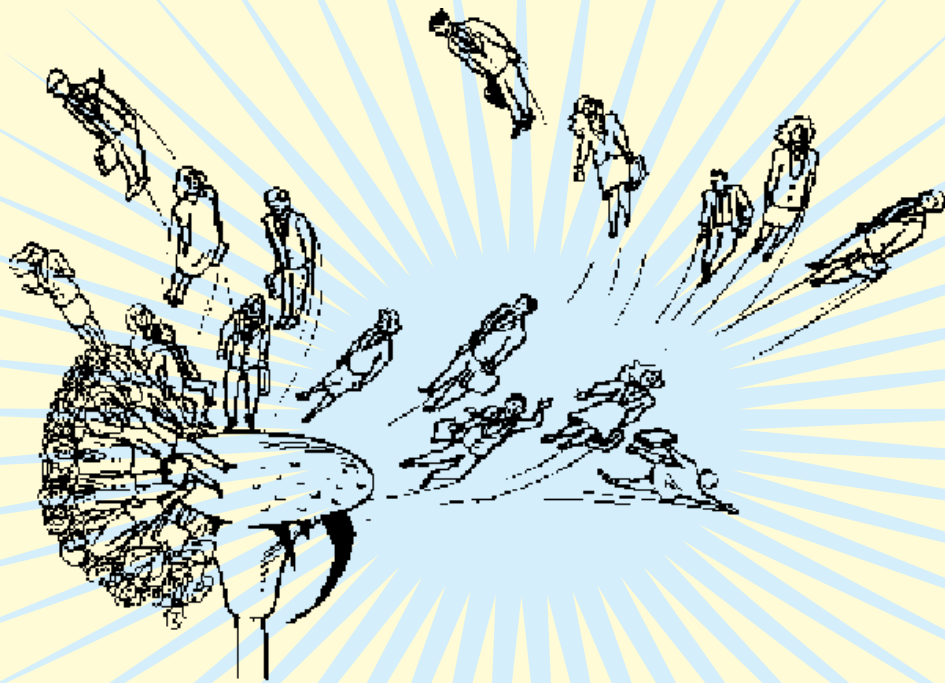


Co-Leadership as a Post-Industrial Possibility



Human relationists captured the imagination with the then astounding observation that people who are paid attention to sometimes produced more. Machine mentality had reigned as wonderful reinforcement for the underpinnings of a unitary paternalistic social order. The Human Relations movement gathered more steam among academics than practitioners and evidenced an acknowledgment of emotionality and irrationality which still meets resistance as in the epithet of “touchy-feely”. Dealing with people issues is awkward in an economic culture¹.

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Somehow classifying human beings as 'resources' helped Human resources practitioners win clout in the councils of the organizers of pragmatic enterprise, though most evidence suggests that aside from anecdotes about excellence and a thin band of innovators, most of the guiding presumptions in management thought remain in tact in many settings. There is fascination with the prospect of transforming organizational cultures, but little evidence of success and considerable cynicism about the prospect. Culture arises, it is noted, out of historical response to environmental demands more than from the spiritual guidance of wise consultants. Michael Beer, among others, observes that organizations change only incrementally, and generally outside of the purview of key officers — in response to critical business priorities. Many organizations are feeling acute pressures in their economic environments and some are struggling to adapt. This paper attempts to survey broader forces of change and their impacts on the evolving texture of organizations, and the consequences for their members. Particular attention will be paid to the delimited realms of individual choice in adapting to Twenty-first century realities; the skill sets required of them, and the orientations required of managers in order to facilitate transformation in our social and institutional lives.

"Faced with changing markets and increased competition, more and more companies are struggling to reestablish their dominance, regain market share, and in some cases, ensure their survival. Many have come to understand that the key to competitive success is to transform the way they function. They are reducing reliance on managerial authority, formal rules and procedures, and narrow divisions of work. And they are creating teams, sharing information, and delegating responsibility and accountability far down the hierarchy. In effect, companies are moving from the hierarchical and bureaucratic model of organization that has characterized corporations since World War II to new forms of organization where what has to be done governs who works with whom and who leads."

Michael Beer, et.al., HBR 11/12/90.

We live in an era of massive uncertainty and change. Technology has shrunken the globe resulting not only in business competitive pressures, but volatile new financial markets vesting more capital in paper than is put to work at producing production capability (Which may not be needed since some [See Greider] gauge global capacities in steel, aviation, electronics, and automobiles far past global requirements for the foreseeable future). Some retain faith in mystical markets and magic hands while others hear sucking sounds and call for social responsibility toward increasingly feeble nation states. The Fortune 500, the largest manufacturers in the country, have eliminated some 4 million jobs since 1982. Global shrinkage, communications technologies, failed economic and political systems have unleashed global migrations of historic magnitude.

Faith is asked for by proponents of a 'borderless world' in which there is to be no human authority aside from the "needs" of customers. (The 'whims', rather than 'needs' of customers may be a more apt term if Tom Peter's speculations are appropriate regarding the driving force of "fashion".) The new global order for business, however seems a very cold place; there's no guarantee you'll have a job, a company, or a career next week. It's widely understood that the critical economic decisions impacting the development of nations and their people are made in multi-national firms and international networks, and not by the people of countries or their governments. GE and its CEO, Jack Welch seem to be the current symbol of American business success. He turned his company into a powerhouse by selling \$11 billion worth of businesses, buying \$26 billion more, and cutting "head count" by 300,000 people². When we talk about finding our future in "international business" we generally mean the developed economies of Europe and Asia, marginalizing the bulk of humanity. Poverty has always existed yet it has never persuaded the rich to curb their life-styles in favor of the poor. The language of international business is a language of war; rivalries, races, organizations "under siege", markets "captured" or "surrendered". As Viet Nam compared to WWII, 'tours of duty' for participants are increasingly shorter. The vain search is for customers and self-defense, not friends or lovers.

In the name of economic prosperity, Americans are asked to ignore open borders and embrace cultural relativism while cities burn, perhaps from neglect, and their constituencies seek redress from a broke order. Friendship in international affairs is not to be breached according to some, while the news features erstwhile Asian friends striving to eliminate the human rights provisions of the U.N. charter to which they long certified accord. "We are the World" is sung to the people as the means for existence evaporate. We awaken to environmental fragility and find ourselves faced with fundamental dilemmas and trade-offs speaking again, but in a different way, to the core values (economic assumptions) we have used for organizing our society. Many search mightily for the underpinnings of a new social justice in domestic circumstances, though most don't want to pay taxes. We are surrounded by evidence of social collapse; and we are in acute pain. Many have "had it" with giving their lives to business, sense a hollowness in their own lives and are on a search for meaning. "Striking the Balance", as Al Gore suggests, may require a new spirit to be arrived through transformation among us, one by one, of fundamental personal values, new schema for understanding physics, reality, and the change process itself.



Picasso's art used to seem 'crazy' to many; to nearly the same number it may now seem conservative.

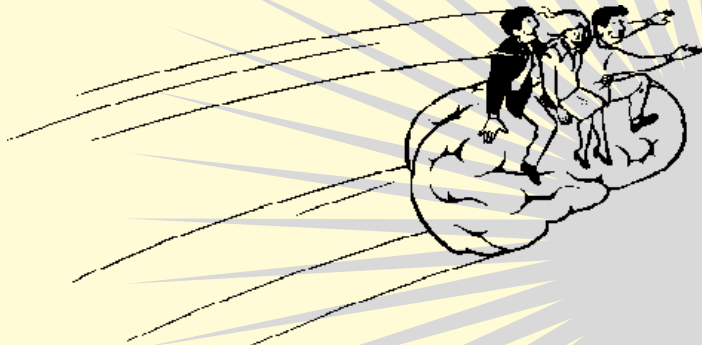
Few would deny a sense of national crisis. Commentators are increasingly suggesting that the U.S. is along a path of irreversible collapse. While business concern is for lost markets, others are even more alarmed by the apparent disintegration of social life. Homicide, perhaps the most easily measured indicator of lawfulness has doubled in the past twenty years — arrest rates for young Americans are 8-9 times what they were in 1950. Americans rape each other 4 times as often as Germans and 27 times as often as Japanese (U.S.

rates of reported rape are up 350% since 1959). Drug arrests have risen 10,000% since 1960 alone. We rob each other at 157 times the rate of the Japanese — to the tune of an estimated \$600 billion a year. Every day in the U.S., nearly 2% of the stock of commercial enterprises goes out the door in the form of some kind of shoplifting. Middle class stereotypes that problems of violence reside in the “underclass” ignore the fact that since the 1960's, rates have risen faster among white males than they have for any other social category. The stereotypes in place create secondary effects of lawlessness — middle class fear and hostility, and inspire middle class feelings of superiority. As Mickey Kaus suggested (End of Equality), Americans have trouble these days “looking people in the eye and treating them as equals based on dignity and mutual respect.”

Problems of lawlessness are widely attributed to lack of economic opportunity, though this is not likely the whole story. During the 60's violent crime escalated while unemployment fell sharply and wages rose quickly. Some attribute social disintegration to the status of the family. The divorce rate has doubled since 1960, and five times as many children are born out of wedlock. Such rates have and are rising faster among whites than blacks. Half of all children born in the seventies and eighties will spend part of their childhood in one-parent homes. Homelessness abounds.

Though education and the “skilling” of the work force are seen as solutions, manpower projections for possible careers are hard to find, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores are stuck more than 10% below where they were 25 years ago, high school seniors perform below 8th grade levels on math,

and 25% don't graduate. The average 8th grader in the U.S. spends one hour a day on homework and 3 on TV, while many of their cousins in other countries do as much homework in a day as Americans do in a week. Some have estimated that twenty years ago, well aimed government programs could have improved social conditions by as much as 40% — today, some policy analysts without political grudges to bear now estimate that perhaps only 5% of a difference could be made with massive investment in government programs.



We are only starting to understand the consequences of the shift to knowledge work.

With all of the above, technology and knowledge continue their free-fall toward complexity and specialization. Power, some say, is in the process of transition. Pirsig (Lila, 1991) paints a grand picture of what he sees going on — as a motorcycle maintenance person. For this sage, our age is marked by increasing freedom for the dynamics and patterns of knowledge evolution as that level of 'system' contends with historical patterns of social ordering. His concern is with the irresponsibility of knowledge ordering based on

subject/object distinctions divorcing issues of value from those of fact. Kenneth Boulding, one of our brightest intellects tried a number of years ago to decode the transformations Toffler warned us about in (Figure Shock (1970), and spotted as causal historical shifts in workable sources of social power — from force through bargaining and the emerging imperative of what he was bold enough to characterize as "love". Toffler, in *Power Shift*, located the critical new dynamics of social evolution in information and knowledge work, much as has Peter Drucker.

Bell (1973) coined the expression post-industrialization to refer to the transformation of social institutions, especially in the economy and manufacturing. The radical consequences and critical strategies for dealing with informing jobs spelled out by Shoshana Zuboff (*In the Age of the Smart Machine*) have become central in understanding and managing applications of technology to socio-technical systems. Hage & Powers (*Post Industrial Lives*, 1992) focus more broadly than on patterns of business arrangement and detect sweeping, epochal changes now under way. In addition to documenting changing patterns of economic organization, their effort strives to incorporate the shifting values, perceptions, and tastes commonly associated with post-modernism (Featherstone). Hage & Powers focus attention on the explosive proliferation of technical knowledge as it impacts the rationalization and complexification of individual roles within society far faster than societies are capable of producing institutions relevant to new realities. Change forces translate themselves directly through systems to impact the lives of individuals; those in power with social prerogatives may be the least effected. The harshest effects of new realities are felt first in the social space of participants. Role

conflicts, stresses, and strains are the most immediate effects of transformative forces. Hardy individuals can often adapt through redefinition of selves, though much of the commonly observed role failure in marriage, family, and community serve as testimony to the difficulties involved. There is a sense of great loss as old guidelines and expectations for living fail; as people are put to the task by situations of figuring out how to get along. Even leaders are effected and can feel lost. "Top managers today make more decisions in a month than their grandparents made in a lifetime," says Ken Blanchard. "People can't know what's going on in a traditional sense; they're unsure."

Society and the nature of work are undergoing massive changes. We are unhooking from the past and still struggling to find new common ground, most quite unsure that it's possible to do so. We 'terminated' a president partly because he risked talking about the 'malaise'. We seem paralyzed and unprepared to deal with the issues constructively. As Al Gore so aptly noted before the election (1992), "the American people often give their leaders permission to take action by signaling agreement in principle while reserving the right to object strenuously to each and every specific sacrifice necessary to follow through. A popular idea doesn't always spawn a popular plan." Inventing new ways of living and working, real power remains protected; the imperatives of the largest forces of change at work provide dimensionality to the channels for development. The key lines of development are toward even greater proliferation of technology, even more particularized specializations of knowledge and role, every more divergence and difference, balanced by whatever social forces mankind can kindle to sustain progress along these lines.

The nature of work has been, and continues it's process of radical transformation. The level of education required for nearly all work positions is rapidly rising (Hudson Institute, 1987). The improvement in what economists call "human capital" generally implies highly specialized training rather than liberal education. The proportion of occupational categories that are knowledge intensive is expanding rapidly. The knowledge of a physicians , engineers, and most people involved in technology is outdated within 5 years after leaving school. How could it be otherwise with the introduction of thousands of new knowledge based products (drugs, software, hardware, materials, etc.) each year? The pattern is repeated in most fields. Broad occupational categories often mask the amount of specialization occurring. Until 1970, for instance, most sales jobs (51%) were unskilled and in retailing. By 1986, the vast bulk of salespersons where in highly specialized areas (e.g., computers, biotechnical supplies, business services, etc.).

R&D
DEPARTMENT



New work involves collaborative invention based in technology and knowledge; not just in R&D, but everywhere. The game has switched from following the rules to constantly re-writing them.

The development of mass college education is reshaping the character of our society. Those without a college degree are increasingly being left outside of the mainstream in sub-cultures of despair; a new and acutely painful characteristic of post-industrial society. Those marginalized seek to place blame on the self-interested behavior of 'capitalists', though the causal dynamic for the unfolding pattern is far broader. Although we have a large and highly differentiated middle class, many work temporarily or in unskilled jobs increasingly marginalized, increasingly insecure — they work in positions easily shipped elsewhere at the behest of institutions increasingly multinational in scope with minimal local or even national obligation. Industrial jobs, in short, which were simple, easily learned, used only part of the person's skill set and produced boredom, monotony, and alienation are evaporating with automation. The jobs that are left and the fields that are growing are not managerial per se, though they require above all, high levels of specialized (usually technical) knowledge, tolerance for ambiguity and non-routine activity, creative

problem-solving capacities and strong interaction skills. These jobs fall basically into three clusters; high tech research opportunities, occupations involving individual diagnosis and intervention or service tailored to the needs of the client, and a set of somewhat "softer" if also non-routine jobs requiring constant interaction with customers and publics.

The arenas in which these people will work are increasingly being called "learning systems" as a way of capturing the requirement that they absorb and rapidly implement the implications of accelerating complexity, that they evidence strategic flexibility and fast response to complex bifurcated markets (also a reflection of increasing complexity or roles and definitions of selves). The imperatives are widely understood to involve speed and low cost in everything, radical and continuous innovation of processes. "Human Resources" are widely seen as critical to the implementation of planned approaches in these directions, though cruder approaches to the facetious "right-sizing" seem more to be the order of the day. While human resources "programs" arise and recede with the regularity of fads, a deep and thorough understanding of the implications of knowledge work for participants and the new understandings which must arise between them seems not to have arrived.



Management styles for integrating creative minds and complex selves around creative problem-solving and issues resolution requires emotional commitment and new partnership understandings.

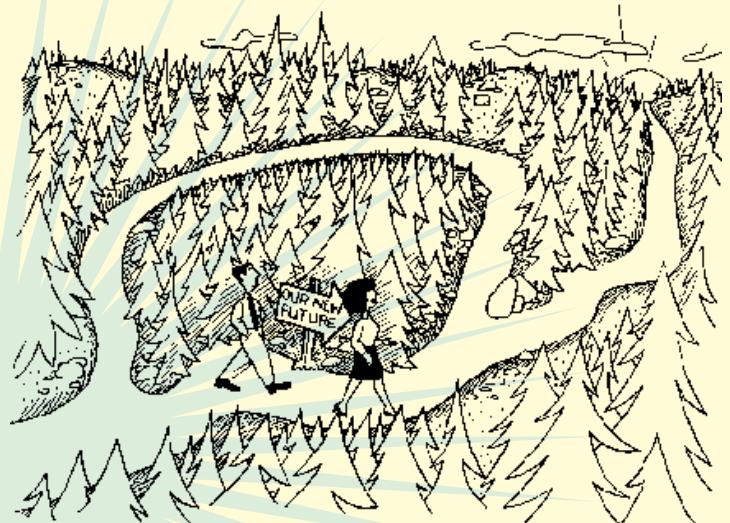
As society becomes more complex, so do patterns of organization. The literature is full of innovative ideas and new forms of organization. Joint venture and other new forms of partnership between institutions are proliferating, though until recently (Pekar), the adjudicatory contracting dimensions of such efforts were far more precise than implementation has been effective. Organizations are downsizing, hiving, divesting, formally or informally, following intrapreneurial strategies for generating internal profit centers. Ross Perot is famous for his anticipation of “sucking sounds” in the unskilled work he envisions skirting between flags, but seems not to have been listening as middle management was vacuumed from so

many American organizations. Leaderless groups, autonomous teams, and employee involvement strategies of many kinds are staged as “empowerment”, though the weakened labor movement often responds with cynicism at the “promotion”. Most of these new forms of organization share a great deal in common, and are first off, fundamental transitions away from the long durable premises of bureaucratic organization espoused by Max Weber and sociologists near the beginning of the century and the birth of the industrial revolution.

Among the most pronounced shifts that have been in progress for decades has been the shift away from autocratic decision-making on the part of managers inheriting legitimate power. The leveling of distinctions has created great resistance and controversy in matters of articulating authority and responsibility, but decided shifts toward consultation as an obligation of office holders have long been observed, especially within managerial and professional ranks. This is partly a result of changes in the nature of work itself. No long is work marked by physical effort so much as the processing of information and the application of technical knowledge in specialized or creative ways. Often the elements of work are ideas and concepts with sources in specialized training which the manager may not have. Increasingly work products involve interaction among a large variety of specialists and coordination across organizational boundaries or in temporary teams integrating semi-autonomous specialties. Baumgardner (), from an industrial engineering perspective on systems long ago noted as an empirical matter that 65% of the opportunities for improvement in performance often lie outside of defined boundaries of responsibility when defined in traditional terms. Burns and Stalker, in observing survival rates

among radio manufacturers at the emergence of transistors found traditionally organized manufacturers incapable of response to environmental needs; “organic” forms far less structured, were sometimes capable of flexible response and future prosperity.

Authoritative management rests on authoritative ways of doing things. Rules and procedures can, with a little effort, be defined in most traditional work. Industrial engineers and cost accountants, following Taylor, have been good at it. Efforts to rationalize, standardize, and quantify service objectives and measures are often possible in many realms. But increasingly, knowledge work either involves developing products or re-defining systems in collaboration with others or requires flexibility at the point of service delivery to demanding customers. In both cases, standards are harder to set. Objectives take on the quality of general principles (in service quality) or symbolic problem-statements. Increasing discretion is required for ‘implementing customer service values’, or ‘getting creative juices going’, or responding to the quixotic preferences of subject-matter experts hard to replace. Assessing such performances is a far cry from counting widgets. Increasingly, management is subject to staff estimates regarding the feasibility of goals and their preferences for resource ‘requirements’. Roles become less easily defined aside from broad project definition. With specialists and professionals on staff, discretion about means for accomplishing work are far more often delegated. Short of efforts on the part of control-oriented managers to set objectives and risk being seen by others as patently arbitrary, the definition of work standards and roles in knowledge work takes on a markedly more “negotiated” character, with final assessments requiring consideration of subjective factors which are not easily determined.



As everything becomes more complex and stressful there is a time to take a new path and stop fad cycles about teamwork and participation.

Acute customer service, invention and system operating and renewal are increasingly complex matters of interdependent contribution. Of necessity, invention arises from interpersonal dialog and interactive processes of problem assessment, priority setting, and resource scheduling and integration. Far from a matter of receiving a box of parts to assemble, or a set of desks to cycle by in the monitoring the disciplined application of known skills by others, the new work is interactive, the products symbolic. In addition to cognitive skills, qualities of interpersonal communications, style, and manners become favored and important. Those manning the process or involved in selec-

tion of peers look for evidence of flexibility, creativity, relevant specialized experiences, openness to diversity, and other potentialities for cooperative production. The massive proliferation of career specialties and the inability of external training systems to schedule educated product for narrowly defined specialties reinforces non-bureaucratic tendencies to look past credentials to more subjective assessments, even where the validity of such assessments may be hard to validate or easy to justify given legal provisions.

The new work is highly interactive not only in the generation of symbolic product, but through delivery of services to intra-organizational “customers” and external customers or clients. This is true not only for external customer contact roles, but for all knowledge workers. Perhaps there was a time when many people went to work, sat at their desk or bench to complete assignments, and met a few people over coffee break. If they were lucky and there was an annual company picnic, or if they participated in ‘organizing activity’ they might have met a few more like minded souls. New workers find themselves meeting, interacting, influencing, cajoling, exercising judgments, and serving others a great deal more of the time. Group meetings, telephone time (or dodging/managing demands through voice-mail systems), one-to-one contacts with many customers and quasi-strangers expecting individual attention have become the routine. Specialists garner respect through innovative problem-solving contributions and through interpersonal influence, often in one-on-one or group presentations — which must be compelling — of their complex ideas and proposals. Informal sources of influence and respect come primarily in knowledge-work from ‘personality’ and innovative contributions

around task problems and priorities; contributions which are accepted and meet the subjective requirements of their audience. As influence and visibility become more critical, performance evaluations are inevitably less a matter of objective assessment on the part of bureaucratic functionaries, and more a matter of impact; of ‘reputation’ — of creative cognitive abilities closely aligned with sophistication in matters of interpersonal skills, outlooks, and communications.

Many people still yearn for employment security and stability in their lives. Especially in high technology and institutional sectors with global exposure, rates of change in product and process, and the pace of reorganization of resources required by quick organizational response violate tradition and common expectation. In many organizations, presumptions of ‘loyalty’ between both company and employees are a thing of the past. Former icons of corporate stability — General Motors, Digital Equipment C., IBM — most large organizations — are scrambling to survive by closing plants and slashing jobs. Charles Handy () is among those who forecast at best a future full of knowledge workers as consultants — floating through networks in temporary alignments with complex (“Shamrocks”, he calls them) organizations involving participants at many levels of commitment and affiliation. Certainly the thrust in many areas is toward multiple careers, short-term and part-time involvement where it behooves individuals to assume responsibility for acquiring skill sets related to future career experiments and maintain large networks of professional relationships both within and outside of organizations, rather than wait for organizations to train them or assume that ‘time on the job’ will mean a lot to their future prospects.

Among the changes unleashed by technology with the most profound impacts on organizational design and the nature of work involves access to information about the 'system' and every dimension of its performance. Zuboff clearly illustrated the consequences of failure on the part of management to understand the impacts of automation on established work forces, and particularly the symbol processing demands of new person/machine interface when transactions are primarily matters of imagination. The future belongs to those who will access and have the capacity to bring meaning to such information. Many commentators characterize the massive middle-management 'cut-backs' as having been reckless and unplanful. Indeed many organizations were left devastated and have been unable to survive, while others, largely with the support of informational infrastructure, have sustained themselves surprisingly well and profited. Zuboff articulated well, the criticality of choices managers make in providing access to and opportunities for use of automated information. Information systems have dramatic and often unrecognized implications for the role, power, and status of managers and knowledgeable employees everywhere. Creative applications of technology generally enhance quality of work for capable participants while efforts to exploit information for purposes of closer supervision and control often backfire. In post-industrial work, technology is the tool of the professional, and the whole system is open to change.

The new work involves symbol processing and high level cognitive functions in order to sustain judgments in service work and invention in technical realms where the work itself can increasingly be characterized as 'research'. The output of much knowledge work is symbolic as well, and often creative; difficult to schedule, define and monitor. As goals often take on the qualities of values to be implemented through relationships, or the structure of more loosely defined conceptual and research projects, and as work is less easily monitored, qualities and privileges of professionalism invade prior arenas of job definition. Professionals are independent operators concerned with their integrity. They identify with fields and realms of activity outside the boundaries of employers. They pursue their work as a matter of personal identity. They are prone to follow intellectual questions which garner great emotional commitment from them. They have difficulties with organizational constraints posing role conflict across their professional and organizational identities. For true professionals, as compared to captured dependent "locals", the work setting must present opportunities for emotional commitment if their contributions are to be captured. There is little that a patient can do, sitting in the office, to 'jerk around' the schedule of the doctor. Work becomes highly personal to the professional; a matter of play; the challenges must be deeply meaningful to participants.

so many other areas of technology, the U.S. provided an early lead in robotics, though with low labor costs, the line of development was seen as worth supporting. More than half of the fifty or so companies in the U.S. making robots in 1985 disappeared by 1990. By 1991 the rest were acquired or forced to merge with foreign companies and not a single American robotics manufacturer was left. Japan has developed the technology to the point where the cost of a flexible robot capable of most manufacturing work is returned within one year of operation⁵. American workers who fear competition from foreign people are being deluded. Sendai, a Japanese manufacturer of radio-cassette recorders, in the face of labor shortages and high costs at home installed 850 robots and dropped its work force from 340 to 16. By 1985 their production costs were below those of Southeast Asian rivals whose wages were a fraction of those to be found in Japan; or Mexico for that matter.

Leadership and Organizational Competence [Selected quotes from Harvard Kennedy School of Government's Ronald Heifetz (INC., 10/88)]

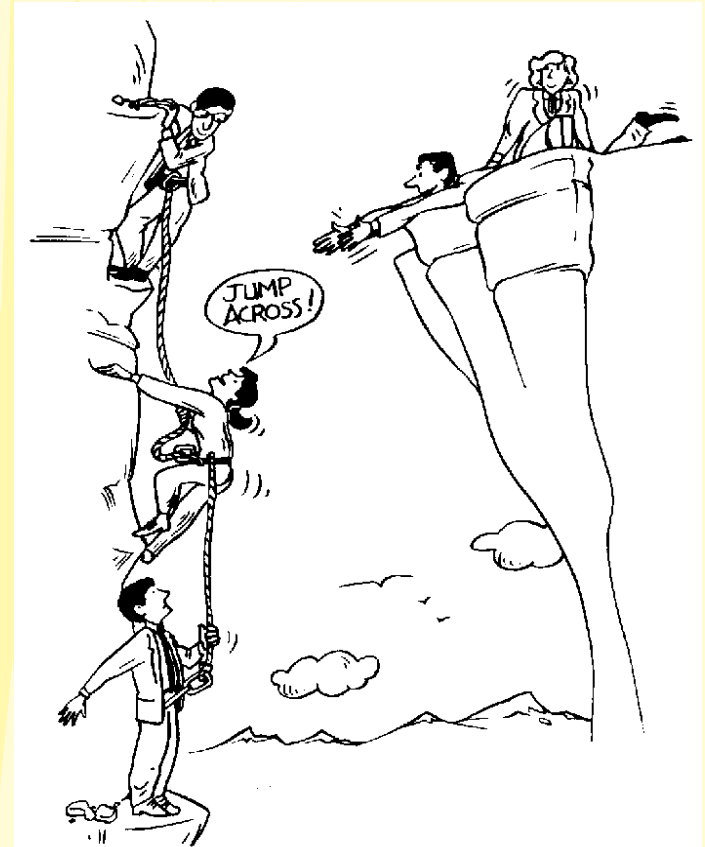
"Our conception of leadership is fundamentally misguided. With a routine problem, one can look to authority -- whose role is to maintain equilibrium. People expect an authority figure to be comforting. Leadership, on the other hand, involves generating disequilibrium -- raising issues that disturb people and force them to come to terms with points of view they would rather not consider. Honestly felt conflict between managers is often a work-avoidance mechanism. Someone must induce disequilibrium to the point where people pay attention to information. Authority won't solve the problem. It doesn't mobilize people to generate practical solutions.

If you have the answers, using authority is o.k. in the short run — but it creates addiction to the fantasy of heroes. In most situations there are no clear answers. Thus competing views must be orchestrated on the very issues where people most want to sit passively and avoid work. Generally, people blame the situation on authority, saying "We shouldn't have to do this work. If only we had the right 'leader', our problems would be solved". Organizations, once addicted to a hero, remain addicted and dependent. Managers who allow others to see them as heroes fall into a trap; they will be expected to fulfill enormously unrealistic dreams.

Change calls for adjustments in the habits of people -- a learning process where they must import into their frames of reference the perspectives and needs of others. Issuing a command doesn't change people's understanding. People must be sufficiently ruffled if they are to think -- yet not so stressed that their behavior is dysfunctional. People will be delighted to get 'clear leadership' — though it increases dependency and weakens their capacities to come to terms with a complex environment. Traditional leaders are o.k. in situations which never change — they're deadly in small businesses which want to grow, or in organizations which need to be competitive."

Whether one looks to politics or American management, normative conditions induced by traditional approaches to leadership would seem to be quite far from the levels of professionalism, emotional commitment, free-wheeling dialog characterized above and in much commentary about organizational innovation or social reform. Just at a time when work calls for the strongest personal commitment ('moral' and/or 'spiritual', some would say), or economic and social organizations seem to have abandoned responsibility to the individual. As political and economic leaders who choose not to ignore the issues promise then are unable to or fail to deliver, individuals lose faith in their own ability to make a difference. We live in an age of massive cynicism (Kanter & Mirvis, *The Cynical Americans*, 1989). Though in organizational settings skunk-works provide certain protection from the bureaucratic core dominating even most high technology systems, the gap between the common circumstance and organizational cultures premised on speed are wide. Tom Peters (*Liberation Management* 1992), for one, searches for metaphors to help envision a more compatible style and resorts to images of carnivals, spaghetti, roller derbies and shredder wars, though in the end he suggests strong attention to the very odd and simple organizational practices (no job descriptions, charts, annual objectives, unfathomable performance evaluation schemes, etc.) which evolved in knowledge/merchant consulting houses such as McKinsey & Company. Neither Peters nor Perot seem to believe in great depth that any kind of institutional focus is viable any more. Peters, following "anything more than 4 people is a hopeless bureaucracy" has finally followed with more precise guidance: "no more than five central staffers per billion dollars in revenue booked (1992, p.9)";

Perot's so hot for speed and responsiveness that he wants you to let him open the hood of the car and do the job all by himself.



Earning synergy and living non-hierarchically require trusting leaps of faith.

For most of us struggling to stay in, or prosper in the narrowing mainstream dominated by the imperatives of applied knowledge and technology, everything is becoming complex and stressful. The only path is to adapt, and stop moving in old fad cycles of pretend-empowerment; then get down to

basics — commit to quality; then abandon the effort. The only solutions seem to involve struggling to invent meaningful personal lives, and then out of that, creating new institutional conditions for living with one other. Irrespective of any moral dimensions or human relations sentiment, it seems from a basic understanding of implications of the knowledge dimensions of work itself, that new human systems will need to be immense flexible, incredibly professional, radically non-hierarchical, and (in the face of our acute pains and cynicism — all that has and is happening to participants), newly capable of generating emotional (perhaps moral) commitment and identification. These new environments will be marked by collegial relationships involved in committed service and synergistic problem-solving and constant re-negotiation of roles across the most temporary boundaries. It's hard not to conclude that truly revolutionary approaches should be attempted. The eye must come off the bottom-line results and focus on social architecture for defining new spaces worthy of creative minds and complex selves. These organizations must be configured in order to facilitate the finding and pursuit of problems of intrinsic interest and human worth; problems worthy of innovative solution.

The challenge seems to require a commitment of transformation designers far surpassing the energies currently being expended on knee-jerk re-trenchments and fad renewal. Far more attention needs to be paid to creating new partnership arrangements at work, and far less on external markets. Deming insists that companies pursuing ruthless competitions anchored in market share are missing the boat. They should instead, he insists, be focusing on adding new values to customers lives. Competition resides not primarily in the mar-

ket, but in the realms of creative thought that produce and find new uses for knowledge and technology. Customers, Deming recently insists, do not know their needs. Only those with "profound" (moral) knowledge, he suggests, can attend to man's needs so intently as to both understand and satisfy them in innovative ways. The market to be met is in the unanticipated needs of customers, and in the act of creation; the power of "competition" (advantage at satisfying human needs) resides in the human conditions which organizational leaders arrange for invention.



Most managers still operate by control assumptions and deal-making where problem-solving produces messes and innovation is inhibited.

How prepared, on the whole, are American managers to lead in these directions, even if they found the incentives, security and support suited to the effort? Past an optimistic literature charting seemingly unending anecdotal case study, there is little social science literature on the effectiveness of organizational development or shifts in management values and perspectives. What little data comes to mind would suggest the prospects for significant change to be dim.

Maccoby Profiles

“expert” (60%)

- **individual achievement and control**
- **good parent with kids on leash**
- **for selves want freedom, boss off back**
- **with subordinates wants control, MBO, MBI**

“helper” (20%)

- **genuinely feel that opportunity to help others is what makes work meaningful**

“self-developer” (20%)

- **continuous learning**
- **value collaboration, cooperation, co-learning**
- **seeks independence vs. autonomy**
- **shared authority the ideal**
- **expect empowerment and coaching**
- **uninterested in parental approval**

Maccoby is one of our most insightful qualitative researchers of management trends. In a recent study involving depth interviewing of a large sample of Fortune 500 executives, he found that over 60% of the executives of his study fit the profile of an “expert”; one whose primary orientation is toward individual achievement and control. The schemata underpinning the orientation identified by Maccoby reflects deeply entrenched issues

of socialization; permissive, observant paternalism arising from traditional family structures where father worked and mother took care of the house. Experts seek autonomy for themselves and chafe at constraint from superiors, while manifesting managerial behaviors based on the opposite premise. Seeking autonomy for themselves, they strive for control over others.

Only 20% of Maccoby’s sample was classified by a profile wherein being of service to the growth and development of others was a primary component of managerial motivation. Interestingly, the third cluster of managers found by the researcher are comfortable with on-going learning and genuinely valued collaboration and shared authority. These managers had often been socialized in dual career families with more creative and flexible role arrangements, and were markedly disinterested in being patronized by authority figures.

In commenting on the impact of the still prevalent management style, Maccoby suggests that (paraphrased), “managers guard turf and organizations can’t function without internal deal-making. The psychology of the expert seriously impedes development of organizational competence. Teams, matrix management, strategic dialogue are underplayed; resulting in little experimentation toward organizational learning. Experts work comfortably only with others who share their values, avoid learning from and understanding those with different values. Bureaucratic values are hard-wired into their psyches. They expect that alternative approaches to management might work, but don’t like them. They don’t think that new leadership ideas ‘feel right’. ‘Who’s in charge? What are the incentives?’ — they wonder.”

More to be added)

¹ Gilovich & Regan (1993) summarize hundreds of studies to demonstrate the limitations of philosophies based on “enlightened self-interest”. Professors in the field of Economics are far less likely to give to charity, game simulations of all sorts find their students unconcerned with issues of social fairness. In a review of the famous prisoner’s dilemma game, students of Economics make mistrusting decisions 60% of the time in comparison with 39% for non economics majors. A recent study at Cornell compared “honesty” in a hypothetical situation. Students taking a single course in microeconomics were far less honest than those assigned to a placebo condition (astronomy). Similar studies have shown that students are surprisingly good at telling co-operators from cheats based on minimal information. Narrowly self-interested behavior is ultimately self-defeating.

² At the time of this writing, Los Angeles elected as a major a “businessman” who may have become a billionaire while producing 7 jobs as against an option allowing multicultural patina.

³ In research among staff of a major regulatory agency in Southern California, the author’s research demonstrated that stress symptoms are particularly high in teams where interpersonal support is especially strong, and where teambuilding efforts had been most extensive. This finding is, of course, totally opposite what a review of the literature on stress would suggest. Stress and its external attribution seem to coalesce as a source of attachment, much as does pity and sympathy among Japanese. In a recent article (Easton, 1993), a prominent professor at a Japanese University commented that “It’s very intuitive to Japanese; sympathy and admiration go hand in hand”.. “If you’re successful you face resentment. Sometimes we even emphasize problems so you don’t catch jealousies”.. “sympathy is a source of our unifying power.”

⁴ For example, Crosby’s admonitions toward conformance to requirements.

⁵ The American managers dream, it would appear, had they had faith; past the ‘hiring interview’, you don’t pay the ‘operator’, without a desk or air conditioning, don’t expect annual bonus or sick-leave, get carpal syndrome. In addition to being loyal, they happily work three shifts, train easily and don’t complain. Seventy percent of the world’s “cheapest workers” work side by side with the world’s best paid ones.

