solution to the conflict and that further efforts to grow a common outlook through discussion, study, and deliberation—a common outlook which incorporates harmoniously the valid goals of opposing parties—should be continued. We have said enough of the tend-

encies of party organization and parliamentary procedure to elevate compromise into an ideal of social deliberation and control to make us very cautious about identifying the democratic ideal of practical method wholly with these institutions.

EXPLOITATION

Exploitation as the manipulation of people through control of the means of communication.— Persons and groups of persons differ not only in their ultimate command of physical power. They differ also in their command of the agencies and tools of communication through which men inform themselves and talk their way to some common plan of action to meet this situation or that. Certain men are able to use language, the press, the radio, and other means of communication to make their "solution" to some common problem—a "solution" which represents principally their private and special interests—appear as a "solution" based on the common welfare, or at any rate, a "solution" which respects and furthers the interest and purposes of those who are thus persuaded to accept it as a plan of common action. Control of the agencies of communication thus to exploit the "minds" as well as the "bodies" of other men may function in various ways. Important and relevant facts may be withheld or twisted in their interpretation. Important probable consequences which might make the plan of action unpopular are ignored or understressed. Various devices may be used to shortcut deliberation and to precipitate a decision before any adequate definition of the interests and loyalties of all concerned has taken place. Actual but irrelevant loyalties of the men and groups concerned —loyalties which are genuine and important in other contexts but which are irrelevant to the problem being discussed—may be stressed to deflect the attention of the exploited groups from genuine and relevant loyalties which the exploiter's "solution" neglects or controverts. We all know the fable of the monkey who inveigled the cat to draw chestnuts from the fire. The monkey persuaded the cat that his interests lay in lending his paw to the service of the "common" action. The actual consequences of the action were a burned paw for the cat and tasty, roasted chestnuts for the monkey. Monkeys eat and like chestnuts. Cats don't.

Examples of exploitation in current society.—All of us know how modern agencies of communication have been perverted for purposes of exploitation of some men by other men. Advertising

psychology has made a science of such exploitation. All of us are moved to buy this product or that, whether or not the consequences of our purchase and use of it turn out to he those which our own active intelligence, had we employed it, would have led us to accept as desirable for us.

And, unfortunately, the method of exploitation is not absent from the management of our schools. Teachers sometimes withhold data on problems being studied in the interest of this conclusion or that. Administrators not infrequently attempt

to "sell" ideas of school policy to teachers and to the public and often "succeed," at least for the time. Organized interests of various kinds attempt to "sell" educational policies to the schools. They are sometimes alarmingly "successful." . . .

But the indictment of exploitation is more than an indictment of the abstract morality of the exploiters. It, like other ways of cooperation already discussed, involves a fundamental waste of human resources. Any public policy which does not incorporate the insight and intelligence of all men concerned in its execution is poorer than any public policy need be. And public policy can include the insight and intelligence of all men only as all men participate actively in making it, only as all men who work according to it understand and accept it. Moreover, a policy which ignores relevant factual conditions cannot hope to work well. In the long run the flouted and neglected conditions will doom the policy to failure. Exploitation, however common and however attractive to men with undue pride in their own insights and purposes and without faith in the masses of men, is ethically despicable, wasteful of human resources, and, in the long run, self-defeating.

EXCOMMUNICATION

Common action through group pressure.— An age-old means of restoring deviate persons to the established common ways of action in a social group is to use group pressure to induce conformity in the deviates. The deviate is threatened with ostracism from the common life of the group unless he conforms to the dominant patterns of action and belief. In its extreme form this means of social control becomes physical banishment (deportation) of the deviate from the life of the group which has nourished and sustained his development, which belongs to him, to which he in large measure belongs. But the threat of isolation from the common life of the group may take many more subtle forms than overt physical ostracism. An individual may be made to feel that this continued sharing in the common life of the group depends on his conformity with established common ways of thinking and acting. No doubt much of the term "un-American" to describe deviate views and practices involves an attempt to isolate a given person (or group) and his (or its) doctrine and perspective from effective communication with the general population of the American nation and thus to obtain at least outward conformity with traditional patterns of thought and conduct in the person or group denounced and those who might be influenced to accept their views. In effect, the expression implies that the doctrine condemned and the people making it are outside the pale of American society and its ways of thinking and acting. It is a way of attempting to ostracize deviate persons and their outlooks from the making of common policy and the charting of common action. . . .

All of us could think of numerous examples of the use of this means for maintaining a system of order, a way of common action in a school. We may "expel" a problem child from the life of the school. We may use the pressure of student opinion to suppress some unpopular student view of opinion. We may ridicule the deviate, tending to make him either conform to the accepted ways of the school group or cease to belong to that group.

Limitations of control by excommunication.— Our purpose is not to condemn this method of attaining common action generally for all human situations. There may well be emergency situations in which the consequences of using this method of social control are more desirable than those of failing to use it. But we can easily point to its limitations as a mode of general social practice. Marked deviation from an established social pattern indicates some deficiency in that pattern. To suppress deviation and maintain the established pattern merely because it is established is to fail to uncover that deficiency and to meet it through remaking the pattern. In a democratic process deviation is welcomed as a possible source of improvement in common ways of thinking and acting. The exceptional viewpoint is studied and discussed with a view toward incorporating whatever stands the test of study and discussion into a revised common view. Conflict of views is seen as a creative op-

portunity for common im-

provement in a democratic group and not as a condition to be abolished and an occasion to coerce persons through social pressure to conform to the viewpoint of either of the parties to the conflict. Conflict, of course, does not lead automatically to improvement. But conflict controlled and directed by disciplined and appropriate methods of deliberation is regarded by the democrat as the source of all our major social gains.

LEADERSHIP

Leadership may be required in emergencies or when the social group is inexperienced.—It often happens that, in a group faced by confusion of purpose and by the necessity of a common choice among alternative courses of action, one person or group of persons seems to sec a purpose and program much more clearly than the rest of the group. Whether due to lack of experience on the part of most members of the group or to immaturity (as with a group of children working with adults), or whether due to the press of compelling events, the larger part of the group is unable to form any clear conception of the demands by way of purpose, policy, and program placed by the situation upon people such as they are or are trying to become. In such situations the group may willingly follow those who are seen to have a clarity of purpose and program and who promise to lead the group in a plan of action which further experience and thought will prove to have been in the common interest. It should be noted that the group follows the leader (or leaders) because they have confidence in his (or their) devotion to the common good and because his (or their) particular combination of experience and ability seems to make followership by the group reasonable and justifiable. Only further experience along the line of action recommended by the leadership will give the group as a whole a basis on which to judge whether or not their confidence in the leadership was justified or misplaced. Conscientious leadership attempts to facilitate review by the group of the consequences of its policies and programs and seeks to bring the group progressively to the point where the program, policy, and purpose are confirmed by the intelligent judgment of the whole group or as many of the group as possible. . . .

Leadership is not incompatible with democratic method.—We may properly say that leadership, even strong leadership, contrary to many views of the matter, is not opposed to democratic

social control. Where there is a real differential in experience and knowledge, in maturity, among the members of group, leadership is justified in promoting group action. Where the group is faced with an emergency, leadership must be exercised. But it is always necessary to remember that the type of leadership demanded and, in fact, the exercise of leadership at all can be justified only by the nature of the situation faced by a group. And it is equally true that leadership in a democratic group seeks continually to extend an understanding and intelligent acceptance of the purposes and means of the common action in which that leadership is functioning. Thus, in effect, democratic leadership seeks progressively to transfer leadership from a basis of group dependence on the leadership of a person or small group to the common intelligence and will of the whole group. In this characteristic of democratic leadership, we find one of the best ways of distinguishing leadership from exploitation.

DEMOCRATIC CO-OPERATION

Democratic method attempts to achieve an intelligent and uncoerced consensus.— As we made clear at the beginning of the chapter, the ideal method of social control is democratic co-operation. Our criticisms of the other ways of attaining common action have been based on our interpretation of democratic co-operation as, in general, the ideal way and one which we should seek to cultivate and extend. We have at the same time made clear that, in our view, with the exception of exploitation, all other methods of social control, however undesirable, and even self-defeating they may be from a long-range point of view, will in certain specific social situations in school and out

be found to be desirable and necessary. But in any case where they are employed they should be used in a way to further the long-run extension and maintenance of democratic co-operation both in the small group and in the wider community.

The task remains to make explicit what meaning we give to democratic co-operation as a means of attaining common action. It is the purpose of this book to explore the method of democratic deliberation, and little more than its briefest outlines will be presented at this point. Let us start once more with a group which is confused or in conflict with respect to the purpose and direction of the policy and program to be followed in its common action. Where democratic co-operation is the accepted and practical way of attaining common action, what will such a group do? In

general, it will first seek to clarify the confusion and conflict by locating the points of conflict through deliberation and discussion. Having located the points of conflict, it will address its efforts in deliberation, study, and discussion to building a common outlook, a common purpose, a common policy and program to guide its subsequent actions. The ideal of democratic deliberation is an intelligent and uncoerced consensus concerning what should be done. This consensus will attempt to incorporate the valid insights and values of all parties in the conflict. The validity of these various insights and values is to be tested by the common study, deliberation, and discussion of the group and ultimately by the consequences of the common plan as it works out in action and as these consequences are evaluated by the common judgment of the group. It cannot be stressed too emphatically that the ideal goal of democratic co-operation is a consensus in the group concerning what should be done—a consensus based on and sustained by the deliberation of the group in the planning, execution, and evaluation of the common action of the group. No other method of social control depends so crucially on the deliberation of the whole group concerned in resolving the conflicts which for the time impede and prevent community of action. And, as a corollary, no other method of social control depends so centrally for its effective working-out upon the habituation and responsible discipline of all of its members in conscious methods of deliberation and discussion.

Choice of method of deliberation depends upon the type of conflict to be resolved.—Of course, specific methods of deliberation are conditioned by the types of conflict and problem which it is their function to resolve. And democratic co-operation will demand methods appropriate to all the types of conflict which arise in the course of group life to thwart and impede the common action of the group. Any thorough analysis of democratic deliberation, such as this book attempts, must try to make clear the methods appropriate for various types of conflict. For purposes of the present chapter, it is enough to locate a few of the chief types of conflict which do arise in the course of group deliberation. First of all, we may recognize differences (occurring in a group confronted with a decision as to social policy) in beliefs as to what the facts of the existing situation are. Closely related to this type of conflict is one arising from different conceptions as to the effectiveness of different means in producing this result or that, Now modern science and technol-

ogy have developed their methods and their conclusions in relation to such problems as these. The methods and the expert knowledge and competence of scientists and technologists are therefore needed ill policy-making where these types of conflict occur. Certainly, we may grant that common policy has too often been made without sufficient participating by those who know the relevant facts and who have relevant expert competence and skill. Or, to put the same point differently, policy-makers confronted by conflicting "facts" or "techniques" have too seldom employed the resources of the best available scientific and technological method and competence in resolving these conflicts. We may grant this observation and welcome the planning movement which seeks to put scientific and technological method and competence to work in solving problems of public policy without falling into the dangerous error, described in the preceding chapter, of turning over to these techni-

cal "experts" the whole of policy-making. And this in turn points to the need for further analysis of the method by which democratic judgments of practice should be made and the part which scientific method and expert competence should play in this method. . . .

Again, groups trying to build a common policy run into conflicting conceptions of what should be, conflicting standards of good and bad, conflicting value perspectives. Some of the reasons why modern group deliberation cannot avoid such conflicts were reviewed in the preceding chapter. This is a range of conflict which modern scientific and technological method has avoided. Some men are doubtful if any method, save compulsion, exploitation, excommunication, compromise, will work in groups marked by conflicting value perspectives. This means, in effect, that deliberate, democratic methods will not work in making many policies under present conditions. This conclusion we cannot accept. . . .

It is the faith of the democrat that no conflict can best be resolved unless all relevant and available human experience aid insight is brought to bear on its resolution. No conflict is fully resolved until all have come, through deliberation, to accept the resolution as their own. The best common action on this view must involve the minds and purposes of those engaged in it as well as their bodily efforts. The methods of democratic co-operation are thus oriented, as we have stressed before, to the utilization of all available human resources—resources of purpose, ex-

perience, and insight in the planning, the execution, and the evaluation of common action. It is this full utilization of human resources in the guidance of common action that justifies the democrat's faith that democratic co-operation leads to policies and programs which are more relevant to existing conditions, more sensitive to all human values, more generally satisfying to the men concerned, and more enduring than policies and programs based on any other mode of social co-operation. . . .

3
DEMOCRATIC ETHICS AND HUMAN ENGINEERING

(From Kenneth D. Benne, "Democratic Ethics in Social Engineering", *Progressive Education*, 26:7 : 204-207, May, 1940)

. . . There seems to be good reason for locating in the disequilibrated conditions of industrial society the requiredness of current social and educational change and of a planned, an engineering, approach to its control. These requirements do not stem primarily from undemocratic or antidemocratic ideologies. This insight helps to clear away any assumption of necessary incompatibility between a democratic system of values on the one hand and processes of social engineering which employ methods of collectively planned change on the other. This way of looking at contemporary change seems also to imply that democratic ideology will find effective application in shaping contemporary culture only as it comes to operate in the processes by which planned social changes are formulated and effected and by which the necessary re-education of persons and groups to the behavior and relationships required by such plan-

ning is accomplished. *If this is accepted as a condition of effective service to democratic ideas and values at the present time, a translation of these values and ideas in terms of a methodology of social engineering would seem to be required.*

As this translation is attempted, it is important that the core convictions of democratic ideology be kept clearly in mind. In the first place, the unique person, because of his very uniqueness, represents an irreplaceable and incomparable center of choice, deliberation and valuation. Persons are, therefore, to be taken as ends in the sense that all the ways of a society, its institutions, its practices and its faiths, are to be judged

ultimately by their services to the development of each member-person. In the second place, a social policy is held to be poorer than it need be if it does not represent an induction from the unique insights and experiences of every person concerned with that policy. On both these bases, the principle of participation by all persons affected by a social policy, as equals, in the processes by which such policy is formulated and reconstructed has been approved as a (if not the) central norm of democratic operation.

Now it requires no great logical leap from this latter principle to an assertion that the central meaning of "democracy", in operational terms, is to be found in a methodology by which the ways, the policies, the norms of an institution, the school for example, are to be reconstructed when its traditional ways have fallen into dispute, when the society is confronted by alternative and conflicting views as to the proper direction of social effort, when the institution faces, defines and moves to solve its confronting problems. The democratic norms acquire operational meaning when they are interpreted as requirements of a methodology for resolving social and inter-personal conflicts in such a way that an adequate, mutually satisfactory, and socially wise resolution is effected. In a social setting where social conflicts tend to take a collective form, where change is inherent in the situation, where planning has become a social necessity, the norms of democracy will acquire directive power and clear meaning *only* as they are seen to be required elements in a methodology of planned social change, of social engineering.

THE ETHICAL PROBLEM RESTATED

We can now restate with greater precision the problem raised earlier concerning the ethical responsibilities of the educator as social engineer in terms of democratic values. There is no inherent contradiction between a democratic ideology and the training of persons and groups committed to and skilled in the stimulation and development of planned change in social patterns and in human relationships. In fact, the effective maintenance and extension of democratic values in industrial society seem to require the services of such practitioners. Educators or other change agents must, however, be trained in ways of stimulating and guiding change which incorporate the democratic basic elements of their operating methodology. The valid test of the democratic character of any engineering operation lies in the degree to which the methodology employed in them conforms to these norms. *It follows also that the best guarantee of the ethical operation of social engineers is that their basic training be focused in a methodology of planned change which unites the norms of democratic operation, relevant understandings of change processes and social structures, and skills in stimulating, inducing and stabilizing changes in persons and groups.*

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AS METHODOLOGICAL NORMS

Five basic democratic norms can be identified. All may be thought of as derivations from the basic principle of democratic participation stated above and from the analysis of the requirements which the current cultural situation puts upon processes of change. In presenting each, some clarification of its general meaning will be attempted. Some delimitation of the kind of skills which translation of each norm into social practice requires will also be indicated. It is in these skill requirements that the necessary fusion of social-psychological understandings with ethical norms of valid deliberation and decision is seen most clearly. It is not enough for an educational leader to accomplish this fusion in his own professional perspective. His training must also include development of skill in helping the persons, groups and organizations with whom he works to accomplish this fusion in planning and evaluating the changes for which they assume responsibility. Without such fusion, democratic values tend to remain verbalisms and skills for inducing change tend to be used without the direction and control which democratic values should provide.

Democratic Norm 1. The engineering of change and the meeting of pressures on a group or organization toward change must be collaborative. This norm prescribes two general kinds of collaboration. In the first place, it emphasizes the need for collaboration across lines of divergent action interests in a given situation requiring change: Individuals and groups must be helped to see that the task is to discover and construct a common interest out of the conflicting interests which they bring to the interpretation of the situation and to the direction of changes in it. This requires a confidence that the common interest to be built will be "better," will incorporate greater value for all concerned, than any partial interest initially brought to the deliberation concerning required changes. At the same time, the conflicting interests must be seen as the "raw materials" out of which the common interest is to be constructed.

The second kind of collaboration required is across lines of "theory" and "practice". A planned change in a school situation must be one which is based on the best available knowledge of relevant relationships and structures, of social forces and factors promoting and impeding various possible changes, of the consequences likely to result from alternative lines of action proposed and considered. This calls for knowledge from various social sciences. In addition, skills in creating those social-psychological conditions which will support a problem-solving approach in various phases of change must be available. It seems that planned educational change which is to be successful will require the collaboration of practitioners with social scientists and with engineering methodologists.

Neither of these modes of collaboration, between persons and groups with different interests in change and between "theorists" and "practitioners", comes "naturally" to people. "Departmental" barriers tend to divide various kinds of social scientists. "Institutional" barriers tend to divide scientists and action leaders. Yet both modes are required if change as planned is to be guided by the rational, informed consent of those concerned. The development of the skills of productive collaboration by practitioners, representatives of various "interests", and consulting social scientists sets a central goal for educational leadership which is devoted to the democratization of change processes.

Democratic Norm 2. The engineering of change must be educational for the participants. Training for planned change can-

not put the importance of other goals to be achieved through collaboration above the importance of developing the unique abilities of each person in and through the social change effected.

Every change operation must, in this sense, be conceived as an educational enterprise. This is not dictated alone by the democratic conviction that each person is to be treated as an end and that social arrangements are to be judged by their effects on persons influenced by them. It is dictated equally by the conviction that planning is most intelligent when it accomplishes a maximum induction from the unique contributions of all individual participants.

Individuals need to learn the skills of contribution to collective thinking if these effects are to be achieved. Groups need to learn the skills of eliciting effective individual contributions to group thinking from all members. And organizations need to develop an atmosphere which permits individuals and sub-groups to mature and communicate effectively their unique contributions to organizational change and improvement.

It is important that this educational requirement of democratic engineering be interpreted dynamically instead of statically. It is not enough that persons grow in the skills, understandings and commitments appropriate to any given situation or to a plan for the effective management of that situation. The more basic educational needs to be served in processes of planning for change are needs for the habits and skills required for further growth. The social engineer, if he is working democratically, must leave the

persons and groups with whom he works better equipped to solve the particular problem which he has helped them to solve. But he must also leave them better equipped to solve subsequent problems of change, including the management of personal adjustments which change in social arrangements always requires.

Democratic Norm 3. The engineering of change must be experimental. It has already been suggested that democratic ideology requires us to see all social arrangements as subject to modification and alteration when their effects upon the persons influenced by their operation can convincingly be called into question. This involves an "experimental" attitude toward all social arrangements. And all social arrangements include those formed and re-formed in processes of planning as well as those shaped and perpetuated by custom. Planned arrangements must be seen by those who make them as arrangements to be tested in use

and to be modified in terms of their human effects when tried.

Now, if the planning of changes is to be collaborative along the dimensions already suggested, this means that all who collaborate must be trained toward an experimental attitude and a "research" approach toward social problems. It is not enough if only the "experts" involved are experimental and research minded. Accurate determination of the human effects of institutional arrangements requires research. Collaboration in such research becomes a prime requisite for intelligent sensitivity toward changes required prior to planning. Such research is of equal importance in the evaluation of arrangements instituted by planning. That all educational practitioners, children and laymen participating in educational change become experimental in their attitude toward relationship problems faced and "research-minded" in their search for and evaluation of solutions sets an impressive task for social engineering. But our democratic norms require us to set no lesser goal.

Democratic Norm 4. The engineering of change must be task-oriented, that is, controlled by the requirements of the problem confronted and its effective solution, rather than oriented to the maintenance or extension of the prestige or power of those who originate contributions. In terms of social control, this means that democratic change must be anti-authoritarian. In methodological terms, this norm requires that contributions are to be judged by their relevance to the task or problem confronted, not by the prestige, position or power of those who originate them.

Persons adequate to implement this norm must be disciplined in recognizing continuously the social-psychological fact of emotional identification with ideas and proposals as both an asset and a liability. On the one hand, it is a source of effective motivation. On the other, it is a source of unintelligent resistance to counter-ideas of merit. Democratic persons must become skilled in inhibiting their tendencies to defend and promote ideas which are in need of objective evaluation and reformulation. It is important that persons achieve sensitivity in assessing the sources of influence upon themselves and to differentiate between dependence upon status figures and dependence upon fact-oriented and task-oriented influences.

Democratic groups need authority roles for effective coordination of their problem-solving activities. But groups need

to learn to judge authority roles in terms of their contribution to such coordination and not in terms of the general prestige, respectability or status of certain members.

The task of training persons and groups to achieve effective communication across barriers of prestige and differential power is far from easy. This is nowhere more difficult than in educational change where the basic status differences between children and adults as well as the more usual status barriers between teachers (workers), supervisors and administrators must be taken into account. It is in creating conditions

for releasing such productive communication that many of the most baffling social and psychological difficulties of training for democratic change are encountered. The task is complicated by a dogmatic attitude on the part of participants toward the viewpoints and ideas of their own groups. To the democratic planner "dogmas" are seen methodologically as "intellectual" attempts to save some privileged position from open collective criticism and modification. How to convert the perception of favored principles by those who hold them from dogmas to "hypotheses" remains a central problem for democratic social engineers.

Democratic Norm 5. The engineering of change must be anti-individualistic, yet provide for the establishment of appropriate areas of privacy and for the development of persons as creative units of influence in our society. The "collective" character of our more pressing problems of change has been suggested and the necessity for "collective" solutions affirmed. We have also seen the affirmation of the central importance of persons as basic to the democratic ideology. The fact that these two requirements are often seen as antitheses stems from a confusion of the ideology of liberal individualism with that of democracy.

No complete clarification of the former ideology can be attempted here. A few remarks may help to justify the statement that a democratic methodology must be anti-individualistic. In the liberal revolt against social restraints upon economic enterprise imposed by medieval culture and later against "mercantilist" restraints, a rationale for individual rights was sought in a conception of the "natural" as over against the "social" grounding of such rights. Individuals, naturally equipped with mind and conscience independent of social experience, were set over against a contractual and artificial system of social relationships and conventions. What was in fact an alternative social ideal was

thus projected into a theory of the nature of human nature. Scientific studies of human nature have indicated that this rationalization of liberal ideology involved a false psychology and anthropology. Individual personalities are now seen to be products of social experience. Individuation and socialization, far from being capable of intelligible opposition, are generally regarded as alternative aspects of the same process of growth into the ways of a social culture. The norms and standards by which a person thinks and judges are learned in the processes by which he is acculturated. Human rights and duties are grounded in the institutions and ideologies of a culture, not in a nature independent of man's social relationships. If human rights are to be guaranteed, they must be guaranteed by appropriate social, political, and economic controls of human behavior, not by opposition to these.

The value of creative individuality which the liberal ideology as well as democratic ideology emphasized is valid as a value. But the conservation and extension of this value cannot be effected by reliance upon a false psychology and anthropology. If the realization of this value is blocked by certain social arrangements, as undoubtedly it often is today, the task is to change these social arrangements. And such change today requires collective planning and action not reliance upon "providential" processes of natural or historical selection which have ceased to be providential under conditions of advancing industrialization or upon blind resistance to all collective action as inherently opposed to individuality.

Individualism today tends to threaten rather than to promote the values of individuality. We are brought back to processes of planned social change and to the formulation of an adequate methodology of social engineering as a necessary condition for the conservation and extension of democratic values.

The methodological correlate of individualism which democratic ideology leads us to oppose is the elevation of unchecked private, individual judgment as an ultimate arbiter in the control of human conduct. That a wise social policy will establish areas of privacy for persons and voluntary associations within the society is undoubtedly true. In such areas, private judgment may rule. But the determination of the proper bound-

aries of these areas must, in an interdependent society, be based on a collective judgment. The sights of private judgment can be de-

fensibly defined and enforced on a democratic basis only by processes of collaborative planning. They cannot be guaranteed by dogmas concerning the nature of man.

The methodology of planned change which is consistent with democratic ideology must elevate informed and experimental collective judgment over unchecked private judgment. A methodology of training for participation in planned change must emphasize the development of skills necessary for creating common public judgments out of the disciplined conflict of "private" points of view. It must develop persons who see non-influenceability of private convictions in joint deliberations as a vice rather than a virtue. It is in this sense that democratic planning for change must be anti-individualistic.

It is equally important that groups and organizations be trained to develop standards of acceptance of individual differences and of expectation that out of such differences resources for group and institutional improvement can be developed. Groups and organizations should be helped to define and redefine those areas of life in which common values and standards are necessary and where efforts to build common out of contrasting beliefs and practices are required. In the same process, areas of life where divergence in standard and belief is not alone to be tolerated but encouraged and supported need to be well-defined. To stress the essential character of certain universals in group life is in no way to contradict the need for special and unique developments where threats to common welfare are not involved. The democratic social engineer seeks to establish and support this essential distinction in the groups or organizations with whom he works. . . .

An attempt has been made to show that there is no incompatibility between an engineering approach to the solution of educational and social problems and the ethics of democracy. On the contrary, it has been urged that the effective maintenance and extension of democratic values in industrial culture requires such an approach. The necessity for planned changes in human relationships and institutional patterns stems from the conditions of industrial life today. And planned change requires leadership by persons equipped with the understandings, skills and techniques of the social engineer. Social engineering will serve democratic aims and observe democratic scruples and standards only if it is guided by a methodology which incor-

porates basic democratic values as procedural norms. The first task of believers in democratic ethics is, therefore, the theoretical job of translating democratic values into methodological norms for the control of processes of planned change. The second task is the practical one of devising ways, in training teachers or others as social engineers, to develop the skills and techniques for effective stimulation and induction of change in persons and groups and the social-psychological knowledge required for accurate diagnosis of change-situations in *integral relation* to developing commitments to the norms of democratic methodology. Knowledge or skills or techniques divorced from the ethical and methodoIogica1 controls of democracy may be used for promoting undemocratic or anti-democratic ends. We must find ways for teaching the techniques of social engineering not as isolated "bags of tricks" but as the "hands and feet" which the ethical and methodological "heart and head" of democratic action require in today's world.

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PART FIVE

Discipline for Leadership In Curriculum Change

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1
INTRODUCTION

All of the preceding parts of this book may be seen as contributions to a "discipline" for leadership in curriculum change. Those who set out to stimulate changes in the school program require discipline in the diagnosis of the changes that are possible within the social system of the school and the overlapping social systems of school and community. They require further the discipline of skills for converting dissatisfactions with things as they are into constructive analysis of things as they might be with greater opportunities for need satisfaction on the part of all concerned. They require the discipline of the understandings and skills required for helping strategic work groups to form and to move effectively in planning, executing, and evaluating changes needed in the school program. The norms of democratic cooperation furnish a part of the needed discipline. We might in some such way translate the "ideas" in all of the preceding sections and parts of this book as dimensions in the "discipline" of leadership required for educational change today.

But, having done this, we would still need the outlines of a "discipline" which helps us to see all of these parts in relationship to each other. It seems likely that such an inclusive discipline lies in a methodology of problem-solving. Changes to be made present themselves to groups as difficulties to be overcome. If groups are to overcome these difficulties thoughtfully and deliberately, they must first convert these difficulties into specific problems. The quest for a plan or program of change becomes, therefore, a quest for the solution to the problem as it has been defined. *It is not difficult to see that the tools for analyzing social situations for their change possibilities (Part II), the methods and techniques for helping groups to grow and develop (Part III), and the norms of democratic cooperation (Part IV), are all helps to educational leadership in releasing and guiding effec-*

tive cooperative efforts throughout the school and community to see, to define, and to solve implicit problems deliberately and adequately.

It seems important, further, to recognize that the methodology of problem-solving for curriculum change is a *methodology of practical deliberation*. For the problems of curriculum change to be solved are practical problems. They are *practical* in the sense that solutions must incorporate judgments of value, judgments of "what we ought to do", as well as judgments of fact and judgments of effective means to employ. The methodology in which educational leadership must be disciplined is one designed to build common agreement concerning the values we should strive for in our schools as well as common agreement as to what "facts" we can depend on in building our policies and decisions concerning the school program. The required methodology must guide our deliberations to clarify values and to find and interpret facts in the same process.

All selections in Part V are drawn from two sources. If these unavoidably brief selections do not clarify the required methodology of practical deliberation adequately, readers are urged to read further from the source noted below.*

* Raup, R. B., Benne, K. D., Smith, B. O., and Axtelle, G. E., *The Discipline of Practical Judgment in a Democratic Society*, 28th Yearbook of the National Society of College Teachers of Education, University of Chicago Press, 1943, A revised version of this book has been published by Harpers in New York, February, 1950, as *The Improvement of Practical Intelligence*.

2
THE DISCIPLINE OF PRACTICAL DELIBERATION

(From George E. Axtelle and R. Bruce Raup, "II: Some Working Terms of the Needed Discipline", *Teachers College Record*, 46:4 : 213-218, January, 1946)

TYPES OF PRACTICAL JUDGMENT

. . . The occasion for practical judgment arises when we are faced with the question of "what to do." We may be uncertain regarding what we desire or approve, or what others desire or approve. We may be uncertain about what the resources and obstacles in the situation are, and about what can be done with them. Practical judgment is the resolution of one or all of these uncertainties into some plan of action. This resolution is called a *decision* if the case is specific and particular. It is called a policy when relating to a variety of cases having some feature in common. Still a third type of practical judgment is the formation or reconstruction of a general rule or principle of conduct. This is called a *practical generalization*. It will [may] be referred to variously . . . as an ideal, a principle, a normative generalization. To illustrate: A sophomore in X college makes a decision to major in mathematics. The college has adopted the policy that all of its students shall choose a major subject by the close of the sophomore year. The student and the college make this decision and this policy in keeping with the previously formulated practical generalization that persons, either in or out of college, should specialize sufficiently to establish mastery in fields congenial to themselves.

These three types of judgment are of ascending order of generality. But it should be noted that they interact upon one another. While decisions are made within the framework of policies, some decisions may involve a reconstruction of policy and become precedents, as in judicial practice. Similarly, decisions and policies are generally influenced by existing ideals and principles. Frequently, however, situations arise which reveal that existing social-moral ideals and principles are inadequate or in conflict. For example, the belief in specialization in college might be challenged and changed. These cases are often the most difficult to cope with because the principles are so deeply embedded in characters, in the moral structure of the community. All judgments of practice in some degree, particularly as they involve practical generalization, involve there—with the characters of the judgers and of their communities. Such deep-seated life norms do not change easily.

Here, then, are several of the terms and ideas which have been found useful in talking about a discipline of practical intelligence . . . *decision, policy, practical, generalization*, the latter meaning broad principles of social-moral action or general norms of private and public conduct. The making, or remaking, of all these forms of judgment is the function of practical intelligence.

Moreover, another idea has appeared here which becomes important—the inter-dependence of all these forms of judgment. The soundness of any one of them depends upon the soundness of the others. This is one way definitely to take hold of practical judgments to improve them. It is a point in the discipline we seek . .

MAJOR TYPES OF PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

One type of practical problem which often calls for resolution is that in which the genera1 principles or deep seated life norms are clear and unshaken. So long as the members of the group have thus a stable, common mind about what is desired or desirable, the solving of the problem is relatively simple. It consists in finding ways and means of achieving what is commonly desired. Often, in such cases, we call in the technical expert on how to do what we all want done. While such cases are almost never as simple as this seems and are not always easy to resolve,

they are, in comparison with the cases which follow, the simplest practical judgments we make.

A second type of problem is one in which there are stable common principles or norms in the groups, but these have become obscured by some disturbing conflict or controversy. While such

disagreements are often relatively superficial, they may serve for a long time to keep a people unaware of their deeper bonds of community. Before Pearl Harbor we were preoccupied with our many differences. Pearl Harbor showed us in what ways we were still a community. The practical task of intelligence in this kind of case—for Pearl Harbors do not often come—is to rediscover the basic character of the community, its common ideals, beliefs, and goals. Once this has been done, the case becomes one of the first type described above.

A third type of problem is that in which there is deep cleavage in orientation, where ideals, attitudes, and goals are in basic conflict. Here the problem is more difficult and usually requires more time for solution. The need is for a restructuring of the community itself. This means often the profound reshaping of characters. Probably our people have this kind of problem today more acutely than at any other time in their history. We need community of understanding and belief and purpose where such does not now exist and where its absence is increasingly disastrous.

What we have in these three kinds of practical problems are different parts in a spectrum rather than three separate kinds. At one end of the spectrum, if the logical extreme ever occurred, would be the situation in which the problem would be strictly "technical." At the other extreme would be the situation in which there would be no common ground whatever regarding either policy or practical generalizations, in which there would be no point of agreement in the outlook of conflicting groups in the community. Often these logical extremes are wrongly assumed to exist. This needs to be guarded against, and here is another point of discipline. We assume the existence of the first extreme when it actually does not exist. We are unaware of actual differences in outlook, ad mistakenly take for granted an identity of characters. The other extreme is likewise rear, if not nonexistent. Violence in the clash of orientations often tends to obscure possible elements of agreement. Failure of this kind at the first extreme, where difference of character as been overlooked, has led, for instance, to an inadequate conception of science and of facts. These we mistakenly hold to be utterly neutral and indifferent to values and purposes. Failure at the other extreme, where areas of agreement among conflicting orientations are overlooked, has led to class and race struggle

theories and to a too ready resort to force, violence, and war as the method of dealing with conflicts. . . .

Hope for a better world depends upon how successfully people find common grounds when these are needed. There is encouragement in the belief that since men have at least the same biological character, and since cultures must within broad limits respect this character, it; is questionable whether the extreme of absolute conflict ever exists. While it may be true at times that what is common is so slight and hard to uncover that for practical purposes we have to treat the difference in character as irreconcilable, this should not be a hasty conclusion. The current collaboration of labor and management in the control of some industries, an achievement thought to be utterly impossible in an earlier period of our history, should warn us lest we assume irreconcilability too soon. Theoretically, at least, we should assume reconcilability wherever we find acceptance of life as a good. It is difficult to find any common ground with an orientation which denies that the individual life has any worth whatever. But whatever the solution of this need may be, we know that it will come about better when a people has schooled itself in better ways of working for it.

These further means, then, to a discipline of practical intelligence are available: (1) clear definition of the kind of practical problem involved—that is, getting its location in the spectrum range between settled common orientation at one extreme and

deep cleavage of general orientation at the other; and (2) discovery of and provision for the interdependence of the different kinds of practical problems, as when a factual or technical judgment is influenced by differences of general outlook and orientation, and vice versa. These are added places at which to take hold of practical judgment to do something toward its improvement.

THE CHIEF CRITERION IN PRACTICAL INTELLIGENCE

How do we tell whether a decision or policy or general principle is a good or a poor one? A successful discipline of practical intelligence must answer this question. The authors of the study reported in the *Yearbook* [on which this statement; is based] found it necessary to locate the answer in the community con-

cerned. The persons concerned in the judgment and its outcome are the eventual court of appeal in determining whether the judgment is a good one. Common consent and acceptance, active and uncoerced, is our surest test.

It is not accidental that the ideal of democracy and the overall criterion of good practical judgment tend to become ode and the same. If anyone were to assume a criterion more fixed and final than this, these authors believe it would be necessary to locate it outside human experience. They prefer to believe that such a venture would defeat the search for a discipline of practical intelligence from the start. They choose rather to cast their lot with those who believe that man can learn what is good from his experience, that the best he knows comes to him by that route, and that he is most constructive and most tolerant when he stakes his quest for human good upon the capacity of people to say in their own right when decisions and policies and general principles are good and when they are not good. This leaves the way open to only one inclusive criterion, that is, the common uncoerced persuasion of those who are concerned.

Recognition of this inclusive criterion of good practical intelligence can transfigure virtually every step in the making of decisions and choices in private and public life. . . . There is no other single part in the discipline we seek which does as much as this one to illuminate and direct the whole field of practical considerations and findings.

THREE PHASES OF PRACTICAL JUDGMENT

Another means of improving practical intelligence arises with the noting of three fairly distinct phases in a complete act of practical judgment. To know these phases, to recognize their distinctive characteristics, and to be able to deal with them singly or in their interrelations constitute effective helps toward making practical judgments produce better outcomes. These three phases are: (1) the formulation of purpose—forming a desired end, a desired state of affairs, a preferred and chosen goal; (2) the description of existing conditions—getting the facts, defining relationships, noting possibilities; and (3) the formation of a plan of action—steps which promise best to transform existing conditions into conditions that are desired.

It will be seen that each one of these phases of a complete

judgment is a possible focus for discipline. A clear purpose, for instance, can come often only through the fusion and interpenetration of outlooks. This is a creative act loaded with possibilities for releasing new energies and achieving new heights of human satisfaction. But it is not always easy, and we need to learn better how to do it. About the second phase, getting the facts, we know more. There is more of a discipline ready to draw upon. But we can never say that we know enough. For the third phase, we are almost as badly equipped as for the first. It involves the fusion of fact and desire, of present and future, of existing means and projected ends. This is again a function to which discipline needs to be directed.

It is a part of the needed discipline of practical intelligence just to be cognizant of the presence of the three phases. But there is another step which adds much to the control we are after—that is, the recognition of and the provision for

the interpenetration of these phases. All phases are involved in the exercise of each phase, and the surest directives for each come through conscientious attention to its connections with the others. Judgment is whole; these phases are only important parts of it where we can see and do something about making the whole go better. Purpose, for example, without the facts is either fantasy or stupidity. Facts, claiming falsely to be neutral, often only hide the real purposes. And plans of action not based on accurate understanding of conditions and not directed by considered purpose are only leaps into the dark. These are all clues to a discipline.

The general criterion of good judgment—that is, common acceptance and consent—works through each of the three phases. It is operating when persons come together on the facts in a case. It is dramatized on those occasions when differing points of view and conflicting interests and purposes move with their mutual tensions toward a fusion of goal and into a concerted plan of action. Community is an imperative necessity of man. Recognition of the phases of practical judgment and attention to their mutual dependence can convert our reckoning with this necessity into a constructive passion.

CHARACTER AND GOOD JUDGMENT

The Yearbook previously mentioned found a number of other approaches to the needed discipline. Some of these also are present in the cases to be described. Symbols, for example, especial-

ly the verbal symbols people use, can be helpful or harmful to good judgment depending on how they come to have their meanings. and how adjustable these meanings are when confronted with the requirements of a human problem. From the point of view of what makes good practical judgment, our possession and use of words can be healthy or it can be pathological. The *Yearbook* traces out some of the conditions of having words healthy. It deals similarly with the *practical generalizations* which make up the deep mental equipment of persons and communities and function to determine their judgments. These, too, can be forces for good or for ill, and we can have something to say about which it shall be.

But both these and all the elements of the discipline here described are best seen as points at which to develop characters, making them into characters thus empowered to meet the numberless occasions of decision and choice which will confront them today and tomorrow, characters aimed directly and effectively toward an improved human community. The discipline of practical intelligence is rightly a discipline of human characters. . . .

3
A CLOSER LOOK AT THE MEANING OF PRACTICAL DELIBERATION

(From Kenneth D. Benne, George E. Axtelle, B. Othanel Smith, and R. Bruce Raup, *The Discipline of Practical Judgment in a Democratic Society,* Yearbook No. 28 of The National Society of College Teachers of Education, 1942, pp. 57-62)

. . . ***What it has in common with all judgmental behavior.***— A judgment always involves a conclusion with respect to a situation in need of resolution. It is always grounded in some process

of inquiry or deliberation and issues as a result of such processes. If, after investigation or deliberation, a thinker concludes that it will rain tomorrow, or that John should be permitted to take a re-examination, or that the objectives of history teaching should be such and such, he is making judgments. A judgment is, therefore, a settling of some issue, a resolving of an unsettled situation, by deliberately determining a response appropriate to that situation.

Since our behavior does not always depend upon investigation and deliberation, it follows that not all behavior is judgmental. We act in

many ways that are the carrying-out of established routines or habits, which necessitate no inquiry or deliberation and are hence nonjudgmental. Typing, walking, and the routine aspects of driving an automobile, for example, are non-judgmental behaviors. In such routine behavior the situation is not problematic, no alternatives present themselves, and we act almost automatically out of habits and attitudes previously formed. Judgmental behavior, on the other hand, requires, first, that the person or persons be in an unresolved situation, one which requires that something be done, with that something not yet determined sufficiently to remove competing alternatives, and, second, that choice among alternatives be worked out through the inquiry or deliberation of those choosing. These things are true of all judgmental behavior, including judgments of practice.

Identified in its relations with judgments of fact.—While all judgments are functions of unresolved situations, there are differences among methods of judgment corresponding to important differences among these functions. When we say that in this book we are concerned primarily with judgments of practice, we refer to the judgments called for when the irresolution pertains focally to *what should be done*; that is when the question to be answered is, "What should I (or we) do?)" The close interdependence of such judgments of practice with what are called judgments of fact is always to be kept in mind. They are integrally related parts of the same whole forward movement of judgment. But this must not blind us to important distinctions between the two, for judgments of fact are made when the irresolution is concerned focally with what the conditions are or with *what can be done*—limits and possibilities. In these cases the question to be answered is, "What can I (or we) do?" or "What will happen as a result if this or that is done?" Much will

be written in later chapters about the way in which either of these kinds of judgment is involved with the other in situations that are being resolved. Attention is drawn here, however, to the distinction between the two, for the very common failure to observe this distinction has allowed methodological attention to be devoted almost exclusively to the judgment of fact. The judgment of practice has thus been left with a corresponding, almost complete lack of, methodological discipline.

Not to be identified as philosophy over against science.— We deplore the superficiality of the common saying that science can tell one how to be healthy but philosophy must tell one whether or not one should be healthy. The interdependence of the two functions is far too pervasive and subtle to permit of any such easy division of labor. The distinction must be made, but it must get beyond this mere cliche.

The interdependence of the judgmental functions. —When the judgment of practice is selected for emphasis, we do not intend that it shall be isolated from the other functions in judgmental acts. We intend rather to distinguish among the functions in order to restore the judgment of practice to a rightful emphasis and to show something of what the resources of method are when the emphasis is thus made. Let us note, then, some of the more important forms in which judgments of practice occur and analyze them sufficiently to bring out the characteristics which distinguish this function in judgment from the other functions and which therefore gives clues as to where we should look for its distinctive principles of method.

THREE INTERRELATED TYPES OF PRACTICAL JUDGMENT [1]

The making of decisions.— In everyday affairs as well as in professional matters we are constantly confronted with such questions as the following: Should we go to the show tonight? Should I buy this dress? Should we rent this house? Should I vote for Mr. Johnson for mayor? Should I advise Mary to study Spanish? Should I encourage John to go to college? Should I begin the class discussion today in such and such a manner? Should I permit James to take a reexamination? It is to be noted all these

1 "Practical judgment" and "judgments of practice" are used synonymously throughout the book. This is partly to relieve monotonous use of either one alone, but it is chiefly to raise the concept out of the superficial meaning of "practical judgment" which is limited largely to daily decisions. "Judgments of practice" connotes more surely the more inclusive judgments—those dealing with broad policies and general norms and principles of conduct.

questions, and for that matter all questions of this type, have one distinctive characteristic in that they are concerned primarily, if not solely, with what to do with reference to a specific state of affairs and not with such affairs in general. They draw attention immediately to particular circumstances. Whatever is decided for any such state of affairs is sufficient if it releases action in a way to bring a more desirable state of affairs into existence. Whenever what to do in a particular state of affairs is concluded without explicit regard to the reconstruction of our guiding generalizations concerning the control and management of similar affairs at other times and places, we shall call the judgment a *decision*.

It is not necessary that the decision be entirely capable of use in some other situation. If we decide to go to the show tonight, or to vote for Mr. Johnson, or to encourage John to go to college, we are not at the same time necessarily deciding for all instances of such cases, nor are we reconstructing the general rules of conduct which habitually guide us in such cases. It should not be assumed, however, that reference cannot and should not be made to such general rules in trying to decide what to do and least of all should it be assumed that there are no general rules of conduct involved. The point is, rather, that in a decision such rules need not be reconstructed or even explicitly recognized, though they are always implicity involved. In serious matters of decision, however, the prudent person will examine his judgment in the light of the general rule or rules it assumes. In instances of decision-making in which no conscious use is made of principles of conduct as a basis of the decision, we simply act out of our brute sense of the situation. We appeal to "common sense" in support of our position without taking care to point out just what aspect of our common knowledge or moral outlook bears upon the case in point, The man often called "practical" is one who habitually acts in this manner; he is one who is unwilling to consider the basis of decisions beyond a more or less vague reference to common sense—a fact which justifies Disraeli's observation that a practical man is one who tends to repeat the errors of his forefathers.

The making of policies.— Policies represent the second type of judgment of practice. Since a decision is a conclusion about a particular state of affairs and not about such affairs in general, it focuses our attention in judgment upon the events at hand

But when we are confronted directly with a great many different situations, each bearing some similarity to the others and yet differing enough one from another to require individual consideration, the need arises for a sort of stabilizing plan to maintain some degree of consistency of action from one case to another. The establishment of a policy satisfies this need. Thus, for example, a number of rules and regulations have become established in some schools for the guidance of teachers who consult with students in the planning of their academic programs. These rules and regulations enable the teacher to make relatively individualized decisions about each student but at the same time to treat each one as a case within a group of similar cases. In like manner we can speak of the policy of the Roosevelt administration toward the Second World War, or of the social policy of the Coolidge administration, or of the policy of a father in the rearing of his children. The difference between these examples and the first one named is merely that the policies represented may not be to the same degree crystallized into a system of expressed rules and regulations.

Moreover, policies are usually formulated and continue to operate within an institutional framework. The situations to which they apply are usually those that occur in the course of carrying on institutionalized activities. It is this fact that helps

to delimit the affairs to which a given policy is directed. Thus we speak of the policy of the government, of the administration of a school, of this or that organization. Within an institutional form, however, there may be many policies. In the school, for example, there are policies about registration, about the relations between teachers and administrators, about the use of the school building, etc.

The independent relation between policies and decisions should not be overlooked. It holds in situations arising in institutional activities which have been brought under regulation and control. But there are still an infinite number of decisions within and without institutional structures, which are made independently of policy, unless one wishes to say that to have no policy is to have one. We are brought face to face with this fact when, on being confronted with some novel case, we are forced to say that there is no policy regarding this matter. After making decisions on a number of similar cases, however, we often begin to formulate a policy, to make explicit the more general basis upon which we have been acting. In this way new policies

often emerge with a minimum of intellectual attention to factors that transcend the particular cases dealt with and the institutional frame within which the policy is formulated. Policy-making then tends to become socially blind. This practice is often the source of complaint on the part of those who insist, and rightly so, that policies should not only be made in terms of the cases at hand and the institutional structure involved but also in the light of the broader social context and of an ideal order of norms, rights, and duties. Decisions may, therefore, occasion the formulation of policies and policies then help to shape subsequent decisions. In a similar manner the occasion for a decision is often some exception to the established policy that requires its reconstruction or abandonment. Apart from the emergence of situations calling for decisions out of harmony with some established policy, the latter would tend to remain unchanged.

The reconstruction of basic norms of conduct.—The third type of judgments of practice is that which has to do with situations that require the reconstruction or formulation of general rules of conduct or norms. These norms include the deep-lying general notions that make up the intellectualized value elements of a group culture and of the personality structures of those who have grown to maturity in that culture. As objects of judgment, they are the moral principles and ideals which issue from situations requiring the construction or reconstruction of such general rules of conduct. Such judgments are often occasioned by difficulties encountered in the search for more adequate decisions or policies. Thus, for example, in trying to determine whether or not teachers should share in the determination of the budget of a school system, there is no good reason why it may not be desirable to examine and reconstruct; the norms that lie behind our discussions of this issue—the meaning of democracy, etc. Such an examination of basic norms may also become an intellectual task quite apart from more immediate questions of policy. In such a case we would be attempting to answer the more general question: What should be our guiding ideal standards? Toward what general ideal state of affairs should our efforts be directed? As elements of the culture, norms have a career which transcends any given situation in which they function. They cut across institutional structures and, in their most generalized form, may permeate almost every aspect of life. The notion of democracy, for example, may be employed to guide activities of the home,

the church, and the school as well as those of economic and political institutions. Democratic norms and ideas have a history and, at least for the minds and persons of their proponents, a future. They are thus often objects of intellectual reconstruction in their own right, even though the occasion for attention to them arises out; of the demands of some situation for their clarification and reconstruction. . .

4
COMMUNITY OUTLOOK AS A FACTOR IN PRACTICAL DELIBERATION

(From Kenneth D. Benne, George E. Axtelle, B. Othanel Smith and R. Bruce Raup, *The Discipline of Practical Judgment in a Democratic Society, Yearbook* No. 28 of The National Society of College Teachers of Education, 1942, pp. 73-80 and pp. 84-86)

. . . The judgment of practice must often take place in a situation marked by an interrupted or obscured common persuasion[1] (outlook, orientation). A group of persons who have been moving along under the power and direction of a common persuasion find themselves no longer of the same mind. Further action in the formerly common direction is halted because the persuasion has broken down. The situation has become confused and conflicting because of irresolution in the community orientation of the judgers.

Why community orientation has been neglected as a factor in judgment.—One of the primary sources of confusion in thinking about processes of deliberation and judgment and in utilizing them as means of securing social understanding and unified social action is the practice of treating all situations as though they were fundamentally the same and subject to the same methodological treatment. Failure to recognize the existence of various kinds of situations, considered from the standpoint of their methodological requirements, is in a large measure due to the fact that during the last four centuries studies of methodology and of the processes of thought have been preoccupied with the field of scientific endeavor. For in this field it is possible to assume situations as given because they arise in an area of intellectual endeavor and technological requirements embracing a common body of knowledge and a common set of perspectives. At the outset of modern science, however, the common methodological orientation which is now taken for granted did not exist. A common persuasion with respect to the purpose and method of science was constructed, at first for the men of science and then for the community as a whole, as science progressed. This persuasion, initiated by early modern scientists and perfected by the succeeding generations of scientific workers, early came into conflict with the older orientation and dialectical method of the Schoolmen. And, although the battle was won for science (but not by the method of science alone), every modern generation has raised the old issue in some new form. Be that as it may, the common methodological orientation and the body of accumulated knowledge within and by which new problems are located enable science to ignore the "subjective" aspects of situations—interpersonal and intergroup conflicts—and to concentrate upon questions of means as a way of clarifying ends as well as of attaining them. Hence, all analyses of thinking about social affairs that have taken their cues strictly from the methodology of science have tended to ignore the fact that situa-

1 In this chapter, and increasingly throughout the book, we use the term "persuasion" with a meaning very close to that which it has in such expressions as "They are of common persuasion" or "…. of different persuasions." It does not for us carry the meaning of exploitation. It does not mean the urging of one's own purposes upon others with no time or opportunity or ability on their part to withstand the influence. It assumes absence of coercion. It does not mean outarguing the other person. Most often it is used in the expression "community of persuasion." This amounts to a virtual communion of belief, feeling, purpose, and direction. The expression means more than *de facto* community – presence in the same body of people, etc. It is more than community of means. It is more truly a community of ends and their appropriate means. We use it mainly but not exclusively in reference to the inclusive basic social-moral orientation of a group or a people.

To avoid offensive repetition of the term "community of persuasion, " a number of near-synonyms are used, such as "community orientation," "community perspective, " "community of outlook," "community of viewpoint," etc. When these are not exact synonyms, they should be thought of as used in surrogate capacity for our preferred expression "community of persuasion" or "common persuasion," preferred for reasons which will become clear in later pages (cf. especially this chapter, pp. 84-86).

tions marked by social conflict can seldom be identified with those in the field of scientific effort.

The effects of assuming a common orientation in all

judgment.—Preoccupation with the scientific method of thought has led many persons who have dealt with the question of social methodology to consider the situations as excluding men, as embracing only externally objective conditions. A situation of irresolution is, in this view, an external set of circumstances that confuses and puzzles the judger. He does not know what to do. It is further assumed that any two or more judgers will agree upon the meaning of a situation if they bring the proper knowledge and habits of study to bear upon the conditions to be analyzed. It is also presupposed that as a result of study the difficulty which must be overcome in order to release action will be the same for both judgers. In short, the problem will be seen alike by different judgers or social groups. And, finally, the course of action to be taken in overcoming the difficulty can be evaluated by an accurate description of its consequences, since the nature and meaning of the consequences will not vary greatly from judger to judger. It is precisely this course of reasoning which we deny as either an exhaustive or an adequate description of the situation of judgment. And, as we shall shortly see, in our treatment it is accepted as relevant to only a special set of circumstances—a situation of irresolution in which a common orientation is already in operation.

Why we can no longer assume a common orientation among judgers.—The fact that a conflicting situation, having the same quality of irresolution for everyone, is not the primary point of departure in thinking became recognized when men began to inquire into the failure of thought as an instrument of attaining social agreement and action. Then it became clear that conflicting situations embrace points of view as well as conditions and means of action and that even a given set of conditions does not have the same meaning for persons with differing points of view. In many social situations the irresolution which demands judgment arises out of conflicting perspectives and not merely from the confused conditions, as is often assumed in discussions of social methodology. In a dispute between labor and management, for example, the perspective of the labor group will be quite different from that of the managerial group. And the perplexing and confusing character of the situation will be due largely to the fact that these competing perspectives project different states of affairs to be attained which struggle with one another for control of the objective conditions. This means that the labor group will see the "objective" problem as one thing and the managerial group will see it as quite another thing.

Kinds of problems.—This way of viewing conflicting situations calls for a conception of problems, appropriate to situations in which common orientation is absent. As we have just noted, problems are ordinarily conceived as inhering only in the "objective" conditions of action. In the same vein of thought, a hypothesis is a plan for removing or overcoming the "objective" difficulty that stands in the way of the attainment of some assumed purpose. While we shall not discard this meaning of the word "problem" for perplexing situations within a common orientation, we shall use the word in a quite different sense when we speak of the judgment of practice in those situations in which the irresolutions arise, at least in part, from conflicting social orientations. In such situations the problems will consist of the confusion of perspectives, for that is the genuine difficulty to be overcome at that level of deliberation. And a probable solution or proposed resolution will be whatever seems to promise relief from the confusion of perspectives through the creation of a common orientation. It is only in perplexing situations where judgers have similar social perspectives and, hence, place similar constructions upon "objective" conditions that thought can successfully begin with the definition of problems conceived of as inhering in "objective" conditions and proceed directly to the question of means for solving the problem. In all other situations, that is, in those for which

there is no social perspective held in common by interested persons or social groups, thought must begin with the problem of discovering the variation and conflicts in operating social outlooks and of creating a common basis of interpretation. As this is accomplished, thought can advance more securely toward the location and control of relevant and effective means and conditions of action.

The most crucial practical problems stem from confusion and conflict in social perspectives.—It can hardly he overemphasized that the fundamental social problems of today are found in the realm of interpersonal and intergroup conflicts. We do not have depressions, mass unemployment, substandard living conditions, and great inequalities of educational opportunity, to mention only a few of the short-comings of our current social arrangements, because we lack the technological knowledge and skill, the material resources, and the manpower required for the progressive reconstruction of the material and cultural conditions of American life. Why, then, do we not proceed with the required reconstruction? The answer to this question is to be found in the lack

of common social sanctions for the use of these resources for agreed-upon social ends. What is needed, therefore, is a frank recognition that social action is caught up in the struggle of competing groups to shape the world in the light of their perspectives. Our own conflicting beliefs and dispositions stand in the way of constructive social action as they shape up into competing ways of molding the world to their patterns. The methodological task is that of ascertaining a more adequate method of resolving these conflicts into a common social outlook.

Failure to recognize the foregoing differences in situations and the corresponding differences in problems accounts in no small measure for the fact that each party in a social conflict often explains the refusal of the opposition to come to its terms, or to an agreement, by pointing to the opposition's ignorance of fact, its stubbornness, its selfishness, or its moral degeneracy. The sincerity of the opposition then becomes so much in doubt that deliberation breaks down and some form of coercion supplants it as a means of establishing a course of action. An awareness of the part played by social perspectives in shaping the intellectual position of a person or social group is, of course, not sufficient for the resolution of situations of social conflict, but it would go a long way in promoting tolerance, in focusing thought upon the major sources of intellectual confusion, and in keeping the channels of social understanding open.

Kinds of practical situations with respect to community orientation.—Stated somewhat formally, the kinds of situation in which judgments of practice occur are as follows. With respect to any one of the following conditions always prevails: (a) there is a common perspective, and little or no difference of opinion exists as to what the situation is; (b) there is a common perspective, but it is found in deep-lying conceptions and interests, while the more immediate outlook is confused and highly controversial; and (c) there are two or more competing perspectives, but there may be elements upon which some agreement may exist and from which the construction of a common perspective may begin. Practical situations are classifiable according to which of these conditions prevails.

Situations with a stable and clear common orientation.—Judgments of practice in the first kind of situation will be largely concerned with means and conditions, for different participants will be more or less in agreement upon what is desired and desirable, and their judgments will have regard to the most

effective means of fulfilling the desire, though a consideration of ends will be implied in the clarification of the means. The judgers will have the same fundamental social orientation, and the situation will appear essentially the same to each one. Thus, for example, if a group of teachers is selecting a textbook for use in the teaching of history and are explicitly in agreement upon the purposes of such a course and upon the theory of the educative process, their chief concern will

be with questions that have to do with the merits and demerits of the various books as seen in the light of the desired ends. As the qualities of the books are discussed, the purposes of instruction in history will no doubt be partly reconstructed and clarified. But as long as the general perspective within which the situation is set remains unchallenged and unchanged, no fundamental reconstruction of purposes will be required, and the major concern of the teachers will be about the various qualities of the books as seen in the range of the accepted perspective. To put the point in another way, there is no conflict of perspectives in the situation, and hence the outlooks of the persons involved will receive no fundamental reconstruction as a result of the process of choosing a textbook. It is therefore possible for judgment under such conditions to be more or less preoccupied with the objective aspects of the situation. The community of persuasion is so well established that it has settled below the threshold of controversy and from that point of vantage works effectively to shape a not unwilling situation to its pattern.

Situations where the common orientation is obscure or forgotten.—In the second type of situation the common perspective is there and, as in the first case, is below the threshold of controversy; but, unlike the first case, the immediate beliefs and value-ends are confused and conflicting. Moreover, this common social orientation has been so long there and so long neglected because of preoccupation with surface affairs that it takes special effort or even a shock to re-establish an effective working relation between it and the confused situation. The disagreements as to what is desirable are relatively superficial; they are not credal differences. To refer to the illustration of the selection of a textbook in history noted earlier, it may be that at the outset some of the teachers will have one idea about the appropriate qualities of a book and some another idea because they have given no serious thought to the ideas and values operating in their teaching. Let us assume that, as they explore the situation, they uncover their hidden assumptions as to the purposes of instruction and the nature of the educative process and find themselves fundamentally in agreement. Their superficial differences over which they were in conflict at the outset now fade away, and they proceed with the task at hand. An illustration involving the pressure of immediate action is found in instances of national emergency. In a time of national emergency men who potentially hold a common social orientation, by which is meant a set of cultural presuppositions such as the idea of freedom, of equality, and of the integrity and worth of the person, will for the most part put aside their more or less superficial differences such as those indicated by party alignments (when the parties adhere to similar creeds) and establish a united front. [2] Here we have a case of circumstances forcing a return to a common perspective which in normal times is forgotten.

Disagreement as to the best means to employ in meeting the pressing necessity may arise, but it constitutes a problem within the accepted frame of presuppositions. But we, of course, need not and do not always depend upon emergency circumstances to coerce a recognition of the hidden outlook. For when we begin to delve behind our differences, as in the example of textbook selection, to look for common assumptions in search for a meeting of minds, we are doing perhaps more carefully the kind of thing which emergency circumstances sometimes coerce us to do. The task is to uncover our common orientation and consciously to use it in arriving at decisions and in formulating policies. In such cases little or no reconstruction of the perspectives will take place. The adequacy of any proposal of thought or action will therefore be a matter of whether or not it is in harmony with the revived orientation, or at least does not permanently vitiate it, and at the same time attains the ends desired.

This type of situation is a special instance of the first kind noted above. It is given special attention because of its educational and social importance and because it represents the farthest advance of most students of social methodology toward the recognition of situations involving wholly different social perspectives and hence of the need of a more adequate formulation of

the processes of practical judgment.

2 Not all united fronts, however, can be explained on this basis. They may often be no more than an expedient or opportunistic device for attaining ends without changing perspectives, as in the case of cooperation between Fascists and conservatives during an election.

Situations where no common orientation exists.—In turning to the third kind of situation, we come to the one with which we are primarily concerned. It is a situation of which the chief characteristic is the absence of a community outlook and the consequent confusion of perspectives. It called for the creation of a community orientation not merely for the recovery of an orientation sunk beneath the threshold of awareness. Nor does it call for the reconstruction of isolated normative principles but rather for the rebuilding of a whole cluster of interdependent norms.

Modern society, as we have observed, is characterized by a multiplicity of perspectives arising out of specialization, social differentiation, and occupational and social mobility. These perspectives give rise to currently conflicting trends of thought which struggle against one another for control of the present. And the irresolution of the sort of situations now under discussion is therefore found in the context of these conflicting trends of thought and their respective orientations. If we are confused in such situations, it is because we do not recognize clearly the various trends of thought operating in them or, when we do recognize these trends, we are unable to anticipate the outcome of the struggle among them. Consider, for example, two groups of teachers: one is devoted to the teaching of specialized subjects and the other is equally devoted to the development of an integrated program of instruction. Here we find two conflicting trends of thought arising from and supported by simultaneous and competing perspectives. Both groups recognize the importance of subject matter, but they differ as to its meaning. The initiation and function of interest will be seen differently from the perspective of each group. The first group will tend to emphasize the acquisition of knowledge and skill. The second group, while not neglectful of these, will stress the importance of a sense of social values and of the function of these values in thought and conduct. Now the curricular problem at this level of deliberative analysis is not to be formulated in terms of externally existential conditions. It does not exist as difficulties to be overcome in the selection and organization of materials of instruction. On the contrary, the problem lies within the area of interpersonal and intergroup conflicts. The definition of this problem is possible only as the actor-judgers seek to locate the different expectations, purposes, and trends of thought as manifestations of a broader and more pervasive orientation. As this

is done it becomes possible to note the points of conflict between the currently competing perspectives. And these points of conflict constitute the difficulties to be overcome by the processes of deliberation. The creation of a new and common outlook through the reconstruction of the actor-judgers removes the perspectival conflicts.

Now, as we have said, the creation of community orientation requires the reconstruction of judgers, since the beliefs and normative principles imported into the conflict belong to persons as members of groups. This is only another way of saying that the character of the judgers is the focal point in the judgmental processes . . .

The goal of practical judgment is a common persuasion.—If the occasion of practical judgment, in its complete form, is a situation of halted or broken persuasion, the end of the judgmental process will be marked by a restored persuasion. An adequate judgment of practice will be one that affords such a reconstruction of the conflicting perspectives in the judgers that action will proceed under the direction of a "new" and acceptable orientation. As we have pointed out, situations in which the conflicts and confusions are at the level of fundamental group perspectives require the reconstruction of the character of the judgers. Hence, at this level, the resolution of the conflicting situation consists of the creation of a

community persuasion shared by the reconstructed judger-characters and released in united action. This aspect of situational resolution has been largely ignored because studies of the methodology of practical judgment have been largely preoccupied with situations involving little or no perspectival cleavages. The test of agreement among judgers has often been found in single instances of common action rather than in several instances covering a variety of conflicting situations. The question of whether the actor-judgers are of the same persuasion, even though they act in common, has thus been neglected.

Common actions need to be based on common persuasions.—Now common action may flow from a number of considerations, as indicated in the discussion of the modes of social control in the second chapter of this book. This is true in the case of compromise, for these methods permit people to agree upon a course of action while holding conflicting perspectives. The conflicting

judgers agree upon a course of action because each sees how it would further his own "private" purposes. The resolution does not fundamentally involve their perspectival differences and on this deeper level the situation remains unsettled. In some cases the conflict between the submerged and ignored perspective flares up again and again, calling for more and more compromises which become harder and harder to make until open conflict breaks out among the judgers. Something like this happened over the issue of slavery during the decades immediately preceding the American Civil War. Unfortunately, international diplomacy too often spins its tangled web by this mode of limited social agreement. Likewise, educational issues are often settled by similar procedures. Thus, for example, the educational theory underlying the practice of marking and promoting pupils is usually based essentially on the principle of bargaining. The perspective of the teacher involves the notion that certain facts, knowledges, and skills should be learned while the pupil's perspective does not embrace these things. The pupil may desire to gain the approval of the teachers and his parents by making good marks and gaining promotions. He therefore studies what the teachers wish in order to attain a different value-end-the approval of teachers and parents. But he may never become genuinely interested in what the teacher thinks is important or attach much significance to it. The perspectives of the teacher and pupil thus remain subdued in sublimated conflict. The same relation may also hold between teacher and supervisor when the teacher's work is evaluated by tests which he has no part in designing and when his professional status is dependent upon the approval of the supervisor.

Common action guided by common persuasions the idea of practical judgment.— In group deliberation we should always work toward community persuasion as the basis of action. Although a common persuasion may not always be possible, it is the ideal toward which deliberation should move. When persons act out of the same persuasion, they not only agree upon the course of action but also upon the reasons for the action. In such phrase's as "of one mind" and "common consent" our language has expressions for designating this quality of resolution. We are thus rationalizing and making explicit a notion of agreement that has long been recognized and expressed in our democratic culture. Of course, there are situations in which action must be taken before a common persuasion can be created.

These are situations of some degree of emergency. It is also probable that some differences of perspective are so deep and broad that deliberation can neither bridge nor merge them into a common persuasion. Not all judgments of practice, therefore, can embrace common perspectives. But in a democratic culture the ideal of deliberation is to rebuild character as well as overt behavior, and the judgmental process should, therefore, be directed toward the reconstruction of persuasions as the basis of community actions. The alternative is some sort of external control.

5
THE QUESTIONS WHICH PRACTICAL DELIBERATION MUST ANSWER

(From Kenneth D. Benne, George E. Axtelle, B. Othanel Smith and R. Bruce Raup, *The Discipline of Practical Judgment in a Democratic Society*, *Yearbook* No. 28 of The National Society of College Teachers of Education, 1942, pp. 87-95)

. . . Our general problem now is to note and describe the processes of judgment which intervene between the occurrence and noting of a practical judgmental situation and its resolution in a restored common outlook and action, and the ways in which these processes are interrelated. Clearly, the focus of the discussion might be upon any one of the variety of types of practical situations previously noted and described. Whatever the choice of focus, the treatment of the other types of situations and related judgments will become more or less incidental to the main thread of the argument. We have chosen to focus the present discussion of the processes of practical judgment and their interrelations: (1) upon those practical situations in which a definite

clash in value perspectives is present and (2) upon a situation demanding a common policy. . . .

PHASES OF JUDGMENT IN POLICY-MAKING

Questions to be answered in making a policy.—What kinds of question must be settled by a group engaged in making a policy? What kinds of judgment must it make if an adequate and workable policy is to emerge from its deliberations? Every common policy which has come into operation in the life of any group of people seems, upon analysis, to assume that that group is agreed: (a) upon a desired end or state of affairs toward the realization of which it will work; (b) that there exists a certain set of conditions under which that desired end or state of affairs is the appropriate one to project; and (c) that the form of the policy which it has adopted is the one that best shapes these conditions into means and agencies toward the realization of the desired end or state of affairs. Now when a policy is felt to be inadequate and a group moves deliberately to reconstruct it, these three aspects of a commonly acceptable working policy give us the clue as to the kinds of question to ask if the policy in question is to be made more adequate. We should want to inquire:

1. Is the difficulty in our ends or projected desired states of affairs? What ends should our common action serve if the present ones are not adequate?
2. Is the difficulty in our observation of the existing conditions? Are we accurate about the facts in the case? Are we correct about their intimate connection, in particular or in general, with the ends we desire and project?
3. Is the difficulty in the way we have fused the desired ends and the observed conditions into a program, plan, or policy toward realizing those ends?[2]

We will think of the judgmental process as having three interrelated phases corresponding to the efforts to answer these three kinds of question and proceed now to consider these phases methodologically in connection with illustrative instances of policy-making. It is obvious that the chief difficulty may lie in any one or

2 The order of the arrangement of the questions in this statement is arbitrary. It makes no assumption in regard to the order in which the functions occur in a practical judgment. We believe, in fact that there is no fixed order.

more of these aspects of a policy that is being considered and that its appearance in any one of them should forthwith involve the other two. In our present general treatment we have decided to focus for the most part on those cases in which the first of the three questions is the most important one. They are the cases in which purposes and ends are the scene of the chief difficulties—cases

which are acute because their underlying value perspectives are conflicting and divided. This will be our general emphasis as we take up now the three phases of the judgmental process.

The first phase of practical judgment: clarification of common purpose —the projection of a desired state of affairs.—A community and school system are seeking to formulate a policy for a school building program. First, we may ask how conflicting purposes of education which reflect conflicting value perspectives enter into policy-making in such a case. One example must here suffice, but, of course the "normative" questions involved in making such a policy are legion. Let us take as an example the question of whether Negro and white children should be segregated for educational purposes in a northern city. The answer to this question will basically influence building policy. And, certainly, it is no mere question of fact which is involved. A factual poll of present opinion on the question, although it may help to define the problem which confronts the policy-makers, certainly cannot "settle" the question of what should be the policy with respect to segregation. Any thorough study and discussion of the problem will necessarily lead us and the conflicting elements of our community to the consideration of the purposes of education in the larger democracy. We must consider its basic ethical notions and the type of future which they imply with respect to race relations—the type of future which educational procedures must help to build. This illustrates the way in which the factual question as to what purposes *we at present* wish our policies to serve differs from the question as to what purposes the policies *should* serve. The latter question involves a deliberate appeal to the wider community in space and time of which the present local community is a part and eventually to the basic ethical notions concerning all humanity. The notion of *should* carries a universal reference which is ignored in any determination, however accurate, of what as a matter of fact we do want at the present time.

We are not arguing here that in all cases compromise can be avoided on such issues in making policies. But we are insisting that compromise should never be the ideal, Even after, under the pressure of time and emergency, compromise has been resorted to, basic study and discussion of the normative issues involved should be carried on with a view toward eventually building a common persuasion which all concerned accept and which is consistent with the basic long-range normative principles on which we profess to build our personal lives and society. We are insisting that adequate school building policy cannot be made by ignoring or suppressing basic issues. For a policy pre-supposes “answers” to such issues, and the consequences of a policy are in keeping with the "answers", however much we try to suppress or ignore the basic normative questions involved. Adequate policy can be made only in the light of the full range of ethical issues involved in the policy under consideration and through a responsible effort to build, through inter-persuasion of all interests concerned, a common and consistent orientation with respect to this full range of ethical issues. Too often we have tended to look on questions of school building policy, as well as other school policies, as technical and economic problems alone. Thus, customary prejudices or the prejudices of the most powerful group represented in the deliberation, rather than conscious and responsible study and discussion, have arbitrarily "decided" the stand to be taken on the normative (ethical-political) problems involved. All valid policy-making includes a deliberate effort to form a common judgment as to what our guiding purposes and objectives should be.

The characters and orientations of judgers become objectified in the first phase of judgment.—It should be noted that it is through projecting an ideal state of affairs which should guide the school building program of the community that the characters of the judgers become objective to themselves and to one another. What do we really stand for as ideally desirable? What are we actually moved to work for consistently and persistently? The characters of judgers, both in

their conflict and in their agreement, are defined by the ideal purposes and goals with which they are identified and in the service of which they are prepared to devote themselves. No policy or program is stronger than the degree to which it is built out of and into the characters of the people who are to sponsor it, to judge its consequences, and to assume responsibility for its support and revision. The value perspectives and the characters of judgers will remain "subjective," unreasonable, and unreconstructed sources of dissent and

non-cooperation with respect to any program or policy to the degree to which they are not brought out in the open, objectified, discussed, reconstructed, and made common and reasonable in the processes of deliberation. And they can be objectified only as people are encouraged to project publicly the future ideal state of affairs which their present characters demand as an environment for full and adequate functioning. Where the characters of people are in conflict, there conflicts can be resolved and a common character built only if ideals are projected and the differences resolved through mutual interpersuasion.

Much public policy invites continual dissent, sniping, and an eventual reactionary swing against it because the first phase of public deliberation is short-circuited or neglected. People do not come to find what they really want, what they really stand for. Their characters do not find identification with common long-range goals which represent their best insights and aspirations as stimulated and revised by responsible participation in public discussion. The imaginations, the hearts, of people must be stirred to an acceptance of a plan or policy as worth working and fighting for if the policy is to serve as a guide to reorganizing activity. Clarification of ideal goals which really represent the characters of those concerned is an essential step in the charting of effective public policy. The first phase of practical judgment—the forging of common acceptance of an ideal future state of affairs toward which to move—is not all of practical judgment. It is, however, an essential though often neglected phase of such judgment.

The second phase of practical judgment: the survey and assessment of the existing state of affairs.— Any group which has been nurtured by the spirit of modern science will scarcely need to be persuaded that adequate policy-making must also include the most accurate survey of relevant existing conditions possible. Perhaps most effort will be needed to convince such a group that the definition of what existing conditions are relevant to a problem depends very closely upon notions of what the basic objectives should be. For example, most people today would agree that the school building policy of a community should include the most accurate judgment possible concerning existing school population and current population trends. Such a judgment is clearly a factual judgment concerning an existing condition in its present trend. But a study of relevant facts cannot be made intelligibly, let alone interpreted, without some common

agreement as to what are the proper objectives of the educational program. For example, is it believed that the provision of universal educational opportunity for adults should be part of the responsibility of the public educational program? If so, the population figures relevant to the determination of the school building needs will certainly be different from those considered relevant by policy-makers who believe that public education should not assume responsibility for the education of people beyond the age of sixteen or twenty years. If such a conflict concerning the ideal responsibilities of public education appears, the determination of relevant population facts and figures may have to await a common judgment concerning these responsibilities.

The interpretation of the meaning for building policy of a population trend commonly accepted as accurate also involves the operation of judgments concerning what purpose the school program should serve. For example, a well-authenticated decline in elementary-school

population will be interpreted by some to mean that certain older elementary-school buildings should be retired and few or no new elementary buildings built. This interpretation is based on a judgment that our present elementary-school offering is adequate with respect to class size, available housing facilities per pupil, etc. Those who judge that our present elementary-school program is inadequate with respect to class size, pupil-teacher ratio and available housing facilities per pupil, etc., may, on the other hand, interpret the commonly accepted fact of population decline to mean the maintenance, modernization, and even extension of our existing elementary-school plant. Again, common judgments concerning the interpretation of even the most accurate factual surveys of relevant, existing conditions depends upon common judgments concerning what the character and purpose of our educational program should be.

It is equally true that a factual determination may alter our judgment concerning what the purposes of education should be. Thus the fact of a generally declining family size in a community may help to convince educators that more adequate instruction in family education *should* be devised to check and even to reverse the decline in the size of families.

Public policy should be informed by the most accurate judgments of relevant factual conditions possible. In fact, one of the

most difficult problems of modern planning is to put to work our accumulated bodies of fact in the determination of public policies, to bridge the gap between what experts know can be done and the program of what we set out to do. But it should be kept in mind always that the two phases of judgment—that which formulates what ought to be and that which determines what is and what can be—are closely interdependent in their functions. The problem of the former serves to select the matters of fact to be inquired into, and yet it is a rash judger of what ought to be who does not hold his judgment, perhaps even the statement of his problem, subject to the results of the strict inquiry which is thus set under way. The need for both phases to function fully and mutually in an adequate judgment of practice should be obvious, but the continual separation and isolation of one from the other in common practice shows that it is not obvious in its importance for all who work seriously in either of the fields. Constant interaction between the two phases is a condition of adequate deliberation upon policy.

The third phase of practical judgment: the fusion of the ideal and existent in a program of action.—But, having tempered our judgments of what ought to be to the stubborn facts in the social area for which we are making policy and, in light of this, having assessed accurately the character, deficiencies, and limitations of existing practice and the persistent conditions under which revised policy will have to operate, our task of policy-making is not yet complete. We must also, in the context of all this, forge out the program of action through which we will move most adequately and effectively toward the desirable state of affairs which we have envisioned. This is the most distinctively creative act among all that we are denoting. And yet, in a properly conducted practical judgment, it will have suffused, motivated, and influenced creatively all that is in the first and second phases; only now it begins to emerge toward a unifying and releasing form.

An adequate discipline of judgments of practice must be discipline of this third phase—program-making—as well as of the other two. Although its dimensions are difficult for our usual perspectives to incorporate in clear outline, this is not a valid reason for leaving it entirely without any methodological rationale. Such is all too clearly what has been done in the past. Men have described the second phase (fact-finding), for instance, and have developed a method for its discipline. Then, as we have

noted before, they have tended either to attack every type of situation with the method thus formed or, perhaps more truly for this case, have excluded from any form of methodological help

those functions which do not yield to treatment by the method they have developed. They often hold that this third phase is an art and thus without a rationale of method. It is not enough to dwell upon only what is desirable in a situation or upon only what the facts of that situation are. The act of judgment is not complete until in this setting of the first two phases the judgers move on into a formulation which for them releases appropriate action with intrinsic imperatives. There cannot be a well-rounded discipline of the method of judgment which does not include this final fusing, forging phase. Much that will be found in the remaining chapters will bear upon this necessary extension of method and provision for a more complete practical discipline. At this point attention is called to what will probably prove to be one of the most fertile sources of such a discipline—the interpenetration of the three phases in the process of practical judgment.

THE INTERPENETRATION OF THE THREE PHASES IN THE PROCESS OF JUDGING

The chief point in this section has been anticipated in the brief discussion of each of the phases-that each phase gets much of its discipline from its integral relations with the others. We are prompted now to extend this observation by noting the way in which each phase is influenced by the others in the course of an act of judgment.

Conceptions of limits and possibilities are put to a test through the interpenetration of phases.—Let us start with the second phase, working from the illustration introduced earlier. In making a judgment as to school building policy, many communities will probably accept the established priorities on building materials for the war effort as setting limits of possibility to our building program during the war period. But, in communities where an expansion of war industry has led to congestion of school population, the possibilities are less rigidly defined in this respect, since materials may be made available there for school building construction. Again the available funds for building may be judged to set limits to the possibility of school building in the community. But here it is important to be on guard against letting a narrow, 8hort-range view of the situation

set "false" limits to the possibilities. For example, a building policy which looks beyond the period of war priorities may find that in its long-range, postwar program war priorities on construction materials will no longer set limits to the possibilities of building. And, on the financial side, the available budget may be expanded, through revision of the system of taxation, through increased state or federal aid, through co-operation with the public works reserve, etc. The point here is that often what are judged to be unchangeable limits to the possibilities of action may, on a larger and long-range view, come to appear as related conditions to be changed in moving toward the goals we are desiring and demanding. It is only after such challenges as this that we should say that certain conditions are, for practical purposes, unchangeable, and policy which ignores these or assumes their opposite is doomed to failure.

Testing our conceptions of "necessity."—The "necessities" of the situation, as we are here using the term, are of a somewhat different order. What goals does the group concerned come in deliberation to be so deeply committed to, so set on, that their inclusion and emphasis in the projected program is necessary, to obtain the support and co-operation of the group? A community, for example, may come to be so deeply committed to appropriate educational opportunities for handicapped children of all sorts that omission of provision for such education from the building policy may lead to serious opposition and non-co-operation. The imperatives of a group which set the "necessities" of a policy are not "external" conditions in the sense in which the limits of available building materials are "external". The "necessities" are set by value identifications in the "characters" of members of the community, in the normative outlook common to the persons concerned, in their commitments as to what "oughts" are imperative for them. The

point here is that "necessities" must undergo the challenge of competing desires before being too early accounted "necessities." "Necessities" can be changed, in fact *must* be changed, in a community where conflicts among the imperatives of different groups are present, if commonly acceptable policies and programs are eventually to prevail. The deliberation and study through which these conflicting imperatives are resolved is a searching process. We will have more to say later of the deliberative process by which such changes are made. For the present, in addition to insisting that neglect of the "necessary" in forming a policy can lead

only to non-co-operation and conflict, we wish to point out, in general, that the conception of what is "necessary" in this sense must be settled after, not before, being disciplined by the other phases of the judgmental process.

Testing our notions of the desirable.— We have noted that, in addition to judgments of what is possible and what is "necessary," the judgment of policy must include judgments as to what goals it is desirable to pursue. A community may come to believe, as building policies are studied and discussed, that it is desirable to extend the facilities of the public school system for the education of adults. Yet this may not be judged "necessary" in the same sense that facilities for handicapped children or improved facilities for the education of Negro youth may be judged to be. We have noted that judgment as to what is possible may change during the process of deliberation, as a wider range of means and conditions is taken into account. As to what is necessary, additional surveys, revealing factual conditions not before taken into account, must be allowed to have their full effect upon desires that have already been formed. We have seen, again, that judgments of what is necessary may be altered also during deliberation as conflicting values are resolved and as a wider range of desirable possibilities is explored. This same observation is true also of our judgments of what is *desirable*. Some persons and groups, for example, may join the deliberations concerning school building policy with ignorance of existing conditions and important misinformation or with a strong conviction of the desirability of some step to be taken, as, for instance, extension of vocational training in the high school. This misinformation or this strong persuasion will tend to shape their judgments as to what emphasis should prevail in new building and in the remodeling of the existing high-school plant. As others urge the desirability of stressing general and civic education at the high-school level, as they point to the difficulty, even impossibility, of each high school's providing adequate facilities for vocational training of the kind demanded by industry and business today, and as they urge post-high school and regional schools for vocational training, the judgment of the former group as to the desirability of extending vocational training at the high-school level may be changed. Only as a wide range of desirable possibilities is imagined and discussed in deliberation, along with information that is pertinent and accurate, will any

dependable common sense of what are more and less desirable directions of policy be forged.

The interpenetration of the functions of the three phases is thus one of the chief sources to which we must look for the elements in a discipline of practical judgment.—The several phases in the making of policy have been distinguished so that one may be able better to tell what is being neglected when policies go wrong. Their processes do not go on separately or in any regular chronological order. Rather, they interact with one another, in mutual correction, as the total judgment shapes up in a common course of action and a common acceptance of the actions as possible, necessary, desirable, and efficient. . . .

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