

COMPETENCE
IN
MODERN SOCIETY
Its Identification,
Development and
Release

JOHN RAVEN

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H. K. Lewis & Co. Ltd.

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FOREWORD

by

Albert Cherns

Professor of Social Sciences, University of Loughborough

We hear much these days on the perennial topic: does education prepare our children adequately for adult life? From one side comes the complaint that it is not vocational enough, practical enough to prepare good workers for industry; from the other side the cry is for better preparation for leisure. In his *Education, Values and Society*, John Raven posed the crucial question: does it develop in children the competences that parents want and that teachers believe that schools should foster? The answer given in a series of studies in Ireland and in Britain was: No, it doesn't. If our complex technological society needs people who feel able to influence decisions and initiate changes they want, then our schools are manifestly failing to produce them. The malaise goes further. Few believe they themselves *should* initiate ideas or influence our governors and administrators.

Now, in this book, Raven has accumulated a great deal more evidence to substantiate the views of the parents, teachers, pupils, employees, and employers who were interviewed in the course of his social surveys that the most important qualities to be fostered by those responsible for educational and staff guidance, placement and development include initiative, the ability to understand and influence the workings of society, the ability to learn without instruction, and confidence in dealing with others.

Merging two previous strands in his work, he argues that *political* competence, the capacity to engage with, rather than just grumble about, the processes which grind out policy, is critical to being effective as a bus driver, teacher, computer operator, manager or other member of society. Further, he contributes a practical instrument developing the values-plus-competences model of motivated abilities outlined in his previous work. As it develops we can hope to see valid, shorthand descriptive statements about people's interests, values, and areas of competence replace "profiles" of scale scores on "variables".

In this book Raven introduces disturbing data on the beliefs, perceptions and expectations that have come to be characteristic of our society and which help to explain what we have learned to regard as the "British disease". To overcome that we need to think again about the operation of modern society. Raven suggests that we need new concepts of participation, democracy, equality, money and wealth.

There is much in this book which is thought-provoking. For many it should prove provoking of action too. Though few will give unqualified assent to all Raven's views and arguments, few also will read without feeling deeply disturbed not only by the facts that it discloses but also because, if only part of what Raven claims is correct, the current debate about education, work and society is the wrong debate about the wrong issues based on wrong premises.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This book is about the understandings and patterns of motivation needed in modern society. It is about the roles, abilities, attitudes and dispositions required by managers, employees, politicians, public servants and citizens. It is about the political systems, and procedures of accountability, which are needed to run the administered world in which we now live. It is about people's beliefs about the way in which the society in which they live works and their own role in that society. It is about the "British disease" — about inappropriate beliefs, expectations, values and attitudes, and what can be done about them.

Because it deals with aspects of competent behaviour which have, on the whole, been neglected in the past, the book introduces new ways of thinking about abilities and motivational dispositions and their assessment. Preliminary, and very disturbing, data collected following the procedures indicated by this theory are reported. These reveal little interest in innovation, efficiency or effective management. If confirmed in larger studies, these data do not bode well for the future of the British economy. However, the processes which can be used by parents, teachers and managers to develop more appropriate understandings, abilities, and patterns of motivation are also described. More widespread adoption of the educational and staff-development processes — and procedures of accountability — which are described will enable us to get control over our destiny.

The work which is to be summarised and integrated began as two undergraduate interests. The first of these was in life skills — such as social adaptability — and their assessment. The other was in the relationship between the qualities fostered by the educational system and those required by adults to lead their lives effectively.

My interest in these topics was boosted — and my understandings somewhat furthered — whilst I was working on the Schools Council's *Young School Leavers* and *Sixth-Form* enquiries at the Government Social Survey Department in London in the mid 60s (Morton-Williams *et al* 1968, 1971). Thereafter an opportunity to pursue these topics more intensively opened up at the Economic and Social Research Institute in Dublin. There, it was possible, for a short time, to undertake a programme of research into values, attitudes and institutional structures associated with economic and social development. Subsequent, more specific, work was carried out in Ireland with the aid of funds from the Irish Productivity Centre. Finally, in the late 70s it had been possible to advance my understanding of these issues in the course of studies funded by the Scottish Education Department and carried out at the Scottish Council for Research in Education. The most recent research reported in this book was, however, undertaken without institutional support.

The most important development and re-orientation in my thinking took place shortly after I began work in Dublin. I set out to assess the role which such psychological qualities as innovativeness and leadership played in personal and societal development. To do this I interviewed a large number of people, first asking them to tell me about their jobs and their lives. In due course, they would begin to tell me, often with considerable excitement, about some of the difficulties they had encountered. At this point I would ask them what they could do about those problems. To my surprise and concern they usually replied that it was not up to them to tackle these problems. The government should tackle them. Furthermore, they did not even think that it was up to people like themselves to try to influence the government. Not only did they feel that they would not be successful, they felt that it would be wrong for politicians or public servants to listen to people like them.

At first I felt that these were issues with which it would be inappropriate for a psychologist to concern himself. But, as I dimly sensed that these (and associated) perceptions and expectations seriously deterred people from engaging in effective behaviour, I found myself undertaking studies of adults' and children's social and civic understandings, attitudes and perceptions. This *primary* role of political understandings and perceptions as determinants of competent behaviour has repeatedly re-asserted itself in the course of our subsequent work. However, in order to achieve our goal of developing a preliminary set of measures of the components of competence, based on the new psychological theory of competence which we have developed, we did manage to force these issues into the background during the last phase of our work. It now needs, once more, to re-occupy the centre of attention. For this reason, one of the primary functions of this book is to underline the central importance of political understandings and expectations, and personal values, in any psychological theory of competence and in any meaningful assessments of motivation or ability.

Closer to home, it emerges that one of the reasons why psychologists have, as Rothschild (1982) has emphasised, been so incompetent in pressing their case for a major role in developing the concepts and tools which are required to manage modern society is that they have felt both unwilling and unable to influence governmental decisions.

CHAPTER 2

**COMPETENCE IN MODERN SOCIETY:
AN OVERVIEW**

In this chapter, the structure of the book will first be made explicit. Thereafter, its contents will be summarised. In order to help the reader to locate details in which he is interested, the structure of the book will be retained in this *Summary*.

Structure of the Book

Part II (comprising Chapters 3 to 6) summarises the results of our research into the personal qualities and understandings which people require if they are to function effectively in the workplace and society. Part III (Chapter 7) summarises the results of a preliminary survey, carried out in Scotland, of the extent to which people possess necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes. The results suggest that many, apparently essential, understandings, perceptions, and expectations are lacking at the present time. In Part IV (Chapters 8 to 12) the factors which make for the development and release of competent behaviour are identified. Part V (Chapters 13 and 14) develops a new way of thinking about competence and the ways in which its components are to be assessed. In Part VI (Chapter 15) a new set of Questionnaires, *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*, which have been developed for use in organisational development and in staff guidance, placement and development, are described. The detailed survey data collected using these Questionnaires (previously summarised in Part III) is presented in Part VII (Chapters 16 to 19). This material is likely to be of particular interest to those who purchase *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*.

The remainder of this Chapter presents a Part by Part summary of the book.

Part II (Chapters 3 to 6): Competence in Modern Society

In Chapter 3 the reader is introduced to some of the evidence which led the author to move away from a pre-occupation with the assessment and development of personal qualities like leadership and innovativeness.

In addition to summarising the results of the author's own work in the area, Chapter 3 reviews the available literature. The following are some of the conclusions:

- (1) High-level competencies are required by employees and citizens at all levels, and in all sectors, of our society.
- (2) Over the last 25 years major changes have come about in the nature of society, the organisations of which it is composed, and the tasks they perform. Three crucial pre-requisites to effective behaviour in modern society are, therefore, (a) new understandings of the nature of the society in which we live, the organisations of which it is

- composed, and the role of the individual within them, (b) possession of the spontaneous tendency to *analyse* the workings of these institutions and one's own role in them, and (c) willingness to perform that role effectively.
- (3) The distinctions which are often drawn between people's roles as citizens and employees have become blurred and are now of doubtful validity.
 - (4) Managerial ability has become of increasing importance as organisations (including government systems) have (rightly and necessarily) aspired to manage larger and more complex economic, social and bio-physical systems.
 - (5) The changes which have taken place in our society have not been paralleled by corresponding developments in public beliefs about the competencies and understandings which are required for effective management. Still less have the developments which have taken place in society and the organisations of which it is composed been accompanied by adequate developments in the procedures which are used to foster the growth of competence or in the use of new criteria when selecting people for senior positions in society. As a result, promotion into senior management is unrelated to the necessary abilities. Nor have there been essential developments in the mechanisms used to hold managers accountable for performing the tasks which now need to be done.
 - (6) Managerial ability (whether at an organisational or at a societal level) demands such qualities as the spontaneous tendency to study, and to try to gain control over, the wider sociological forces which so much determine what any one organisation can do; the tendency to release the energy of subordinates by making them feel strong and capable of achieving their own goals; and the ability to create a climate characterised by delegation of responsibility, participation in management, dedication and enthusiasm.
 - (7) However, as the last paragraph implies, new understandings, priorities, perceptions and patterns of competence are required by all members of modern society and not just by managers.
 - (8) Behaviour is more strongly determined by motivation than by ability. The chief task of psychologists, educators, and managers must therefore be to focus on, and assess, motivation. Motivation is primarily determined by values, social and political understandings and perceptions, and beliefs about one's own role and that of others in one's society and the organisations of which it is composed. In fact, further analysis shows that it does not even make sense for psychologists to assess abilities independently of values, perceptions and expectations. The assessment of priorities and values must, therefore, form a central, not a peripheral, component in any psychologically-based aids to the management of educational experiences, staff development, or personnel management.
 - (9) New tools are required to administer manpower policies in the large organisations of which our society is now so largely composed, and in society itself.

- (10) New, psychologically-based, tools are also required to hold managers and others accountable for doing their jobs effectively. For most managers, given the complexity of the tasks which our society now requires them to carry out, there can now be no single-valued evaluation of the quality of their work (such as profitability). Managers need to be held accountable for enabling their organisations to reach multiple societal targets: In relation to their day-to-day work they need to be held accountable for releasing high levels of innovativeness, enthusiasm, and creativity among their subordinates. They need to be held accountable for studying, and trying to gain control over, the wider social forces which so much determine what they can do. And they and their subordinates urgently need to be able to get credit for the qualities they have developed on the job, and for what they have done, rather than only for doing such irrelevant things as acquiring academic qualifications, seniority, or avoiding mistakes.

Having shown, in Chapter 3, that perceptions of how things are, and how they should be, have a marked effect on what people at all levels in organisations and society *do*, Chapters 4 and 5 discuss appropriate perceptions and institutional arrangements at workplace and societal levels.

In Chapter 4, it is shown that the concept of "participation" demands urgent analysis. Participation *can* play an important role in staff development and in enhancing the quality of decisions. But it will only do so if subordinates do not view participation as "doing the manager's job for him", if staff development is not viewed as a waste of time, if managers are prepared to delegate discretionary judgement to others but do not try to abdicate responsibility to committees, and if all concerned accept that there are endless jobs to be done and that each can grow into others' jobs without making those who currently occupy them redundant. The workplace is not a zero-sum environment and the concept of discrete tasks to be done by people at different "levels", with promotion viewed as a reward for the faithful and the ageing, is a serious barrier to effective work. The way in which people think about all these issues markedly affects their effectiveness.

In essence, Chapter 4 does two things: firstly, it illustrates that people's understanding of concepts like participation, responsibility, delegation, staff-development, accountability and promotion markedly affect what they can do and their personal effectiveness. Secondly, it underlines the crucial importance of competencies such as the tendency to analyse concepts like those just mentioned and the workings of organisations and to take action on the basis of such thought. The task of evolving new concepts and ways of thinking is a task in which all members of our society need to share. In this way, the chapter illustrates the inseparability of citizenship and employee behaviour in modern society.

Chapter 5 moves on to explore the organising role which concepts of equality, democracy, bureaucracy, the nature of society itself, and beliefs about appropriate administrative arrangements play in releasing those forms of competent behaviour which are required to carry out the tasks which need to be performed in modern society. It is shown that concepts of hierarchical accountability are no longer appropriate or feasible. The scale

of the tasks which need to be carried out in modern society is of an order of magnitude which was previously inconceivable. This is because the problems which now plague us stem from the operation of international social systems which are designed to gain control over problems which were previously beyond the control of man.

Equally, faith in the economic marketplace as a means of organising action is now misplaced. The role of money has, in fact, now been overturned. Money is no longer a means of establishing goals and releasing and co-ordinating activity which is likely to reach them. It is now a means of orchestrating activity designed to achieve goals which have been established through the political process. This is *necessarily* so: the tasks which have to be undertaken *demand* much greater explicit organisation.

One consequence of the changes which have come about in society is that our society needs alternative means to hold people accountable for the quality of their contribution to it. What is more, new mechanisms are required to replace representative democracy as the mechanism whereby we hold politicians and bureaucrats accountable for establishing and achieving the broader goals of society. The economic marketplace and representative democracy were mechanisms which were appropriate to the society which gave birth to them — but they are no longer appropriate to the society in which we live.

In summary, then, not only have the tasks to be accomplished changed. The competencies which are required to perform them, and the roles to be performed by all of us in carrying out these tasks have also changed. Unless we develop more appropriate ways of thinking about society, its operation, and our role in it, we will continue to behave incompetently and inappropriately. The behaviours we value and esteem need to change. We need to develop new competencies. We need to evolve new ways of thinking. We need to support those who do try to evolve new ways of thinking and behaving. We need to encourage those who try to invent new ways of doing things. Our understanding of how our society works and our own role, and that of others within it is crucial to competent behaviour.

It emerges, therefore, that social, civic and “political” education is *central* to education for competence. As a result, one is left pondering why it is that we have been so reluctant to allow schools to engage in political and value-laden education. The attempt to answer this question forces us to re-assert the importance of the proposition that political education is crucial to effective behaviour. The reason why we are so reluctant to allow state schools (and significantly the same reservations do not apply to private schools) to engage in political and value-laden education is that we fear that teachers might brain-wash our children. This is because we have not insisted that the educational system offers a wide range of courses directed toward achieving different objectives and fostering different values — both within and between schools — from which parents and pupils can choose. We have become hooked on the notion of providing equality in education. We have focused on the *costs* of providing variety, rather than on the benefits of variety. We have, therefore, overlooked the problems posed by the need to demonstrate that different types of school

are achieving different types of goal effectively for the sub-groups of the population for whom they are intended. We have overlooked the need to think carefully about the nature of public policy in relation to a population which is made up of people with very different values, talents, and patterns of competence. In the process we have rendered our teachers incapable of promoting the development of the competence of our children. Political education (in this case of educators and the general public in relation to education) is, therefore, crucial to the development and release of competent behaviour. Appropriate political understandings are an integral *component* of competence.

Chapter 6 consists of a summary and integration of what has been learned about the nature of competence and its reformulation in a form which approximates that to be developed later in the book. The chapter concludes that the main components of competence include:

1. *Self-motivated, value-laden, qualities or "competencies"*. These include characteristics like initiative, leadership, and the spontaneous tendency to observe the way our organisations and society work and think out the implications for one's own behaviour. All of these qualities are heavily dependent on idiosyncratic, *specialist*, knowledge. This is to be contrasted with the out of date, non specialist, general knowledge which tends to dominate most educational programmes at the present time.
2. *Perceptions and expectations relating to the way society works, and of one's own role in it*. Under this heading are included such things as people's self images, the way they think their organisations work and their own role and that of others in those organisations, their understanding of organisational social climates which make for innovation, responsibility, and development rather than stagnation, and their perceptions of the reference points which it is appropriate to adopt in their quest for the understandings they need to guide their behaviour.
3. *People's understandings of what is meant by terms which describe relationships within organisations* — terms like leadership, decision-taking, democracy, equality, responsibility, accountability and delegation.

Part III (Chapter 7): A Summary of the Results of a Preliminary Survey using The Edinburgh Questionnaires

Part III (Chapter 7) summarises the results of a small survey carried out using *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*, among 300 employees who worked in 20 organisations in Scotland.

The Edinburgh Questionnaires, which were developed for use in organisational development, and in staff guidance, placement and development, ask people to indicate their priorities in relation to the physical environment in which they work, the satisfactions they want from their jobs, and the types of work they wish to undertake. They also ask people to indicate how satisfied they are on these counts. Finally, they ask people what they think the consequences would be if they were to undertake an activity which they personally believe to be important.

The results reveal an overwhelming pre-occupation with pay and security. Given that insecurity is strongly and causally related to lack of adventurousness, the results point to a need to provide more security for the members of our society as a basis on which to build higher levels of innovation. They also point to the urgent need for a social climate in which innovation and development is supported by others: there was little interest in inventing things, finding better ways of thinking about things, finding better ways of doing things, influencing decisions, or reaching high standards. There was, however, considerable dissatisfaction with the amount of paperwork to be done. This may relate to the dissatisfaction which existed about levels of delegation of responsibility. Taken together these findings may imply dissatisfaction with our national tendency to spend more money on trying to ensure that no mistakes are ever made than the mistakes, if made, would actually cost.

As far as organisational climate is concerned, relatively few — less than a third — felt that it was important for their colleagues not to waste time fussing about trivialities, to keep on trying to do new things, to support new ideas, to welcome suggestions, to try to find ways of getting important things done, to monitor and improve their performance, or to learn what they needed to know (develop themselves) as they went along. This lack of concern to have colleagues who give priority to efficiency, innovation and delegation is particularly disturbing in the light of Litwin & Stringer's (1968) demonstration that there is, indeed, a close connection between such things as support for innovation, delegation of responsibility and stress on high standards and effective innovation and development. Not only did those who completed the questionnaires not have high standards for their colleagues, less than half were satisfied with what their colleagues actually did by way of providing support for innovation and taking the steps needed to generate more effective performance. Relatively few were satisfied with the way in which the organisation in which they worked was run, its ability to tap their motives and talents, its ability to make use of their knowledge by enabling them to influence decisions, or its ability to delegate to them the necessary responsibility to take decisions about what needed to be done. In all these respects, the results suggested that the organisational climates of the organisations we studied were far from satisfactory.

Despite these results there seemed to be a considerable pool of energy and goodwill which organisations currently fail to tap. People seemed willing to take on more, and more demanding, work. They wanted to learn new skills. They wanted to turn out high quality work. They wanted to feel that they had contributed, as a member of a team, to achieving something really worthwhile.

On the other hand, while many people (about 60%) wanted leadership positions involving responsibility (or, at least petty authority), they did not usually want to do such things as try to understand what lies behind expressions of opinion (which often make for difficulties in the workplace); they did not wish to spend time thinking about the talents of their subordinates or how they could help them to develop or utilise them; they did not wish to monitor organisational barriers to performance and take the steps needed to do something about them; they did not wish to encourage

other people to monitor their own performance and take corrective action when necessary; they did not wish to spend time developing better ways of thinking about or doing things; they did not wish to study other people's reactions to their behaviour; they did not wish to be creative or inventive, and they did not wish to have to rely on their judgements (rather than facts) and take responsibility for the outcome. Only about 15% thought it was important to be doing any of these things. Few even wished to create a climate of innovation and enthusiasm in the organisations they managed. Nor did they think they were very good at any of these things. It is not only hard to imagine that a leader can be effective unless he wants to do, and does, all of these things. Klemp, Munger and Spencer (1977) have shown that it is precisely the spontaneous tendency to do these things which differentiates effective from ineffective managers. No wonder promotion into senior managerial positions seems to be independent of competence to function in these roles.

Given these results, there seemed to be an urgent need for those concerned to reconsider their understanding of such concepts as leadership and management. Likewise, there seemed to be a need to implement selection, placement and development policies in such a way that only those who are interested in, and capable of doing, many of the things mentioned in the last paragraph find their way into managerial positions.

Turning now to the responses which those who completed the questionnaires expected from their colleagues, many said that they expected others to react negatively to any attempt on their part to do something about a particular problem selected from those they had identified. They expected their superiors to think that they were seeking to advance themselves at their expense. They expected their colleagues to seek to undermine them and to ensure that their efforts came to naught. They felt that they themselves lacked the determination and the ability to persuade which would be required to tackle the problem.

Once again, the results appear to point toward the need for both organisational development programmes and personal development for those concerned. They also seem to predict a bleak economic future for the U.K.

Despite the generally depressing nature of these results, perhaps one of the most important findings was that people varied greatly in the satisfactions which they wanted from their working environments, their jobs, and the reactions they wanted from their colleagues. There would, therefore, seem to be both ample scope, indeed an urgent need, to implement personalised placement and development programmes so that more people can move into positions in which they can do things which they believe to be important, which yield satisfactions which they want and in which they can develop and use the talents they possess. In this way our society, and the organisations of which it is made up, will be able both to develop a more satisfied and more utilised workforce, and improve the abilities of those organisations to tap, foster and release the talents which are available to them for the good of all.

If the results obtained in the survey are related to the background literature, it emerges that we have shown that most people wish to work in a developmental environment in which they can learn new things, have variety and responsibility, and have support from their colleagues. They want their abilities to be developed and used. There is little evidence of a desire to escape from work into leisure. In general, they do not want routine work. In these ways the results support Argyris, Herzberg and Maslow. People want to grow, be useful, and have their talents recognised and rewarded. Many workplaces fail to tap these abilities or to support growth, development and innovation.

On the other hand, we have refined these overall conclusions: people vary a great deal from one to another in the abilities they want to exercise at work, the reactions they want from their colleagues, and even in the more mundane ("hygiene") satisfactions they want from their work. There is, therefore, a need for a much more differentiated and sophisticated set of individual guidance, placement and development procedures to overcome the serious mis-match which currently exists between priorities and satisfactions and the substantial levels of frustration and de-motivation which exist as a result.

Part IV (Chapters 8 to 12): Fostering Competence

Having identified some of the key components of effective behaviour and shown that they are sadly lacking in Scotland at the present time, Part IV (Chapters 8 to 12) is devoted to a discussion of ways in which value-clarification can be promoted and the components of competence released so that they can be practised and developed.

It emerges in Chapter 10 that one key concept in this area is that of a *developmental environment*. In a developmental environment arbitrary restrictions are not placed on what those concerned can do; rather an effort is made to help them to identify and develop their talents. They are not hemmed round by restrictions and demeaning rules. Rather they are encouraged to give of their best and supported when they fall short of their ideals. They are encouraged to participate in decision-taking, partly because this contributes to the quality of decisions and to the sharing of responsibilities, but also because it provides an opportunity for those concerned to develop high level competencies and acquire essential specialist knowledge. Their superiors create opportunities to share their knowledge, their concepts, their thoughts, their values, their planning, their self-monitoring behaviour, their hopes, their fears, their experiences of frustration, and their feelings of satisfaction with their subordinates. In all these ways they help to encourage those they are working with to do likewise.

As we have seen, one crucial need is to promote understanding of the ways organisations run. This includes ways of thinking about the role of the manager and understanding of concepts like participation and democracy. It includes beliefs about the responsibility of all to consider and seek to influence the operation of their society. There is, as yet, no explicit

formulation of the new beliefs, understandings and definitions that are needed in this area, although it is hoped that this book will contribute to their evolution. If competent behaviour is to be released and developed in modern society it is, therefore, important to create formal opportunities for people to review and advance their understandings of such issues. Community — and organisational — self-surveys followed by discussion of their implications is one way in which the evolution of new understandings and ways of thinking can be promoted. It is hoped that *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* will prove useful for this purpose: it was, after all, data collected with them which led to the reflections reported in this book!

After portraying developmental environments as they can be found in the home, the school, the university and workplace, Chapter 10 moves on to explore the reasons why such environments are not more often encountered. Part of the explanation is that those concerned do not value the qualities which children and subordinates would develop if such environments were more widely created. However, another reason why many parents, teachers and managers fail to create such environments is that they feel that they themselves lack the managerial abilities which would be required if their children or subordinates became independent, adventurous, self-confident, capable people. This reinforces the emphasis which has been placed throughout this book on defining and promoting the development of a new understanding of managerial competence. The most important barriers to the establishment of more developmental environments have, however, to do with the fact that there are no tools available to assess people's interests and developmental needs, to monitor their reactions to the developmental experiences which are provided, to plan individualised programmes of growth which run through from one developmental session to another, to give people credit for the qualities they have developed in the process, or to enable managers to identify people's interests and talents and harness these for the benefit of everyone concerned.

It is particularly disturbing to find that educational environments are, more often than any others, characterised by an absence of developmental, innovatory, climates and appropriate managerial abilities, understandings and motivations. They are, as a result, the *least* fertile grounds in our society in which to promote the development of the qualities which our society most badly needs. Indeed, most educational environments currently stunt the growth of such qualities and freeze out the very people who would be most likely to undertake these essential tasks.

In order to provide managers with a framework to which they can refer and use when thinking about how best to set about creating more developmental climates within their organisation, Chapter 11 presents a formal account of some of the main variables which contribute to the release of energy, enthusiasm, and development in the workplace. This is followed, in Chapter 12, by a discussion of the management of motivation.

Part V (Chapters 13 and 14): A New Conceptual Framework for Thinking about Competence and its Assessment

Having reviewed research into the nature and development of competence in a general way, and having made a number of observations which have not been found in the published literature, Chapters 13 and 14 then move on, firstly, to make explicit the implications for assessment of the observations on the nature of competence made in Part II, and, secondly, to spell out some of the components of competence in more detail.

“Initiative”, as one component of effective behaviour, is analysed in some detail. It is noted, firstly, that it is logical nonsense to describe as “initiative” any actions which the individual concerned has had to be told to perform. Initiative is, therefore, by definition, self-motivated. Motivation is not, therefore, something which can be studied and measured independently of “ability”.

Secondly, it is noted that the *values* component is of major importance. No one is going to invest the tremendous amount of energy which is required to take an effective initiative unless they very much value the goal toward which they are working. The necessary activities involve the tendency to mull over the fleeting feelings of the fringe of consciousness which tell one that one has a problem, or the germ of a creative idea, and make it fully explicit, the tendency to initiate action, monitor the effects of that action in order to find ways of improving one's performance, the ability to tolerate the anxieties which swell up when one is adventuring into a new area, and the ability to gain the help of others to achieve the goal.

Thirdly, it is noted that effective goal achievement demands the display of as many as possible of these, relatively independent, qualities. In other words, important human qualities like initiative are factorially heterogeneous. Not only are they factorially complex, they involve finely tuned interactions between the cognitive, affective, and conative components of the activity. It is a mistake, therefore, to believe that these components can be assessed independently.

It follows from what has been said that, if one wishes to measure such qualities, one must envisage maximally internally *heterogeneous* measurement devices, and not, as most psychometricians in the past have argued, devices of high internal consistency. Nevertheless, despite its conflict with tradition, the notion of a maximally heterogeneous measurement device can be legitimised by drawing an analogy with multiple-regression coefficients. These are computed by summing weights across a number of maximally *independent* variables. No one would argue that such coefficients are, for that reason, meaningless.

It should be noted just how dramatically different the model of behaviour, motivation and ability developed here is from that which has dominated psychometric thinking in the past. It asserts that it is *motivation*, not ability, which it is most important to assess. It asserts that important human qualities are factorially heterogeneous, not homogeneous. It asserts that behaviour is best to be understood and predicted from a knowledge of a

few dominant considerations, drawn from a much larger pool, which comes into play in particular situations, not from factor scores derived from a small number of variables. It asserts that *values* must be assessed as an integral component in any attempt to describe behaviour and cannot legitimately be separated from assessments of ability. It asserts that it is necessary to make use of a two-stage assessment procedure in which the *first* stage is to assess a person's values. Only then can one proceed to assess how many of a number of, relatively independent, components of competence the individual shows a spontaneous tendency to display in pursuit of his valued goals. It asserts that assessments of "ability" which are not made in the context of the individual's values are virtually meaningless. It asserts that these independent components of competence are cumulative in their impact and substitutable one for another.

Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the values which are to be assessed are *valued styles of behaviour* (e.g. affiliation behaviours, power behaviours, or achievement behaviours) and not values for objects (e.g. churches or paintings). This again contrasts sharply with most traditional "attitude" measures. In the past researchers have tended to measure attitudes *towards objects* rather than attitudes toward particular styles of behaviour. Thus, the approach has much more in common with the work of David McClelland and Martin Fishbein than with the work of most traditional attitude researchers.

On further analysis it turns out that the proposed model of competence and behaviour is even more radical than has so far been indicated. It emerges that, if we are to understand, describe and predict a person's behaviour, what we need to do is to list his dominant values, competencies, perceptions and expectations and the dominant pressures and institutional features present in his environment. This is not a dimensional, factorial, or Newtonian model (as exemplified in equations depicting the laws of motion). It is a categorical, atomic, or Daltonian model, as commonly encountered in *chemical* equations. Most psychologists in the past have tended to adopt a Newtonian framework in their thinking. For them, behaviour is to be described and "explained" as a mathematical function of people's scores on a limited number of personal and environmental variables (e.g. extroversion, "democratic culture"). The paradigm is exemplified in Newton's Laws of Motion: $s = ut + \frac{1}{2}ft^2$.

We are arguing that it is more appropriate to attempt to describe the, largely idiosyncratic, dominant characteristics of people and situations. It is the elements present, and the relationships between them, which are important. The "elements" to be identified are dominant values, competencies which are brought to bear spontaneously in pursuit of those valued goals, perceptions of the institutional framework in which the person concerned lives and works, and the reactions he expects from others. We should be working toward statements analogous to "Cupric oxide: will react in an environment containing copper and hydrochloric acid to produce cuprous chloride and water: $\text{CuO} + \text{Cu} + 2\text{HCl} = 2\text{CuCl} + \text{H}_2\text{O}$."

The reference to the chemical environment is not accidental. Not only is it essential to document the way the individual perceives his environment and the way he defines key terms in his thinking; the institutional framework in which he lives and works, and the shared values, perceptions and expectations of others, are critically important determinants of his behaviour. But they are to be combined with personal characteristics, not as suggested by the classic Lewinian formula ($B = f [P, E]$), but in a form analogous to a chemical equation. The reason for this is that changes in the environment will not necessarily produce a monotonic increase or decrease in particular behaviours, but, quite commonly, transformation of the individual and his behaviour — in exactly the same way as happens in chemistry.

While these observations will sound radical to all psychologists who are not thoroughly familiar with Kellian theory, their implications for the acceptability of the assessment procedures we have developed are serious. We find ourselves trying to justify what we have done to psychologists who have not yet come to question the most widely accepted assumptions and tenets of psychometry. The theory we have developed points to the need to collect a large amount of category data about the individual and the environment in which he is placed. Most psychologists want us to reduce it by applying traditional data-reduction techniques like factor analysis. Furthermore, the procedure certainly does produce information overload. Nevertheless, the way out of the difficulty is *not* to turn to the traditional model but to capitalise on developments in information technology which make it possible easily to handle large amounts of category-based data. In this way it is possible to draw these specific items which are to be used to characterise a particular individual's values and patterns of competence from a much larger pool, and to tailor the specific items to which he is asked to respond to his emergent response pattern.

Our data has not, however, been collected by computer. It has been collected using paper-and-pencil techniques. In interpreting these data we have, therefore, had to resist the temptation to resort to traditional, factor analytic, techniques of data reduction, rather we have had to seek patterns in the data and try to make sense of them — both in relation to individual values and patterns of competence, and in relation to shared expectations and beliefs. We have used the item statistics rather than factor scores. For the reasons which have been given, many people will nevertheless still both criticise our work for not having utilised those techniques and resist the labour involved in trying to sift through similar collections of data themselves.

Although the model of competence and its assessment presented above is radically different to that adopted by the dominant factorial school in psychology, measures based on these principles, as they have gradually emerged in our research, have been applied in a series of previous studies. They have proved to be sensitive to the effects of educational programmes and capable of pinpointing defects in those programmes. They have proved capable of highlighting why it is that different groups of people are unable to pursue their goals effectively. And they have proved capable of identifying

serious barriers to economic and social development. These validity studies are summarised in Chapter 13.

Parts VI & VII: The Edinburgh Questionnaires and the Results of a Preliminary Survey

In Chapter 15 *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* (which have been developed for use in organisational development and in staff guidance, placement and development) are described in some detail. The results of a preliminary survey (already summarised in Chapter 7) undertaken with the pilot versions of these questionnaires are presented in Part VII (Chapters 16 to 19). It cannot be too strongly emphasised that this book is not intended as yet another report to gather dust on shelves. It is intended as an extended *Manual* which will enable people to use the set of concepts and tools which we have developed and to contribute to their further development. Advance will come about most quickly, not by accumulating academic knowledge in the universities, but by getting the necessary concepts and tools into the hands of practitioners, citizens, teachers, employers, managers, administrators and politicians.

PART II

COMPETENCE IN MODERN SOCIETY

THE NEED FOR HIGH LEVEL COMPETENCIES IN MODERN SOCIETY

As has been indicated, the research summarised in this book has been concerned with finding better ways of thinking about, and assessing, motivation to display high level competencies such as initiative, leadership, and working effectively with others.

But what evidence is there that such qualities are important in the modern society and in the workplace in particular?

A series of studies (AnCO 1973; Little 1983; Gray *et al* 1983; Hunt and Small 1983) have all found that employers sought adaptability, enthusiasm, honesty, persistence, confidence, and ability to get on with others in their recruits.

Are employers merely window dressing or are their opinions correct?

Over the years, we have made several attempts to assess the qualities required in the workplace. In an early study (Morton-Williams *et al*, 1968) we studied the jobs entered by young school leavers. We asked them what they liked about their jobs, and we asked a cross section of adults (who were mostly employees of one sort or another) what qualities they thought it was important for the educational system to foster in children.

When we asked what qualities would be required to do the jobs entered by the young people we obtained the following list (Raven, 1977): the ability to work independently without continuous direction, the ability to act responsibly without being told to do so, the ability to take initiative without asking if one should do so, willingness to notice problems and to initiate the activities which would be needed to solve them, the ability to analyse new situations and bring known material to bear on them, the ability to get on with others, the ability to learn without instruction (sensitivity to one's experiences and the ability to continuously utilise otherwise unnoticed feedback from one's environment, to be 'an astute student of one's environment') and the ability to make good decisions based on good *judgment* — i.e. without having all the necessary material presented to one and without being able to feed that information into a mathematical calculation. The ex-pupils we interviewed were working in jobs which involved them in communicating, forecasting, leading, inventing, co-ordinating the work of others, persisting, trying to understand people and social situations, and dealing with group processes.

When we asked these ex-pupils who, it is important to note, had, five years earlier, been 'early leavers' from school, what they liked about their jobs, they said that they liked the responsibility they had; they liked being treated as mature and competent people rather than as irresponsible and incompetent children; they liked the fact that it was worth trying to make

the most of themselves and take initiative. In contrast to the situation which prevailed at school such qualities and activities were appreciated in the workplace. They liked being encouraged to make their own decisions and the fact that their views carried weight. They liked coping with varied and interesting situations which called on the exercise of diverse talents, rather than having to go through, to them, undimensional boring routine institutionalised in schools. They liked exercising the positive competencies they possessed rather than having to work continuously at lessons which they found too difficult, in which they were not interested, and which, as far as they could see, conferred no useful benefits on themselves or others. In short, they found themselves exercising the high level competencies mentioned earlier. Work was anything but the boring, routine, soul-destroying stultifying place which so many academics consider it to be. We should add one caution to the picture we have painted: in spite of the overall picture given by these results, one quarter of the young school leavers who were working in factories were dissatisfied with their employment. However, this fact, once again, can be used to underline the need to equip them with the real skills they would need — planning skills, self-confidence, initiative, the ability to learn without instruction, and the ability to understand social institutions — if they were either to move themselves out of those jobs or to set to work on the social environment of factories in order to make that environment less like schools and more suited to their needs.

A number of other studies support our own. In Flanagan and Burns' (1955) study, 2,500 descriptions of behaviour which critically distinguished effective from ineffective behaviour on the part of operatives were collected from 50 foremen. These were grouped into 33 categories which were later reduced to 16 job requirements which critically distinguished good from poor performance. These included the following: dependability, accuracy of reporting, tendency to respond to departmental needs without having to be given specific instructions, getting along with others, initiative and responsibility.

Sykes (1969) in a fascinating study of what is generally considered to be one of the least skilled groups of workers in our society, construction navvies, found that, to a very considerable extent, navvies had to work out where they should be and what they should be doing for themselves. Indeed, they had to disregard their foremen who were often mines of misinformation. The important competencies required seemed to be to understand an overall programme of activity and one's place in the whole without having to be given detailed directions, the ability to work with others, and the ability to realise that authority was wrong, take steps to appease it, and then go back to doing the right thing when the authority was out of the way. Responsibility and initiative seem to be called for in large measure.

Van Beinum's (1965) study of busmen is equally fascinating. Poor bus services arise, it seems, from such things as supervisors' inability to take drivers' complaints seriously, and their failure to look into them in a

responsible fashion. What is required of supervisors is the ability to decide responsibly when rules should be waived to meet the needs of the situation, ability to understand the position in which others are placed and the way in which one can make their job easier or more difficult, and the ability to see the service provided by the bus company in relation to society as a whole. The study also shows the tendency of management to (ineffectively) recruit unto itself all decision-making functions and to believe that others are incapable of making good decisions and, as a result, cut itself off from a great deal of relevant information.

That these qualities are important for effective performance in managerial roles hardly needs demonstrating. Yet the inability of many supervisors and managers to listen to, and make use of, information which is available to them, to make good judgments and decisions, to lead in a fashion which will release the energies of others in the pursuit of joint goals, to encourage subordinates to be sensitive to problems and take steps to do something about them, to pay attention to, and take steps to do something about, organisational and psychological barriers to effective action, is staggering.

In our own work in a wide variety of organisations qualities like responsibility, initiative, and leadership seemed to be required at all levels in all organisations.

Following this brief introduction we may now review studies of the competencies and motivational dispositions required in the workplace more systematically. In fact we will not confine ourselves to the competencies required in the workplace, because so many of us are now public servants or their equivalents, and if it is not our job to think about how society works and to seek to influence what happens, then whose job is it?

We will begin by reviewing some studies of leaders and managers and then turn to a review of the competencies required by professionals. Thereafter we will examine the competencies which people need if they are to conduct their lives effectively in out-of-work settings.

Leaders and Managers

Jaques (1976) provides an important analysis of the qualities needed for representative leadership (in which a leader is accountable to his followers) and managerial leadership (in which followers are accountable to their leaders).

He first points out that it is misleading to regard managerial hierarchies as based purely on *economic* exchange. They are based on *social* exchange:

"It is not just a matter of the manager's saying 'Do this, it's what you're paid for!'; it is requisitely a matter of his saying, 'I want this task done and I am assigning it to you; I am accountable for assessing the outcome, and for keeping a running appraisal of your competence; if you do well, I shall arrange for you to be rewarded within the limits of the resources allocated to me, and I shall also see to it that you are considered by those higher up for advancement; I believe that I will act justly towards you, but if you feel that I do not, then you have access to an appeal procedure in which you can cause any of my decisions about

you to be reviewed by managers higher up the system; neither of us is infallible, and I expect you to do your best and I will do my best towards you. Thus if you have any suggestions to make, let me have them; you must adhere to the rules and regulations which are binding upon us both, but within those prescribed limits you will have the freedom to exercise your own discretion in carrying out your tasks without undue interference from me.”

He then continues:

“Managerial leadership has a number of important characteristics. The manager must have the ability to set tasks or general responsibilities in a manner comprehensible to his subordinate. He must be able further to provide terms of reference which will set the context of direction and boundaries and enable the subordinate to understand what he has to do in connection with the wider setting to which the work is relevant. This setting of frameworks is sometimes best done with all his immediate subordinates together, and the manager will have to be proficient in conducting such meetings. They are not committee meetings and he is not the ‘chairman’. They are consultation events in which he has the opportunity to set directions and to hear the views, reactions and suggestions of his subordinates in the light of their practical experience. The decisions at such meetings are his decisions. The act of leadership calls for a willingness on his part to allow his integrity and competence to be reviewed, and to make the decisions having heard and considered what his subordinates have had to say; it is not for him to abdicate by submerging his managerial identity in the group and taking part in so-called group decisions. . . .”

“He must be able to demonstrate that his decision is at least one of the reasonable possibilities, and that he has given serious attention to optimizing future employment opportunities. He must give the continual assurance that he accepts full accountability for what he is doing. . . . He must demonstrate his willingness to rely upon his judgment, to decide what to do, to scrutinize and evaluate his judgments in the light of experience, and to modify course when events dictate change. . . .”

“Furthermore, along with the tasks he decides to assign to each subordinate, the immediate manager will be the most potent factor in determining whether each subordinate is able to achieve equilibrium between his work-capacity, level of work and his payment. His credibility as a leader will depend upon his ability to assign tasks matching his subordinate’s work-capacity. Here lies the core of his relationship with each of his subordinates. And it must be remembered that it is through each one individually that he will be able to get his work done. It is the manager’s ability to put each subordinate at full stretch, to have each work at a time-span consistent with his work-capacity, which is the mark of sound leadership.”

“Along with providing a level of work which calls upon each subordinate’s full ability, the manager must be able to assess whether the subordinate is giving of his best.”

It is important to note that in his analysis Jaques has not only drawn attention to the competencies required of managers, he has also underlined the importance of shared understandings of the way things should be done in the workplace. Many of these understandings are conspicuous by their absence at the present time. We will return to a discussion of such understandings in Chapter 4.

Jaques' work is also valuable for underlining the importance of the ability to conceptualise. Jaques argues that the finding that "cognitive development" plateaus in adolescence is a measurement artefact. In fact, he argues, properly measured, the ability to conceptualise — the ability to represent sets of relationships by mental images and to sequentially review symbols standing for sets of knowledge and relationships — matures throughout life if the people concerned are placed in an appropriate environment. His conclusions have also been supported by the work of Winter (1979), Klemp, Munger & Spencer (1977), Oeser & Emery (1958), a number of others who have studied innovation in agriculture [see Raven and Molloy (1969) for a summary], and by the work of Kohn and Schooler (1978). In the course of a longitudinal study these last researchers show both that entry to, and exit from, occupations is heavily dependent on intellectual flexibility and that such flexibility is markedly influenced by the substantive complexity of the work being carried out. As will be seen later, we would ourselves prefer to identify the necessary competence as a *motivational disposition* and argue that part of the problem is that assessments of "cognitive ability" which are not made in relation to a goal which the individual cares about are relatively meaningless (Raven, 1980).

McClelland and Burnham (1976) studied industrial and military leaders. More effective leaders were more often than less effective leaders characterised by a tendency to seek to understand what lay behind what other people were saying — to understand their *unexpressed* views — and by a predisposition to make people feel that they were both capable of solving their own problems and willing to do so. The importance of the tendency to empathise with others in a way which leads the person concerned to understand the other's problem has been identified in studies of a large number of professions, including medicine, law, and the "helping" professions.

Klemp, Munger and Spencer (1977) reported a study of the leadership and management competencies needed in the Navy. They distinguished between *threshold* motivational dispositions — which are essential for *all* leaders and managers in the Navy (and which include concern with achievement and socialised power) — and the competencies required to carry out leadership and management activities particularly *effectively*. Among the latter they identified the need for the ability and the spontaneous tendency to conceptualise (cf Jaques), to delegate (including the tendency to create a clear framework of responsibility for subordinates), to help subordinates to develop their competence (by, among other things, encouraging them to share in one's normally private thoughts and feelings and by providing them with an example, through one's own personal behaviour, of the components of competence, by deliberately creating developmental work situations for them, and by encouraging subordinates to develop themselves), to influence (by persuading others, building coalitions to influence others, and making others feel strong), to monitor results and to seek and utilise feedback, to optimise the use of resources (by thinking about others' strengths and competencies, matching people to jobs and construing *as* resources things which others would have overlooked), and to plan and organise (including the tendency to anticipate obstacles, to schedule tasks,

to resolve conflicting priorities, and to build teams). Winter (1979) designed and evaluated management education and training programmes to foster just these high level competencies and motivational dispositions.

Raven (1984) and Raven, Johnstone & Varley (1984) analysed the qualities which seemed to result in head teachers being able to manage their schools in such a way that their staff could achieve the schools' goals. Critical competencies seemed to be the ability to create climates conducive to innovation within the school, the ability to communicate an understanding of their goals and how they were to be achieved to their staff, an ability to release the energy, enthusiasm, and initiative of their subordinates, and an ability to analyse, and intervene to influence, the wider social forces which operate to deflect schools from their goals.

Klemp, Huff and Gentile (1980) studied the role of leadership in the introduction of innovative college programmes. They found that effective leaders had a clearer and more articulate vision and sense of mission than others. This enabled them to introduce a sense of direction, and to prioritise, in a manner which was less characteristic of others. It was not that they had an exact prescription of what things should look like — but they had an unusual feel for the direction in which things should move. They were more concerned with building a positive image of the programme — for insiders and outsiders alike — than were their less effective colleagues. They were more confident that they could take on difficult tasks to which the answer was not known and learn as they went along. They were less likely to fear challenge from others and, because of this, were more prepared to recruit others whom they felt were more competent than they were themselves. They were more likely to monitor their own behaviour in order to learn how to improve it and they were less likely to blame others for things which went wrong. They were more inclined to spend time thinking about the motives and abilities of others and how they could be developed and utilised. This served them well both in staff management and in dealing with outsiders. They used concrete analogies to enter into others' frame of reference and get their point across. They linked thoughts and ideas in ways which were not obvious beforehand and made sense of confusing and complicated situations. They were continuously on the look-out for ways in which they could move towards their goals — not necessarily directly. They strove to reduce red-tape and were unusually concerned to find effective ways of getting important things done. They prioritised and sought ways round obstacles. They were more inclined to monitor the performance of their subordinates and more willing to intervene when it was not up to standard. They kept track of people's competencies and interests and called on them when they needed them. They developed and maintained both internal and external networks of contacts. And they took calculated risks instead of playing safe.

Raven and Dolphin (1978) studied managers in a wide range of organisations ranging from the Civil Service through banks to small manufacturing firms. One of the biggest problems which seemed to plague these organisations was the fact that few people appeared to have any clear idea what

management and leadership was all about. Reference to that report will show that not only did many managers not have a clear idea of what their *job* was, still fewer had thought clearly about the types of *activity* in which they would need to engage to do their jobs effectively. Nor was the problem entirely theirs, for the range of things which their subordinates accused them of not doing was extremely varied.

While acknowledging that there is a need for a wide range of different management styles, and that not all managers would be expected to need to do all the things which are listed below, it did seem to us that there was very little recognition of the need for managers to:

- . Think about the competencies of their staff and how best to deploy and develop them, and how to prevent them from doing things which they were not good at.
- . Create a climate in which their subordinates were willing to take responsibility for doing something about things which were wrong. This might involve ceasing to do something which was unnecessary, doing something which was necessary but which it was nobody's particular responsibility to do, or doing their task more effectively.
- . Create a climate of enthusiasm and dedication in which people were expected, as a matter of course, to innovate, to try new ways of doing things, and to take risks in an endeavour to innovate.
- . Examine *systems* barriers to the effective operation of their sections and organisations.
- . Think out new things which their staff might usefully do, and seek to gain control over the wider organisational and societal structures which prevented them working effectively.
- . Encourage their staff to bring relevant competencies and knowledge to bear in order to find better ways of doing things and new tasks to be done.
- . Establish *cost-effective* (rather than over-costly) procedures for monitoring the quality of the work which was done.
- . Endeavour to ensure that when suggestions were made these were not dismissed by themselves or by others without careful exploration of their possible merits and potential.
- . Endeavour to ensure that potentially risky activities were turned to advantage by bringing additional resources to bear to solve previously unforeseen problems, rather than insist that all proposed actions should be planned out in detail beforehand in order to ensure that no risk was involved.
- . Listen to the unexpressed, often unacceptable, and barely recognised, thoughts and feelings which lie behind what people say, so that they could be brought to the surface and appropriate action taken.
- . Seek to minimise mistakes by ensuring that others were competent to make good decisions rather than by taking all decisions themselves.

Monitor the effects of their leadership actions in order to learn more about the nature and workings of the organisation with which they were trying to deal, and how others react to their initiatives, so as to be able to release the knowledge, competence, and goodwill of their subordinates.

Raven and Dolphin (1978) also found themselves analysing leadership (managerial) behaviour, and perceptions and expectations related to such issues as management, decision-taking, and staff placement, development, guidance and promotion in organisations. As time went on, more and more effort was devoted to thinking about the relationship between individuals and firms and the management structure of society — the government and the civil service. Although it may be felt that this part of the study would best be discussed when we come to consider the competencies required by individuals in their life outside of work, this is not the case — for the issues we will be dealing with have centrally to do with behaviour and attitudes required at work.

The importance of a whole new set of perceptions, expectations and competencies came into focus in the course of this study. It became obvious that one of the chief problems facing our society is that relatively few people are engaged in analysing its operation as a system — as a managed economy — and thinking about the institutional structures and patterns of incentive and motivation which are required if it is to run effectively. Still fewer are engaged in thinking about the nature of the monitoring systems which are required to provide for, and evaluate, diversity within a managed economy. How should an employee envisage his role in a managed economy? What competencies does he require to think through the consequences of his actions and to reflect on how to improve the goods or services required by the customers and clients of his organisation when there is no market mechanism through which his judgement can be tested?

There are several issues of importance to personnel concerned with staff development here: what perceptions and expectations is it appropriate for them to lead people to have — perceptions of themselves, their society, their role in that society both as citizens and as employees, and the role of others in society? What concepts and competencies do they require to think about the operation of their society, to invent means of running it more effectively, and to take effective initiatives to improve it as a socio-technical system? What patterns of motivation, and what beliefs and perceptions, will enable them to work effectively with others to increase the quality of life — the “wealth” — of everyone in society, instead of resorting to unscrupulous techniques to get a greater share of what is perceived to be a limited amount of “wealth”, the quantity of which is assumed to be determined by the availability of physical, rather than human, resources?

The importance of certain goals in what is often termed the “civics” area of staff development also came to the fore in a study carried out in Ireland (Raven, 1973, Raven, Whelan *et. al.*, 1976, Raven, 1980, 1981). This study, like so much of the work reported here, unexpectedly grew out of the previously mentioned research programme concerned with human

resources, values, attitudes and institutional structures associated with the development of different types of society — and especially with economic and social development. When we embarked on the study we envisaged that we would be mainly concerned with trying to improve our ways of thinking about qualities like innovativeness, the desire to do new things well, and the ability to work with others. No one was more surprised than we were ourselves when we found that we were handling a hot potato which involved us in documenting people's perceptions of the workings of the political system and their own role, and that of their fellow citizens, in it.

This is not the place to summarise the results of this work in any detail, but enough may be said to indicate that current perceptions, beliefs and expectations in this area seem to be a far cry indeed from those which the work we have just reviewed would lead us to consider desirable.

While those who took part in our studies recognised that "the government" is indeed the main factor responsible for economic and social development at the present time, three-fifths believed that what was needed was a strong leader in whom the people could put their faith, rather than the evolution, through public debate, of a workable set of policies. They thought that public opinion was so varied that no consensus would be possible. About half felt that a leader could not be expected to make much progress if he listened to the views of others and took account of what they said. He should find out what the people wanted, but he should then go ahead and give them what he himself believed to be best for all. Citizens, it was thought, should *not* go out of their way to make their views known to him; if they did so they would be likely to deflect him from the straight and narrow path which he was expected to find and to follow. For these reasons the leader should be accountable only to those above him, and ultimately to God, not to the people.

An exactly parallel set of perceptions and expectations existed in relation to the workplace. If Jaques is right, these attitudes are appropriate insofar as citizens did not want to do their politicians' (or their managers') jobs for them. It is the leader's job to gather information and make judgments about what should be done. What is, perhaps, less appropriate is, firstly, that citizens and employees did not think it was part of *their* job to try to think through the wider social issues of which they had become aware or draw specific information to the attention of their leaders — despite the fact that it was they, and not their leaders, who were in a position to notice the problems and build up the necessary store of understanding and expertise which was required to tackle them. The second set of apparently dysfunctional beliefs was that our informants were not, on the whole, prepared to be part of a system which would hold their leaders and managers accountable to those below them, still less to be part of a system which would hold them accountable for the quality of their *judgment*. (Put another way, using Jaques' terminology, they had not developed an adequate concept of representative leadership.) The dangers inherent in a system of accountability which only goes upward are immediately obvious.

A rather different set of problems may be associated with the fact that, while there was an extremely widespread desire for a better standard of living, the view that it was *generally* possible for things to be organised in such a way that *all* the parties were better off was relatively uncommon. This was accompanied by a feeling that the acknowledged inequalities within society were just. The poor were poor because of their own indolence, not because of the inadequacies of the institutional structures of society. (Civil servants and administrators were, therefore, unnecessary — and indeed everyone except the people who held the key to administering and evaluating public policy in such a way as to cater in an equitable way for the different sectors of society which make up the population).

Two things would seem to follow from these results. One is that personnel concerned with the development of human resources have an important role to play in ushering in more appropriate beliefs, perceptions and expectations. The other is that we urgently need social innovators who can invent new systems and ways of thinking about them. We urgently need research to identify the significant characteristics of the social innovators we already have, and the situations which have enabled them to do their work effectively, so that we can create more of them. We will return to this theme in little while.

Professional Groups

McClelland and Dailey (1974) studied social workers and isolated several factors which were responsible for differentiating superior from average performance. These factors included faith in the ability of other people to change their behaviour; sensitivity to, and the ability to notice and diagnose, human problems; the ability to arrive at realistic non-judgmental goals with clients; imagination in thinking up ways of reconciling clients' needs with departmental policies; persistence in pursuing solutions; the ability to remain task-orientated under stress; and the ability to get people to work together in liaison activities.

It is useful to contrast this list with the specifications which emerge from a job description couched in terms of behavioural objectives. These include: "working in a counselling relationship with clients", "establishing rapport", "making informed referrals where necessary", "making telephone and personal contacts with agencies for, and about, clients", "having knowledge about specific community environments", "processing benefits for clients within the framework of departmental policies", and "making home visits". There are few, if any, indicators in such a list of the abilities and other characteristics required to perform these tasks competently. It would therefore appear to be more meaningful to discover, foster, and measure, the generic qualities which are associated with effective behaviour than to discover, and endlessly document, these specific behaviours. The focus is on the *people* who perform well in many situations and not on the tasks to be done; the latter are too transient and too unstable.

This discussion also draws attention to the need to distinguish between all the tasks which it is necessary for those employed in a particular job to carry

out and those which differentiate superior from average workers in the job. Thus, McClelland and Dailey (1973) found that, while it was widely believed that superior writing ability was required for U.S. diplomats, what actually differentiated superior diplomats from others was not "writing ability", but the ability to write *with sensitivity to political issues*; i.e. the *spontaneous tendency* (or motivational disposition) to pay attention to such issues and not mere mechanical *ability*. This pre-eminence of motivational dispositions has, as we have seen, become a recurring theme in our work.

Raven (1984) analysed the competencies required for effective teaching. Effective teachers seemed to require the ability to analyse and think about how to foster the personal qualities of each of their pupils, the ability to interpret the reactions of their pupils and how best to build on those reactions, the ability to portray through action their own values and priorities and the, normally private, patterns of thinking and feeling which contribute to effective behaviour, and the ability to understand and effectively influence wider social forces from outside the school which normally constrain what they can do. Psychological and sociological understanding and political nous therefore seemed to be primary requirements for effective teaching despite the fact that the psychology and sociology required would not normally be included in any academic course available to them.

Schneider, Klemp and Kastendiek (1981) also studied the qualities required by effective teachers. They found that the critical factor which distinguished effective college teachers and mentors from their less effective peers was their ability to balance student centredness — responsiveness to students' needs, interests and concerns — with *directiveness* — ability to give meaning and direction to the students' studies. Effective faculty had to work hard to understand student concerns and to identify what they had brought with them to the situation, but then to become fairly directive about what needed to be done to enhance the development of the student along lines which he would find useful and interesting.

Price, Taylor *et al* (1971) studied the distinctive qualities of effective doctors. Assessments were obtained from patients, nurses, peers, and administrators. Data were also collected from biographical questionnaires and by observation. Over 80 criterion assessments were used. 25 *independent* ways in which doctors might demonstrate excellence emerged from factor analysis of these results. The factors included several different types of patient care, ability to work with other professionals (e.g. nurses), financial success, contributions to medical organisations, academic output, and contributions to non-medical organisations in society. *None* of these measures of performance were positively correlated with assessments made of the doctor's ability as a student.

Not only could doctors be outstanding in many different ways, different groups of people wanted their doctors to possess different characteristics. Thus, low socio-economic status adults particularly wanted their doctors to be decisive and authoritative, whilst college-educated people were much more likely than others to want their doctors to pay attention to their

emotional and psychosomatic disorders, and to discuss their illness and treatment with them (interestingly enough, doctors themselves rarely thought that it was important to do either of these things).

Qualities which make for success as businessmen, entrepreneurs, or innovators

There have now been a large number of studies of the personal characteristics which make for success in business, whether as a farmer, shopkeeper, manufacturer or technological innovator. Again, there is a remarkable degree of similarity between the findings of the various studies. Much of the earlier work has been reviewed by Pickle (1964), Raven and Molloy (1969) and Hornaday and Bunker (1970). Here reference may be made to the work of Litwin and Siebrecht (1967), Oeser and Emery (1958), and Roberts and Wainer (1966).

Litwin and Siebrecht (1967) contrasted successful middle managers in a hospital with successful entrepreneurs. They found that successful entrepreneurs tended to value achievement goals and engage in many types of behaviour which would be likely to result in their effective achievement. They were also more likely than others to be concerned with, and engage in behaviour which would be likely to result in successful achievement of, power goals. They were, however, often poorly used by larger organisations because their tendency to set and achieve their own goals tended to be feared by their superiors. People who were successful at “fixing” things and getting people to work together effectively were much more concerned than were these entrepreneurs to establish positive relationships between people. Such people, like entrepreneurs, were, however, frequently poorly appreciated in large organisations because they tended to work behind the scenes and let others take the credit.

Litwin and Siebrecht's work has been replicated by a number of other researchers working with Kirton's (1977) elegant and impressive *Adaptation-Innovation Inventory*. As would be expected, successful businessmen and scientists tended to get high scores on innovativeness. However, a number of other findings have emerged which alter the interpretation placed on many previous results. Thus Kirton (1980) found that Adapters tended to find creative solutions to their problems — but did so *within* the dominant assumptions and ways of thinking of their organisations. Innovators' solutions tended to *challenge* these ways of thinking. For this reason, Adapters tended to see Innovators as unsound, abrasive, and over-cavalier. They thought of them as generators of turbulent environments — which they themselves did not like. The results have disturbing implications for the process through which scientific activity is organised in a socialised economy — particularly as further studies have shown that *none* of the members of “peer review” committees in the Research Councils which were studied scored high on innovativeness. Those who sat on such panels therefore had no first-hand knowledge of the *actual* processes of innovation, scientific advance, and development. They were, therefore, ignorant of the realities of the processes on which they

were passing judgment. Innovators, for their part, were unwilling to sit on committees sifting through endless applications. Indeed, they viewed the whole process of drafting applications as an anathema because it bore so little resemblance to the actual process of advancing science. The implications for the process of developing science and innovation in a socialised economy are therefore extremely serious.

Oeser and Emery (1958) found that different *types* of entrepreneurial activity were associated with different motive patterns. Thus, a desire to make money led to short-term measures to increase profitability, and these short-term measures often resulted in the elimination of the very activities which would make for greater success in the long-term. Conversely, a desire to do things better than they had been done before (perhaps because only by doing this could the person concerned justify himself in his own eyes, perhaps because of an intense interest in problem-solving, or perhaps because of a desire to contribute to national and international development) led to long-term planning, and the implementation of more risky projects. This work, like McClelland's, is important because it shows that many businessmen are, contrary to popular belief, not exploitative. They often have the long-term interests of their community and the world at heart. It is also important in that it shows that the same psychological characteristics are associated with entrepreneurial success even when the following variables are held constant: business size, capital, conceptual skill, and (peer assessed) laziness. Nevertheless, of course, all of these variables did exert an independent effect on effectiveness. Within these categories what distinguished the more successful from the others was their level of interest in ideas and the extent to which they had established a wide cosmopolitan network of people who were able to encourage and support them in their work.

Roberts (1968) and Roberts and Wainer (1966), studied successful innovators. While the general population of ideas-men included many who were particularly concerned to do new things well and many who were anxious to find better ways of thinking about things, and did what was necessary to achieve *their* goals, what particularly distinguished those who were successful in getting their ideas implemented from the others was their extraordinary commitment to the idea and getting it accepted. To do this they had to mount a campaign, using any and every means of pressure to get it accepted — complete with fifth column activity and guerilla warfare. Even when the innovator left a large corporation to pursue his work, such activity was still essential — because his customer was the government. The research clearly demonstrates why it is that, as Taylor, Smith and Ghiselin (1963) showed, effective teams of scientists require some ideas men, some backroom boys who generate ideas and new ways of thinking about and doing things, and some front men who publicise the unit's work to others and obtain the necessary funding.

Characteristics of Creative People

A great deal of research has been carried out on the qualities required by creative individuals: whether scientists, engineers, architects, writers,

historians or managers. A remarkably consistent picture has emerged. A selection of the relevant studies are those of Witty (1951), Lehman (1953), Cattell (1963), MacKinnon (1962), Taylor and Barron (1963), McClelland (1961), Torrance (1965), Crockett (1966), Hudson (1966) and Barron and Egan (1968). These investigators have used a wide range of methods including clinical interviews, projective techniques, social survey interviews, biographical questionnaires, and personality tests constructed by factor analysis.

Creative people (or, at least, people who are regarded as creative by their peers) tend to be highly intelligent, autonomous, self-sufficient, and self-directing. They tend to be resistant to social pressure, to be profoundly sceptical, and to take nothing on trust from authority. They are inclined to be strongly motivated to achieve in situations in which independence of thought and action are called for, but not in situations in which conformity is demanded or required. They are more likely than others to be introverted in the sense of being controlled, untalkative, and unsociable, but they are inclined to be self-confident in personal and social inter-action and outspoken, sharp-witted, demanding and aggressive. Nevertheless, they tend to dislike personally toned controversy. As a group, they like abstract thinking and have a very high tolerance for cognitive ambiguity. They are inclined to seek out situations in which they can maximise the subjective return on their own activities. They tend to be uninhibited in expressing worries and complaints — a fact which earns them high neuroticism and psychoticism scores on psychological tests. They tend to be respected, rather than liked, by others.

In self-descriptions, MacKinnon's creative architects, more often than other architects, described themselves as inventive, determined, independent, individualistic, enthusiastic, and industrious. Less creative people more often described themselves as responsible, sincere, reliable, dependable, clear thinking, tolerant and understanding.

At school, creative individuals are inclined to be opinionated and disruptive. They tend to be disliked by their teachers and by their peers, and they are often not given credit for the important contributions they make to the achievement of group goals or the development of other children. They generally work individually and do not easily subscribe to group goals. On the whole, teachers considerably under-rate them in grading although such students usually perform at least averagely on attainment tests. Revens (1975) has found that highly creative and innovative people who learn on their own tend also not to be dependent on their teachers' approval. They therefore neither seek out their teachers for instruction, nor in order to obtain their approval. People less able to learn on their own take up a disproportionate amount of their teachers' and superiors' time. Because of their lack of contact with their superiors, pupils who are better able to learn on their own are under-rated in assessments. At college their overall performance is about average, but it tends to be achieved by a combination of very high and very low grades; the results being dependent on their mood and interest.

Several studies of the backgrounds of highly creative and achievement-oriented people have been made. These are summarised in Chapter 10 where we discuss ways in which the qualities identified in this chapter can be fostered and released.

Characteristics of People Responsible for Economic Development

As has been indicated, economic development tends to occur when there is an appropriate balance of people with different dominant concerns within a society. However, it is particularly dependant on a large number of people being anxious to find ways of doing new things well, to find better ways of doing things, or to find ways of doing things more effectively. People who are concerned to do these things are often not particularly anxious to make money. Nor are they often particularly conspicuous. On the other hand, a desire to make money, as Keynes, Oeser and Emery, and others have noted, often results in exploitative behaviour in which the people concerned gain at the expense of others, rather than creating an overall climate in which everyone benefits.

The syndrome which, when widely present in a society, is most clearly associated with economic development (in both Capitalist and Communist societies; in free-market and in “managed” economies; and in ancient and modern societies) has been labelled as “need for Achievement” — and it has been very widely studied by McClelland and his colleagues.

In order to highlight the main conclusions which have emerged from this work as briefly as possible the qualifications with which one would wish to hedge the results have been omitted in the summary which follows. These qualifications will be found in the detailed summary which is available in McClelland (1961). Here it is sufficient to emphasise that few people display *all* of the characteristics which will be mentioned; there is simply a tendency for achievement-oriented individuals to be more likely to display them than other people.

Their Thoughts

Highly achievement-orientated individuals devote a great deal of their spontaneous thought to:

- thinking about how to improve on things — how to do things better than they have been done before, or how to do something unusual.
- making plans to achieve their objectives and anticipating obstacles to their accomplishment.

Feelings

Highly achievement-orientated people tended to:

- take pride in having done things well, to positively enjoy it.
- anticipate the delight of achievement.
- experience unhappiness when not achieving.

Behaviour

- They continually seek evidence of how well they are doing: they like, and seek out, tasks where they can see this happening. As a result they often find their way into business, where they can tell from their income how well they are doing, although they are not particularly interested in having the money to spend. In fact, they will only work hard when a problem is interesting in its own right.
- Unlike other people, they will not work hard at a boring task for the sake of financial reward alone.
- When making plans they set realistic but challenging targets rather than targets which are either over-optimistic or easily attainable.
- They make full use of their experience and maximise feelings of success. Even when confronted with such an apparently trivial task as throwing rings over pegs, they, when given an opportunity to decide how far away to stand from the peg, tend to think "Well, I'm not really an athlete, I have no experience of this task", and proceed to stand at whatever distance will maximise their subjective feelings of success. They don't stand right up next to it or too far away.
- They seek tasks they can control; tasks where they can rely on their own skill and judgment. They appear to others to take risks but are often aware of resources which are not known to observers and they can bring these to bear to *ensure* that the activity is successful. When gambling, they favour safe bets. They work hard at tasks they are interested in, but not at others. They often work very long hours — whether they are businessmen, doctors, or university lecturers.
- They seek tasks which are neither too difficult nor too easy for them.

It should be noted that highly achievement-oriented individuals are not always successful financially. For example, they may go bankrupt as a result of trying to make the best steam engine rather than the one which will maximise financial return. But one can see how a number of such people trying to do what is realistically best will contribute a great deal to the economic and social development of the society in which they live.

It should also be mentioned that these people are often not well known or prominent. People who are prominent tend to be concerned with power. And it is this variable, rather than concern with achievement, that differentiates between executives in large and small concerns: both are concerned with achievement, but the person who stays in a small concern tends to be very concerned to retain his power and control as well. People who are well known as outstanding scientists (such as those we have already discussed) also tend to be distinguished from others more by the degree of their concern with power than their degree of concern with achievement. This is partly because writing many publications (a) inhibits the production of new ideas and understanding and (b) is usually indulged in in order to 'get on', become famous, or to secure promotion — something in which people high

in need for achievement (n.ach. for short) are not particularly interested. It is also partly because an advance in knowledge often does involve organised team work and the ability to obtain funds for research. As Kirton (1980) and others have shown, people who are interested in advancing understanding are particularly poor at conforming to the sort of criteria that would get them research money: they are not good at conforming to the rather arbitrary criteria of quality laid down by administrative and other academics who have little experience of creative work and who are themselves more concerned with gaining control over others by manipulating cash flows, than with creative work itself. Highly achievement-orientated scientists, engineers and businessmen appear to have difficulty framing applications for grants according to rules, even though they need the money to do their work. They really want to set out into the unknown. As a result, they cannot say what their goals are, and how they are going to reach them, until they are well along the road toward them. Their goals will then become clearer and they will then invent the methods which are necessary to achieve them. They know from experience that they are capable of clarifying their goals as they go along, and finding ways of overcoming obstacles — so they tend not to be too concerned about the lack of clarity. They therefore tend to refrain from crossing bridges before they come to them. Those they know how to cross are uninteresting and nothing is to be gained from setting down what they know. Conversely, they cannot yet specify the tactics they are going to use to cross those they have not yet encountered. They are concerned with doing new things well, not with manipulating man-made systems, and their dislike of hypocrisy makes them unwilling to be deceptive and pretend that they are going to do something which has been done before whilst planning to do another. Effective teams of scientists and engineers therefore seem to need to be headed by power-oriented individuals who raise funds, manipulate funding agencies, and publicise work done by their colleagues as if it were their own. But they need to be staffed by highly achievement-oriented “back room boys” who produce the ideas and further understandings. In Kirton’s terms, they need to be headed by adaptors and manned by innovators, although this makes for considerable tensions within the team because the two groups fail to understand, and sympathise with, each other’s priorities.

From what has been said it will be clear that people with a strong desire to achieve do not necessarily need to work on their own: they can work effectively in large organisations. The key question is whether they have sufficient opportunity to exercise their skill and discretion and to observe whether their actions produce the desired effects.

Finally, it should be mentioned that people who are very achievement-oriented are often not aware of this fact themselves, for they have no yardstick against which to judge themselves. Indeed they often feel inadequate on this score. They are simply not aware that other people are not preoccupied with doing new things well, making plans to achieve these goals, thinking of the pleasures of success, and anticipating the obstacles in the way of their achievements.

Some other attitudes, which are not part of the need achievement syndrome but which are also important from the point of view of economic development also deserve to be mentioned:

- if people trust each other, it is possible to develop much more elaborate systems of co-operation and trade.
- if people take their standards from informed public opinion, as expressed in good newspapers, rather than from traditional authorities (such as Aristotle, Marx, Adam Smith, or even Keynes) it is much easier for beneficial new procedures to be introduced and bad ones criticised and discarded.
- if people are willing to give help when they are asked, without the person in need having to resort to threats such as getting the church or the law to intervene to induce compliance, then society can develop more easily. A supportive and helpful climate rather than minimum spontaneous involvement in the activities of others is therefore indicated.

LIFE OUTSIDE OF WORK

So far we have looked mainly at studies of the competencies which people require at work. What about their life outside of work?

Three studies will be summarised. One is a study of the quality of the lives of 30-year olds in the United States, reported by Flanagan and Russ-Eft in 1975. The second is our own study of the problems encountered by two groups of mothers in Edinburgh (Raven, 1980). The third is a study of adults living in a very depressed area of rural Ireland reported by Benedict in 1976. The greatest information gap in the area is perhaps the absence of any study of the competencies required by women in the home — of their need to be able to do such things as make good decisions, support others, listen to what lies behind what others say, and arrive at good judgments.

As a result of an extensive programme of exploratory and pilot work (based on critical-incident studies), Flanagan and Russ-Eft devised a questionnaire on which people were asked to rate the importance of each of 15 dimensions of life satisfaction, together with their levels of satisfaction on each dimension.

Most people thought that it was very important to have good mental health, to have a close relationship with a spouse, to have interesting work, to develop their minds, and to have material comforts. Less than half thought that it was important to participate in central or national government (a finding which stands in stark relief against what will be said in Chapter 5 about the role of government in society), to socialise, or to express themselves in a creative manner.

Turning to the ratings of satisfaction (as distinct from the ratings of importance), the lowest levels of satisfaction were obtained for participation in government, developing their minds, and expressing themselves in a creative manner. The one item which was rated as both important and less than satisfactory by many people was developing their minds. (To avoid misunderstanding it should be noted that the examples which those

who were interviewed gave of developing their minds included such things as attending judo classes and repairing their cars.)

When one asks oneself what competencies would be required if those concerned were to do something about their dissatisfactions, one is forced to ask what attitudes, motivations and behaviour are required to study one's own talents and think out how best to develop and utilise them, make one's society run more effectively, and to get on with others.

In our own work (Raven, 1980), we not only asked mothers to say how important each of a series of potential life satisfactions were to them and how satisfied they were with each, but also what they thought would happen if they tried to do something about one of the (perhaps unrecognised) problems to which they had drawn attention by rating one of the quality of life domains both important and unsatisfactory.

Two samples of mothers of young children were interviewed. One was of mothers living in Low Socio-Economic Status (LSES) areas of Edinburgh. The other was of mothers living in High Socio-Economic Status (HSES) areas of the city.

Items for which high or moderate levels of importance were recorded accompanied by high levels of dissatisfaction would seem to merit consideration as foci for adult education programmes. From the data it seemed that educational programmes might focus on: the part people could play in creating a society offering a wide variety of jobs, the part they could play in creating a society in which there was little vandalism, the part they could play in ensuring that the good things available in society were shared out more fairly (although this applied to the LSES group only), the part they could play in establishing a wider choice of school for their children, the steps they could take to ensure that all energies, talents and abilities are recognised, developed and utilised, the steps they could take to get planners and officials to take their views seriously, the actions they could engage in to influence what happens in their community (although only the HSES group seemed to have a felt need for this), the strategies they could use to get their doctor to listen to them, and the strategies they could use to encourage schools to offer a wider variety of courses.

There were significant levels of dissatisfaction with the organisation of the community in which they lived among LSES people, but this was of relatively little importance to them. The same was true, for both groups, for having a school system which met their children's own particular needs and a government which met their needs if these happened to be different from those of other people. If people came to believe that these aspects of their social environment were *important*, the existing levels of dissatisfaction mean that these would be areas in which they would be receptive to appropriate types of adult education.

The message seems to be clear: the problems which bug the members of our society have very little to do with individual knowledge and ability deficits. They have much more to do with our inability to create an organisational structure, at a societal level, which will enable us to tackle our problems. In a sense, the data suggest that, if anyone's knowledge and

education is at fault, it is not that of our LSES mothers, but that of the leaders and managers of our society (i.e. our HSES group). It is they who have failed to create a mechanism whereby citizens can give effect to their feelings. But in another sense the data suggest that our citizens do not perceive political activity as a means of doing something about societal problems. So educators and personnel concerned with staff development have a serious dilemma. If they start helping people to be better able to achieve their goals they will be accused of stepping outside their role and dabbling in political, value-laden, activity. And such an accusation would be entirely justified. But, if they fail to do so, it will mean that they accept that they, as educators and staff developers, are unable to help people to develop the very competencies and understandings they so badly need to improve the quality of their lives.

We may turn now to the consequences which the people we interviewed anticipated if they were to try to do something about their problems — because these anticipated consequences also point to important goals for educators.

The LSES group anticipated consequences which were rather negative. They felt that they would not know where to begin any attempt to do something about their problems. Furthermore, they thought that, if they were to be successful, they would have to be more outspoken and aggressive than they would like to be, that there would be a lot of difficulties they would have difficulty getting round, that the attempt to do something about their problems would increase the stress in their lives, that they would not enjoy doing what needed to be done, that doing it would take up time they would prefer to devote to other things, that they would not be able to make the right contacts, and that those responsible for taking appropriate action would not listen to the likes of them.

For the HSES group things were less bleak. True, there would be difficulties. But they would be working for the long term good of mankind (and it is amazing what an incontrovertible motivation like that does for one), they would enjoy the company of others whilst they were doing it, they would enjoy learning what needed to be learned in order to do it, it would be something moral, something they should do (another powerful determinant of behaviour since it enables people to live up to their ideal self expectations), they would enjoy the planning (imaginative, intellectual, future-oriented) activity associated with it, and they would enjoy the feeling of having had an impact.

It would seem from these data — and particularly from the data collected from the LSES group — that there is a great deal of scope for experiential adult education programmes designed to enable people to develop the abilities and understandings needed to avoid some of the undesired and undesirable consequences of taking action about things they care about and to teach people that some of their other expectations are just plain wrong.

Such programmes would, however, need to do more than foster rather different abilities to those which educators most commonly try to foster in schools and colleges. The programmes would need to attempt to influence

people's self images, their understanding of the way society works, and their perceptions of their own role within that society. Many of the problems to which people drew our attention cannot be solved by them. All they can do *as individuals* is to take steps to get the leaders and managers of our society to do something about the problems. If they are to do this they will need to develop changed expectations of themselves, the role of their fellow citizens, and the role of officials and the workings of society.

The types of educational programme which are needed should let the participants experience both the short and long term consequences of taking a more active role to gain control over their own destinies: many of the activities which many of those we interviewed felt they were unable to carry out, and which they did not expect to enjoy, are both enjoyable and within their range of competence. Carefully structured educational exercises would seem to be needed to teach people this. In addition, the participants would need to learn how to venture into the unknown, how to develop the knowledge and skills they would need in the process of adventuring, and how to gain the co-operation of others in joint endeavours. They would need to develop confidence in their ability to do these things. They would need to develop a spontaneous tendency to observe, and try to understand, social *systems*, work out the implications for themselves, and initiate the activities which are needed to induce *systems* change. (The educational and developmental activities which it would be necessary to use to influence the participants' self-images, their subjective feelings of competence, the consequences they anticipate if they engage in various courses of action, and their ability to think, feel and behave in new ways, are outlined in Chapters 8 and 10.)

The third study to be reported here of the competencies required by people in their lives outside work was carried out by Benedict (1976). She set about collecting critical incidents from a small, depressed, town in Ireland. Her report makes gloomy reading, documenting, as it does, the demeaning way of life which our society thrusts on some of its members. Informant after informant told a tale of failure at school, failure to cope with adult life, failure to cope with their marriages, and failure to find satisfaction in life. But, while Benedict accepts her informants' definition of the nature of their problems, accepting, for example, that if only they had been able to read, they would have been able to avoid the circumstances in which they found themselves and the humiliations which were heaped upon them, the present author's conclusion is much closer to that of Friere, around whose work Benedict's thesis is written. It rings much truer to say that the data point to the need to find ways of helping the poor to exert political influence. To do this it *may* be necessary for them to be able to read — but, equally, it may not be. As Bronfenbrenner has remarked in relation to some of the early Head Start programmes, it seems so easy to stimulate such effective influence activity in this area that the Establishment has repeatedly had to initiate a turn-about in programmes designed to enhance people's ability to get control over their lives in order to *prevent* them being effective. According to Donnison, the British Community Development Projects encountered the same problem. Thus, the task of the adult educator,

whether in the community or in the workplace, may be, not only to avoid espousing hard to achieve and irrelevant traditional educational goals (such as adult literacy) but also to avoid stimulating the type of (rapidly effective) political activity that brings about a back-lash (perhaps because those responsible are *unable*, and not just unwilling, to do something about the problem). Rather it may be to initiate the type of activity which will bring those who have major influence in firms or society to create a management structure, and set of expectations, which will enable the organisations concerned to capitalise upon all the human resources available to the organisation, and to share the results of that activity on an equitable basis. As Jaques (1976) and the author (Raven and Whelan, 1976) have shown, there is little demand for, or even economic, social, or psychological justification for, *equality*. There is a marked demand — and economic, sociological and psychological need — *for equity in diversity*.

It is worth dwelling on these matters for a little longer in an effort to make explicit the conclusions to which this train of thought seems to be leading us.

Starting from studies of the problems which people encounter in the workplace and the community, we have reflected on, and to some degree documented, the competencies they would need to develop if they are to lead their lives more effectively. Among these competencies are the perceptions, understandings, expectations and motivations required to understand, and intervene effectively in, socio-politico-economic processes — whether in the workplace or the community. Those concerned are often not themselves in a *position* to directly influence the factors which most strongly determine the quality of their lives and their ability to contribute as they would like to their work organisations or to society. Yet those who are in a position to do this are (a) insufficiently aware of the problems to be strongly motivated to do something about them, (b) do not have the understandings or the tools which would enable them to do something about them and (c) have often not developed the spontaneous tendency and the ability to reflect on the workings of organisations and take appropriate steps to intervene in them. These deficiencies in managers', politicians', and senior civil servants' understandings have reciprocal implications for the competencies and motivations which citizens and subordinates need to develop — for it would not be appropriate for them to develop expectations of their managers which cannot be fulfilled. Rather, they need to develop the tendency to study social processes *as they are* and to work out the steps they will need to take to encourage their managers to develop new expectations, understandings and competencies. The task of the adult educator in the community or the workplace is not, therefore, to teach his clients the received wisdom of Adam Smith, Karl Marx, or John Maynard Keynes, but to help them to develop the spontaneous tendency to understand social systems and their own role in them. That task would, of course, be greatly facilitated if more results of the sort of research in which the author has been engaged for the past 15 years were available. Unfortunately, recognition of the *need* for such research can itself only be promoted through the type of activity envisaged here.

At this point, it would seem relevant to come back to some of Jaques' conclusions. As we have seen, one of the things which his work suggests is that the motivation and the ability to think about, understand, and deal with complex socio-technical systems matures late in life. He presents data which support the hypothesis that this is because the ability to abstract and, in particular, the ability to review in a highly abstract and symbolic manner successive aspects of a social problem which has numerous ramifications in the present, deep roots in the past, and major implications for a large number of developments in the future, and which could in no way be present in its entirety in any one person's mind, or even in section in anything but abstract, symbolic, form (in which each of the symbols stands for a whole complex of further understandings) is based on experience which accumulates with age. Now the socio-political arena represents the ultimate in problems of this kind. If correct, Jaques' conclusions would seem to have serious implications for the selection of personnel for staff development and community development projects. Observation suggests that, at the present time, such staff tend to be young and to operate with extremely simplistic notions about how society works and the steps which officials could take to solve the problems. What Jaques' data suggest is that, given the state of our current formal understanding of sociological processes, it is virtually inevitable that young people's understanding will be simplistic in this way. Although, as data we have collected show, age is no guarantee against it (and it is perhaps for this reason that young Community Development Project workers are able to stir up so much aggro), it is possible that able older people might be more appropriate recruits for such posts. Unfortunately, if another of Jaques' conclusions is correct, not only are such people in short supply, the levels of pay which would be felt to be appropriate for them would be high. Such work does not, however, merit high priority at the present time. It would appear, therefore, that we have here a serious logistic problem. Recognition of the need for people to work in this area is dependent on widespread public recognition, not only of the importance of the problem, but also of the potential contributions of such personnel to the solution of the problems. Yet public recognition of their role is, to a considerable extent, dependent on getting appropriate personnel into positions from which they can generate the necessary perceptions, expectations and understandings.

Need for more general analyses of the satisfactions available from different life-styles

We have reviewed a number of studies of the problems which people encounter in the course of their lives and the competencies which are required to cope with them. We have seen that these studies point to the need to foster a much wider range of competencies than seems to be the case in most formal educational programmes in schools, colleges, and the workplace at the present time. However, we have also seen that there are so many of these competencies that it would be impossible for any one person to develop more than a fraction of them. *Choice* is essential. But what *are* the consequences of developing different value-orientations, patterns of

competence, and life-styles? What *different* patterns of satisfaction and frustration are associated with each alternative? Without such information we cannot really be said to be giving people choice when they make educational or career decisions — because their choices are made in the dark.

We have also seen that, wherever we have looked, at large organisations, small businesses, impoverished members of rural Ireland, or people living in Scotland's capital, we come face to face with the fact that our biggest problem is to develop the competencies and understandings which are required to analyse, organise, manage, and run our society more effectively.

It would therefore seem that we should conclude our review of the competencies required by different members of society with an account of social innovators. What sort of people are they? What particular, critical competencies and motivations do they possess? Where did they develop them? In what sort of organisation — supported by what kinds of other people — do they function effectively? Unfortunately, we do not appear to have any information at all on this crucial topic.

VALUED ACTIVITIES AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

We have seen that high level competencies are required in all jobs and all sectors of society.

More generally, it may be suggested that the studies we have reviewed suggest that the economic and social development of our society is likely to come about most rapidly if as many people as possible think it is important to do such things as:

- seek out jobs in which they can contribute maximally to the community rather than get as much as possible from it.
- strive to do those jobs to the best of their ability.
- notice the need for innovations and make efforts to set up the institutions required to carry out the new task, getting people appointed to them on a full-time basis so that they can devote all of their time to such tasks.
- analyse the operation of their organisations and their society, and their place in it, making use of the best current developments in the thinking of those who are trying to understand current problems, rather than the authorities of the past.

It would seem (and this will be confirmed in data to be presented later) that, as a society, we crucially need to do more to encourage everyone to act responsibly and with integrity in all areas of their lives; to take personal responsibility for unemployment, pollution, ugliness, waste, inefficiency, bad organisation and poor design; to do more to encourage people to discuss their ideas with others, to listen to what others have to say and to incorporate their suggestions into their own thinking; to do more to encourage people to support others in their activities instead of placing

difficulties in their way; to encourage people to be honest with themselves, be prepared to admit that what others are suggesting really would be an improvement; and to encourage people not to take offence at well-meant and honestly expressed views of others.

Many of the conclusions at which we have arrived seem unexpected. This is because, over the past 25 years, there have been dramatic changes in our society and the way in which it is organised. The jobs being done today are *not* the jobs which were being done even 25 years ago. But this change does not only, or even mainly, derive from a change in *technology*, but from changes in the *nature* of the jobs which are being demanded. *Most* jobs in modern society are in the *service* sector — in design, insurance, health care, environmental improvement, physical, social and economic planning, education, housing and leisure services. It is on the quality of the provision and administration of *these* services that the quality of our lives is *primarily* dependent.

Yet our beliefs about the qualities which it is important for the members of our society to develop, and our understandings of our society, the way in which it should operate, and the role of the individual within it, seem pegged to the time at which we were emerging from a peasant tradition and becoming an industrial society.

In contrast to an agrarian society with its disregard of time, its gearing of the work load to the seasons, its emphasis on sharing out the good things of life among kin to the neglect of strangers, and its emphasis on patronage as a means of securing 'good' jobs, industrial society required people who would work hard at boring jobs and who would come to work regularly. It required bureaucrats who had attained a minimum competence in the 3Rs and who would follow rules impersonally rather than vary their behaviour depending on how close was their blood-relationship to the applicant.

In contrast to this industrial society — to the needs of which our beliefs and expectations still seem to be geared — modern society seems to need a work force which is prepared to work when work needs to be done, which is adaptable, willing to take on new tasks, willing to notice the need for innovation, personally concerned with reducing inefficiency, with planning and with the future, and willing to assume personal responsibility for correcting defects. It requires managers of industry and services who can see the relationship between what they are doing and the overall needs of society and the structures that have been established to run it (Raven & Dolphin, 1978). It particularly needs bureaucrats, the number of whom has reached major proportions and the employment of whom extends far outside the civil service, who are willing and able to understand the purposes of the policies which they administer, who do not work to rule but who are able to understand the plight of their clients and work out how best to meet their needs, and who possess a great deal of personal integrity in order to be able to vary their behaviour depending on intricate subtleties in the situation which confronts them. It requires bureaucrats who are flexible and responsible rather than bureaucrats who heavy-handedly apply rules, evade personal responsibility, and avoid taking decisions (Emery, 1974).

Perhaps above all, it requires conceptions of management — of firms, the public service, and society — which are radically different from those of the past. It requires conceptions of management which make it possible for those who are aware of problems to interact with ‘responsible’ officials in such a way as to be able to get them to do something about the problems without having to set a vast, creaking, and hierarchical machine in motion. That is to say, it requires new expectations of the need for subordinates to interact with management, and to expect to get something done about problems which only they have noticed. Thus it requires new conceptions of delegation of responsibility to individual managers and new expectations of accountability. In relation to the management of society this implies new concepts of the right of the citizen to interact with the public servant and expect both individual treatment from that public servant and an appropriate reaction to the problems which he, the citizen, has noticed and drawn to his attention. And this in turn implies that we need new concepts of the accountability — at both individual and group level in the public service. These questions will form the basis of a discussion in the next chapter.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We have seen in this chapter that studies of the competencies, perceptions and expectations required at work and in life outside of work strongly support the conclusions reached earlier from studies of the opinion of parents, pupils and teachers and from studies of the jobs actually entered by school leavers. There can no longer be any doubt that the main qualities to be fostered fall into the following broad areas:

1. *Human Resources; Value-laden Competencies:* These include qualities like initiative, leadership, and the spontaneous tendency to observe the way our organisations and society work and think out the implications for one’s own behaviour.
2. *Perceptions and Expectations Relating to the Way Society Works, and One’s Own Role in that Structure:* Under this heading we may include such things as people’s self images, the way they think their organisations work and their own role and that of others in those organisations, their understanding of organisational social climates which make for innovation, responsibility, and development rather than stagnation, and their perceptions of the reference points which it is appropriate to adopt in their quest for the understandings they need to guide their behaviour.
3. *People’s understandings of what is meant by a number of terms which describe relationships within organisations* — terms like leadership, decision-taking, democracy, equality, responsibility, accountability and delegation. Here we saw that the way in which many of these relationships tend currently to be conceptualised can make only for increased constriction and stagnation in the activities carried out in our society. The next chapter will be devoted entirely to a discussion of these issues.

If personnel concerned with education and development in the school, the workplace, and the community wish to contribute to the development of the talents, beliefs and expectations which our society so badly needs, they will find themselves dealing with thorny value-laden issues arising from the fact that important competencies can only be fostered in relation to valued goals and the fact that competence has centrally to do with civic education. The results reported above suggest that this is only the beginning. Those concerned will need to help people to think through some of the issues we have been discussing; they will need to help them to think about how their organisations should and do operate, and about their own role, and the role of others, in those organisations and in their society.

CHAPTER 4

CONCEPTS OF MANAGEMENT, PARTICIPATION AND RESPONSIBILITY

In the last chapter we have touched on the fact that what people will do — whether they will behave competently or otherwise — is, to a considerable extent, determined by the way they think the society in which they live, and the organisations in which they work, should, and do, operate and by the way they perceive their own role, and that of others, in that society and those organisations. We have also suggested that their behaviour is also very much determined by their beliefs about the types of activity which should be undertaken by managers and subordinates and by their understanding of such terms as “participation”, “delegation of responsibility” and “accountability”. In this chapter we will focus on this set of concepts.

Concepts of the Management Task

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the task of the manager involves, among other things:

- thinking about the workings of socio-technical systems and trying to gain control over wider socio-technical processes, both internal to the organisation and external to it;
- interacting with other managers and politicians to initiate the activities needed to gain control over forces which have not been made explicit and which were previously beyond the control of men;
- delegating authority to exercise judgement, discretion and initiative and establishing systems of accountability based on the quality of the judgement and initiative exercised;
- developing subordinates' skill, discretion and judgement by creating opportunities for them to exercise such competencies;
- making other people feel strong and capable of tackling their own problems and monitoring their exercise of initiative, skill and discretion in tackling them;
- seeking out, and reflecting on the implications of, information available to subordinates; noticing what lies behind what other people are saying and creating a framework or climate in which it becomes possible for them to tackle these problems;
- establishing *teams* of people with different values and patterns of motivation and getting them to work together effectively;
- creating an innovative climate in their organisation.

Very few of the managers we interviewed thought of their jobs as involving such activities, and very few of their subordinates thought that their managers should be doing such things. As a result, few managers,

superiors or subordinates judged managers' behaviour against such criteria in their day-to-day discussions of their performance. There, therefore, seemed to be an urgent need for more discussion of the qualities required for effective management. And this seemed to be particularly important in the context of the way in which they thought about promotion and delegation of responsibility.

Concepts of Promotion and a Hierarchy of Jobs to be Done

As has just been indicated, we met very few managers in the course of our research who thought their jobs involved trying to gain control over forces to which their organisations had previously been subject or finding new things for their organisations to do. They tended to think of their job as involving a relatively unchanging set of activities, and an unchanging role, and they did not expect continual change and development within their current position. The result, as they saw it, was that if they were to encourage their subordinates to do some part of their job they would, to that extent, be making themselves redundant. They saw their own future as lying in securing promotion to someone else's job rather than as growing in their present jobs and in that way performing a more useful role in, and for, their organisations. Indeed, it would be true to say that many managers seemed pre-occupied with themselves and their advancement rather than with the development of their organisations. Things were done, not because it was thought that they were good things to do, good for their organisations, or good for their clients, but because they were good for themselves. Nor did they spend time trying to think of ways of arranging things so that subordinates, in trying to do things which were good for them, would simultaneously do things which were good for their organisations.

This static conception of jobs to be done, coupled with their focus on themselves and their promotion, had a number of serious consequences.

In the first place, many managers devoted a disproportionate amount of time to trying to ingratiate themselves with those who controlled their promotion prospects, rather than to doing the jobs which needed to be done. Secondly, their zero-sum and competitive concept of work to be done, and the indivisibility of their personal goals, meant that they were negatively disposed toward allowing others — whether subordinates or other managers — to share in their work, and grow in the process. Subordinates who were competent at doing any part of their job were a threat rather than an asset, particularly if they were the sort of people who would be able to get recognition for the contributions which they had made to the manager's performance.

The concept which many managers had of promotion made for difficulties in other ways, too — for promotion was often thought of as a reward for good and loyal service, rather than as a move into a more demanding and important position. This conception of promotion often resulted in an effort being made to reward people who were good at doing one thing by promoting them into a job in which they were expected to do something entirely different — and which they were often neither interested in, nor good at.

Such thinking is based, not only on an inability to specify the types of activity which are required in different jobs, but also on two other sets of misunderstandings. One of these sets of misunderstandings is associated with an over-reliance on a single-factor concept of “ability” and motivation (“the people who are good at one thing will be good at everything”, or, as one manager put it, “If I have to think about where to place someone, then I don’t want him”). The other has to do with the concept of reward itself and with a lack of the mental and institutional flexibility which would be needed if people who enjoy and are good at doing something are to be rewarded for doing that (possibly by being allowed to do more of it) rather than promoted on to something else. There was little understanding of the fact that the reward for outstanding achievement need not necessarily be financial, still less promotion into a different job. Appropriate reward may consist in removing some of the other demands made on the people concerned so that they could devote more of their time to doing what they liked doing and were good at. This concept of a hierarchy of jobs to be done and promotion as the only source of reward also made it very difficult to think of staff assessment, placement and development in a productive way — and, as we shall shortly see, it makes it difficult to implement effective participation strategies.

Participation

As we have seen, most jobs in most organisations in modern society demand high levels of initiative and discretion. For that initiative and discretion to be exercised effectively those concerned must be in a position to understand the goals of the organisations in which they work and the roles of those who work above, alongside and below them. As we went about our work it became apparent that this was rarely the case.

Let us first look at the reasons why there seemed to be a need for greater participation in management and thereafter explore some of the implications.

Like Van Beinum (1965), we found it impossible to avoid the conclusion that a large proportion of management decisions were bad decisions. These decisions often overlooked, through ignorance, crucial information which was available if only those concerned had asked for it in an appropriate way. Subordinates were regarded as having nothing worthwhile to contribute and were regarded, both by themselves and by their managers, as having no *right* to contribute. Thus it was frequently the case that what were described as “communications difficulties” — and often attributed to lack of communications *skills* — had much more to do with role definitions — and especially conceptions of “authority” and the duties of “subordinates”.

Not all of the decisions were “big” decisions. As Van Beinum emphasised, there were endless day-to-day operational decisions which could have been greatly improved if attention had been paid to information which was readily available for the asking.

Negative attitudes toward openness and participation seemed to be associated with inability to utilise suggestions, absence of communication and distorted communication, and with mutual recriminations, lack of trust, endless time wasted grumbling, grouching, and discussing personal worries, and restrictive practices.

But the strongest argument for increased participation is that initiative and discretion cannot be effectively exercised, never mind developed, unless those concerned have available to them detailed information about the goals and operation of their organisations and are able to check the quality of their opinions and judgements by discussing them with others. The job descriptions on the basis of which their salaries are established and against which they are held accountable, need to acknowledge this fact.

"Participation" is therefore extremely important. But it is no simple panacea. A whole new set of procedures, perceptions, priorities, pre-occupations, expectations, attitudes, abilities and competencies are required if it is to function effectively. As we see it, these start by senior management redefining their jobs as trying to gain control over some of the highly disruptive human problems which were previously viewed as being beyond their control. If they are to come to do this it will be necessary to return many operational decisions to the people who are in the best position to take them. Yet, if these decisions are to be good decisions it will also be necessary to provide those concerned with relevant contextual information.

The idea of increased participation made for many difficulties — among both managers and subordinates.

For many managers more participation was seen as a waste of time and, perhaps more importantly, as an erosion of their authority. It was a waste of time because they defined their task as being to secure promotion. They did not define it as being to make their sections hum. There was, in any case, usually no way in which their superiors could find out whether they had achieved this so that their performance could be judged against such criteria. They could only be held accountable for the number of mistakes which had been made in their section. It was easiest to avoid such mistakes by usurping all decision-taking. Similarly, since there was no means of monitoring the quality of the judgements they made in consultation with their subordinates, they could not handle disagreement except by standing on their authority. There was no other way of showing that their decisions tended to be right, and someone else's tended to be wrong. Besides, being *seen* to be a manager — being seen to have status and authority — was, in any case, often more important to them than performing the managerial role defined earlier. Since the manager's attention was focused on *himself* — his image, his future, and what he enjoyed — and not on the overall organisation, its efficiency, or its service to its clients, participation was *irrelevant* — because neither he, his superiors, nor his subordinates defined his job as being able to get the organisation to run well.

Another common reason for resisting participation in decision-taking (and therefore any realistic form of "delegation" of responsibility) was that

many managers recognised that their subordinates would have to spend a great deal of time learning things which they, the managers, had already learnt. It is only possible to countenance this "duplication of effort" if one is, in fact, being held accountable for the quality of one's judgement and if one also recognises that one's subordinates will soon be able to help one to improve the quality of one's decisions. They will be able to do this by helping one to build up, in a small group, a store of specialist information which is much wider and more satisfactory than one would ever, given one's other responsibilities, have been able to accumulate on one's own. The notion that it would be both possible and desirable for their subordinates to, in some respects, be able to do a job better than they would do it was something which was very foreign indeed to the way of thinking of most of our managers. They felt that they could not only do their own job better than their subordinates would be able to do it, they also felt that they would be able to do their subordinates' jobs better than they were doing them. This reveals that they had not shared relevant information with their subordinates and encouraged them to build up their own store of relevant information in their area of work. The reality of the situation is that they themselves could not *possibly* hold in their heads all the information relevant to all the decisions they need to make. To assume that they could have all the information they need in all the areas with which they have to deal is blind arrogance. Yet many managers accepted without question the view which one manager articulated as "they are so much less intelligent than I am and have so little to contribute".

At this point we may draw attention to another conclusion which is emerging from this discussion. This is that a central problem with the concept of "participation" is that it only makes sense in the context of an assumption by all concerned that they are in a growth situation. If managers are to develop their own subordinates by encouraging them to build up a store of information which can be interpreted as enabling them to compete for their power, they themselves will have to re-define their own jobs and continuously move on to new tasks as their subordinates grow into their shoes. They themselves have to "participate" with other managers, other firms, and politicians, through structures which do not yet exist, to gain control over forces which were previously regarded as being beyond the control of man. To do these things they will have to "promote" themselves into positions which do not already exist.

If people are going to participate effectively at all the levels which have just been mentioned, they must be encouraged to continuously develop and upgrade their own jobs, to allocate time to developing themselves by going to see others and by building up stores of specialist information. They must be encouraged, on their own initiative, to meet with, share information with, and learn from, other sections of their organisations. Managers and subordinates alike must be encouraged to bring their juniors with them, to help these juniors to grow into the jobs which they are now doing, and to do them better than they themselves are now doing them. A major criterion for promotion might, therefore, be that no one should be promoted until he has taught his subordinates to do his present job and is, therefore, redundant.

All these observations suggest that the concept of participation is closely linked to concepts of staff development which are not very prevalent.

But "participation" was not only resisted by management. Where management had initiated "participation" schemes, subordinates often, quite rightly, suspected a catch: the objective was to get more out of them for the same money, not to enable them to grow into new jobs and to be rewarded appropriately. "Doing management's job for them" demands appropriate rewards and recognition, and a reduction in other duties. As authors such as Likert (1967) and Tannenbaum (1968) have pointed out, participation demands more of all concerned. Most people enjoy turning themselves wholeheartedly into their work — but on condition that their work enables them to move toward their own goals. Unfortunately, many people are not in jobs which enable them to do so. It seems trite to say that they are in the wrong jobs. But, under such circumstances, unless more can be done to promote between-company staff placement, and balanced development of geographical areas to avoid unwanted geographical mobility and long travelling distances to work, such people have everything to fear from "participation". In addition, the criteria which have been threateningly applied in some companies to assess levels of staff "commitment" (and therefore the benefits — if any — which their staff are going to get out of "participating") are not always those which would register some of the organisationally very important types of behaviour to which we have drawn attention in this book. There is a very strong possibility that many people who are really committed to their firms and to the society in which they live would *not* get the recognition they deserve. Even the importance of the tasks they are doing could well go unrecognised. And even if the value of the task is recognised, the amount of time, energy, and ability which is required to perform it effectively might well not be recognised.

Delegation of Responsibility

Just as we found that reasons for, concepts of, and ramifications of "participation" have not been made explicit, so, too, once we started discussing "delegation of responsibility" we found ourselves in a conceptual minefield.

Managers were ready enough to speak of delegation of responsibility when they wanted a specific job to be done. But they were much less willing to delegate responsibility for making judgements. This seemed in large part to stem from three things: firstly, from our societal pre-occupation with avoiding mistakes, secondly, from the absence of means of giving people credit for any developments they had initiated, and, thirdly, from the fact that they were often responsible to committees which delegated little responsibility *to them*. They were mere executors of consensus decisions which they could do little to influence.

Our societal pre-occupation with costs (mistakes), coupled with our inability to give people credit for having initiated developmental activities seemed to have a number of serious consequences.

Firstly, managers would not delegate responsibility for judgement to subordinates for fear that they would make a mistake for which they, the managers, would later be held to be responsible. This led management to usurp responsibility for taking all sorts of decisions which would, in fact, have been better taken by subordinates. This in turn led to failure to provide developmental working experiences for subordinates and to management overload — with a cry for more managers and more co-ordination (usually resulting in a demand for the appointment of more senior managers who then proceeded to usurp the responsibilities of their subordinates). A corollary of this was that many of the developments which managers introduced (such as micro-processors) were designed to tighten their control over subordinates (so that they would not make mistakes) rather than to carry out new tasks. Still less were they designed to facilitate the development of initiative, discretion and competence on the part of subordinates.

But the most serious consequences of our cultural pre-occupation with mistakes were those stemming from our failure to think through our concepts of *managerial* responsibility and accountability and, in particular, the relationships to be established between managers and the committees to which they are “responsible”. We return to this in a moment.

A fourth group of problems stem from the demise, without substitute, of the marketplace as a means of evaluating the quality of individual managers' decisions. Most of the jobs which most centrally affect the quality of our lives are now unavoidably in the public sector. They cannot be “returned” to the marketplace, for there is no way in which the marketplace could perform them. Even manufacturing is carried out by organisations which are so large, and the efficiency and effects of which are so susceptible to the influence of public policy, that incompetence can exist for many years without detection. In the absence of appropriate social accounting procedures (which it was the object of this research to go some way toward providing), it is easy for a manager to abdicate responsibility for the effects of his actions and to substitute accountability for the “quality” his decisions assessed in advance of action. This allows him to adopt the tactic of seeking to ensure that all his decisions are seen to be corporate, consensus, decisions, for the effects of which he cannot be held personally accountable. His colleagues collude in this process by defining their job as being that of helping to ensure that no unnecessary risks are taken (especially with “public money”) and that no mistakes are made.

Managerial Responsibility and the Role of Committees

We have seen that Jaques (1976) has drawn attention to the need to clarify the concept of “responsibility” as it is applied in management. We currently have a situation in which managers are urged to adopt a “participative” style of management. They are given to understand that group decisions are to be encouraged. And it is suggested that they themselves are mere executors of consensus committee decisions. In practice, these committees tend to usurp their risk-taking and operational decisions instead

of giving them the benefit of their advice and then leaving them to make their own judgements and thereafter hold them accountable for the quality of those judgements. The committees themselves tend to be composed of people who are ignorant of many of the issues on which they are taking decisions. They tend, in particular, to be unaware of the resources that a manager can unlock to turn risk to advantage. And they tend to try to hold the manager accountable, not, in retrospect, for the quality of his judgement and the exercise of his leadership, skill and discretion, but for having been a "good committee man" who has submerged his individuality in the group and presented a bullet-proof case for any action he proposes to take. This should ideally show that no risk at all is involved in the proposed course of action and that there is no possibility of a mistake being made. And, as Kirton (1980) has shown, the people who sit on committees tend to be strongly inclined toward non-innovative solutions to problems, toward solutions which do not involve branching out into new areas and charting new paths.

This move toward governance by committees has been strengthened as organisations have become larger and, in particular, as it has become increasingly necessary to consider more and more extra-organisational, social, consequences of decisions. In other words it has become more prevalent as our economy has moved closer and closer toward becoming a socialised economy. It is not sufficient, now, for a manager to focus exclusively on the profitability of the section he manages and to leave other considerations to others. That is why it has come to be expected that the state has a right to participate in more, and more detailed, decisions, and why peripatetic public servants are to be found in every nook and cranny of society.

But given the way things have developed, the process has become stultifying. Instead of ensuring that the views of all whose experience and expertise should be taken into consideration are heard and given due weight (and it was always the primary function of management to solicit such views and weight them appropriately) our current committee structures — and, given the developments charted above, the actual decisions of those committees — give undue weight to public service "adapters". Whereas a good manager would consult, directly or via surveys or delegates, with *all* those his decisions affect, a committee is made up only of "representatives" of interest groups — and the sort of people who are chosen to represent those groups are often very different from those they represent. Instead of ensuring that managers' decisions are evaluated against numerous explicit criteria, *committee* decisions tend to have been dominated by petty accounting criteria introduced by the public servants who sit on them. They have, in particular, come to be dominated by civil service adapters' abhorrence of risks (particularly those taken with "public money") and mistakes and the denial of personal initiative and responsibility. They are decisions made by people who do not know *how* to adventure and capitalise on good ideas and new insights — by people who do not know *how* to take risks. Instead of stimulating innovative action to gain control over new and more forces which previously plagued mankind, this procedure tends to

stifle innovative action. It tends to encourage managers to bury their experience, initiative and responsibility in group decisions. Those concerned acknowledge that they will be pilloried if they personally take responsibility for any decisions — especially if it later turns out that they have been mistaken.

Having stated the problem in this way it seems fairly obvious that the solution is to be found, not in making committees “responsible” for running organisations, but by developing new procedures whereby managers can be held accountable against multiple explicit criteria.

The criteria to be applied include the ability to make contact with, and take into account, the views of all those on whom their decisions impinge. They include the ability to make their organisations hum: the ability to release the know-how, creativity and initiative of their subordinates. They include the ability to get together with other managers (including politicians) to get something done about general problems which plague their organisations. They include the ability to define their jobs to include identifying and tackling problems which would previously have been viewed as outside their area of responsibility and which had not previously been identified as problems at all. They include the ability to initiate developments, the benefits of which will take many years to show up. They include the ability to take calculated risks, to monitor the effects of their action, and the ability to intervene to turn risk to advantage. They include the ability to tap creativity, know-how and experience among their subordinates. They include the ability to capitalise on subordinates’ and others’ ideas.

Failure to find ways of holding managers accountable in these terms will not only result in a failure to create a positive developmental climate: it will result in a depressing climate: consensus committee decision-taking absolves managers not only from studying the nature and causes of the problems which need to be tackled and harnessing the goodwill, enthusiasm and knowledge of their subordinates. It absolves them from responsibility for the consequences of their decisions and the need to intervene energetically to ensure that their decisions turn out to have been good ones. And it absolves them from the need to find out how their decisions are affecting everyone on whom they impinge. The way in which we currently envisage the relationship between managers and committees is a recipe for disaster.

Having emphasised the need to develop a much wider range of criteria to apply to managerial performance, it is necessary to end on another note — because when committees do discuss the performance of their managers the criteria they currently apply tend to be unrealistic. They tend to expect their managers to have made *no* mistakes, to have attended to every detail, and to have considered all possible options. Yet, as we have seen, successful innovators do none of these things. They adopt an idea which makes them enthusiastic. They carry out experiments which fail. They end up with a product or process which they had never envisaged and for which they certainly could not have made a water-tight case in advance.

Some Problems with Corporate Responsibility

Having identified some of the problems which arise from committees' failure to delegate managerial responsibility to managers in the context of appropriate short- and long-term social accounting procedures, it may be useful now to discuss some of the problems of committee management.

We have already seen that managers tend to be too far removed from operating decisions to take useful decisions about many of the topics on which they find themselves deciding, and we have argued that this problem can only be solved by introducing greater degrees of participation in decision-taking and delegation of responsibility. The same argument applies with even greater force to committees. Committees themselves tend to be made up of people who are ignorant of the issues on which they are taking decisions, to meet too infrequently to be able to devote the necessary time to thinking through the issues they are discussing, and to be in no position to mobilise the human resources — the energy, enthusiasm and initiative which are required to reach the desired goals. In our experience, committees were also heavily laden with civil servants who were pre-occupied with costs rather than benefits (and, as Drucker has emphasised, this is, in itself, a signal of impending disaster). Committees are therefore in no position to take good decisions.

Their chief merit should be that they can bring to bear a wide range of experience and draw attention to the wider social implications of decisions. But, as far as we could judge, only rarely did this happen. Not only did they not truly represent the views of many interested parties, inflation in the organisational level at which decisions were being taken did not seem to have been accompanied by a commensurate rise in the socio-technical level of the problems they strove to tackle (although, as we have seen, such high-level activity is urgently needed).

The fundamental dilemma to be addressed in arriving at a more appropriate role for committees is to reconcile the arguments put forward by Popper and Likert in favour of democratic management with the equally obvious truth that most managerial decisions have to be based on judgement rather than fact and taken by people who are held accountable, not only for the quality of their judgement, but also for ensuring that their decisions do, at the end of the day, yield useful benefits. These can often only be achieved if the managers concerned engage in appropriate follow-through activity. There is no doubt that managers *do* need to take account of more issues and a wider range of the consequences of their decisions. But, as we have seen, the committee structures which have grown up to "support" them rarely achieve this goal. Are there alternative means of leading managers to assess and respond to a wider range of concerns? As we have already seen, new structures of participation within organisations would, on the one hand, both enable them to make contact with subordinates and clients and to delegate more responsibility to subordinates. On the other hand they would free the managers concerned to leave more time for them to participate in new structures which were explicitly designed to enable them to surface, discuss, and decide what to do

about wider social issues and get resources appropriate to tackling them. In such a climate there would be little need for the plethora of committees staffed by peripatetic civil servants with which we have grown all too familiar.

Staff Development

It has already been mentioned that few of the people we spoke to had many concepts to use to think about staff development — about the qualities they wished to foster in their subordinates, the types of learning situation that were needed to foster those qualities, or about the ways in which their organisations could use such abilities as their subordinates possessed.

Not only were such concepts absent, the very idea of getting people into jobs which they cared about was repugnant to some people. They wanted generalists, not people who had to be steered into an appropriate environment. The variety of human abilities escaped them, and they were, as a result, unable to get the best out of individual members of staff, let alone build teams of people with complementary competencies.

Despite all this, others stressed the importance of development. Several people stressed that, as juniors, they were given no discretion or information, they were not expected to try to influence others, and were not expected to take leadership or initiative. Yet on promotion they were supposed to do all these things. How could they if they had had no opportunity to develop these abilities?

Still others emphasised that their own ability to understand others, handle others, to assess the key elements in a situation, to see that things could be done differently from the way they were done in their own organisation, to be open to new ideas, to habitually define their own job for themselves — to put together bits of information in order to work out for themselves what they should be doing, their confidence in their own ability to master new tasks and new situations, and confidence that their bosses would tolerate these learning processes, had all been developed by moving about from section to section (or from job to job) and being *expected* to exercise discretion and responsibility.

In the end, we became aware that, not only was there a dearth of appropriate concepts to use to think about and describe these competencies and the ways in which they were to be fostered and assessed, the whole concept of jobs to be done irrespective of who was doing them, together with the concept of sudden leaps in responsibility on promotion, was a snare and a delusion. Unless one thought of continuously developing jobs and continuously developing people — including managers — it was extremely hard to handle the situation. Many of the institutions in which we did our interviewing were permeated by a non-developmental philosophy, which, in one way or another, eventually caught up with the organisations concerned. Thus, one firm, which had kept the employees of one of its sections in unchanging jobs for a quarter of a century, was faced with the fact that most of those employees refused point blank to work with

computers when the time came for rationalisation. "People are too old to learn by the time they are 40" declared their manager. It did not occur to him that the firm's own policies — its failure to encourage those staff to continuously move on to new jobs — might have been at least partially responsible for the employees' unwillingness to change. Firm after firm called for training for supervisors, managers and everybody else. They called for courses to transform people whom they had allowed to get set in their ways and whom they had deprived of opportunities to develop confidence in their own abilities and of a knowledge of the satisfactions which come from moving on to a new task. As they saw it, work organisations were not learning situations. Educational institutions were for that purpose. Most firms would have found it extraordinarily difficult even to make explicit the high level qualities which were required to do the job well. They would have had even more difficulty if they were asked to demonstrate that a particular employee did or did not possess those abilities. Hence Peter's principle: You don't find out that an employee can't do a job until he doesn't do it! When this happens you can't fire him. He has, after all, been a loyal employee and he was, to cap it all, very good at his previous job. You can't even move him, because your concepts still don't permit you to say "well, Mr. A. is not very good at that, but he is good at . . ." All one knows is that he is not good at his job, but he was good at the job one moved him out of, and that it is unthinkable to put him back.

The failure to differentiate between people in terms of their interests and abilities had another very important consequence for the organisations concerned. It had the effect of making many managers feel much more insecure than was justified. They felt that everyone wanted their jobs, when, in reality, most of the people we spoke to would have been only too pleased to have been allowed to do their *own* jobs effectively.

Inability to think in terms of competencies, which, it seems, take many years to develop, made recruitment of personnel from outside the firm a still more hazardous business. Selection committees would focus on trying to find someone who had experience in the sort of job for which they were looking for recruits and who was hardest to discredit. This had two effects. First it focused attention on whether people had mastered easily acquired technical knowledge rather than the harder to acquire, and more important, psychological qualities we have been concerned with here. Secondly, it had the effect of focusing attention on personal defects (which might be totally irrelevant from the point of view of the job to be done) rather than on whether or not the individual concerned had developed specific strengths and motivational dispositions.

Finally, mention may be made of the fact that many firms did not think it was their job to help their employees to develop the ability to think about the operation of the overall society in which they lived, the place of their organisation in the whole, how wider social forces might be influenced to allow their organisation to perform its task more effectively, or how it might improve its contribution to its clients or society. Quite apart from the fact that it is this ability to understand and intervene in a wider social process which now primarily determines the effectiveness of an organisation,

attention may be drawn to the fact that more than half of the population now works for central or local government, for one of the nationalised industries or for one of their suppliers. If it is not the job of people employed in these organisations to think about the effects of their organisations' activities in the wider society, then whose job is it?

One would have thought that even enlightened self interest would have led more firms to concern themselves with fostering the qualities which are needed to monitor the operation of the employing organisation as a socio-technical system and the national and international socio-technical system in which it operates. Jaques (1976) has argued that the development of such abilities over the life-cycle is what differentiates effective senior management from junior management, and competent management from incompetent management. Most firms now operate in a context in which the key factors to which they have to respond — either by adjusting to them or by gaining control over them — have to do with national and international socio-economic policy.

What qualities are required if people are to monitor such developments, work out for themselves how to put the scraps of information they glean together to form a coherent pattern, work out for themselves what action they should take, and take on themselves responsibility for initiating the appropriate action? As a society it would seem that we have an urgent need to cosset people anxious to take on this role. But where do we have a place for them?

CHAPTER 5

UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE WAY
SOCIETY WORKS

We have seen (in Chapter 3) that, if they are to behave competently, managers, teachers and citizens need to understand and to be able to influence the working of the societies in which they live. Competence is therefore inescapably dependent on the appropriateness of people's understanding of society and on their perceptions of their own role, and that of others, in that society.

This chapter will review, question, and suggest alternatives to, many widely held civic and economic beliefs and understandings. Evidence is first presented to show just how far we have moved toward becoming an administered society. Some of the implications are then explored. These include the need for new mechanisms to run the economy, new mechanisms which acknowledge that public servants are the people who are now mainly responsible for the quality of our lives and that the functions of money have been overturned. Instead of being a means of establishing priorities, orchestrating action to achieve them, and providing a mechanism of evaluation, money is now a means of organising actions to achieve goals established through the politico-bureaucratic process.

Much of this chapter discusses the roles to be played by, and the management competencies required by, public servants in modern society. In fact, the way we expect them to behave, and the criteria against which we hold them accountable need to change markedly. Particular attention needs to be paid to creating conditions conducive to innovation within the public service, and to stimulating public debate about policies and practice. The mechanisms believed to be appropriate to supervising public servants also need to change. We need nothing less than a new concept of democracy if our society is to function effectively. We need to replace representative democracy by participative democracy. Finally, it is argued that we need new ways of thinking about business, profitability, money and wealth.

In the light of the urgent need for the products of social research and development, the chapter concludes, first, by considering the nature of the scientific process itself and the role of the scientist (both of which are widely misunderstood) and, secondly, by summarising research which shows that many widely-held civic, social and economic beliefs, understandings and perceptions are no longer appropriate.

We Live in an Administered Society

In all E.E.C. countries some 45% of GDP is spent directly by their governments. This figure does not include local authority expenditure, or expenditure by the nationalised industries. If these are added, the total becomes some 65%. This figure still does not include the effects of legisla-

tion requiring firms to do particular things. For example, over the past decade, firms have at various times been required to implement policies which have required them to run at a loss and then be 'rescued' by the government; to adhere to economic policies which drove many of them out of business; to provide, out of their 'own' funds, health, welfare, pensions and educational services for their employees; and to administer very expensive V.A.T. systems, pensions, and taxation systems on behalf of the state. Nor does the previously mentioned figure include the effects of taxation policy in relation to mortgages or company cars, the effects of legislation requiring landlords to make various provisions for tenants or the effects of grants and levies to induce landlords, householders, businessmen, and farmers to spend very large sums of their 'own' money in particular ways. If all these are added to the previous figure it emerges that 'control' of the spending of some 75% of GDP must rest with the government and the bureaucracy.

This process of bringing more and more social and economic forces (in addition to more and more physical and biological forces) under the control of mankind has not stopped. If evidence for this statement is needed, it will be found most obviously in the recommendations of the Brandt Commission's *North-South*. This report unhesitatingly calls for further socialisation of an already heavily socialised world economy. However, in that context, it may be noted that, given the situation which has been described, the policies of the IMF — which invariably call on all countries to denationalise industry and to reduce the 'consumption' of the public sector — can only be described as, at best, seriously misguided, and, perhaps more appropriately, as not in the long-term interests of mankind and, as such, immoral.

Not only has the role of government in administering society changed out of all recognition — and to an extent which is rarely appreciated — over the past twenty years, the reasons for the change have not generally been made explicit. In fact, there are very good reasons for the changes which have taken place. For example, the educational system is intended to benefit the *whole* community and not just those who pass through it. Its costs therefore need to be borne by the whole community and not just by those who have children, especially at the time at which they have children. Systems of transportation, by moving the products available to consumers, benefit everyone in the society, and not only those who travel. Societies free of plague and disease again cannot be provided by individuals — for one person's health and well-being is intimately dependent on what his neighbours do. And the same applies to economic development — for the economic marketplace gave us little control over pollution, exploitation, inequitable distribution of wealth, urban squalor, cycles of growth and depression, or even the continued development of society. An individual firm, trapped by market forces, can rarely devote sufficient resources to research and development or rationalise the means of production between firms. The risks involved in investing in the future are too great. Nor can it ensure that there is work for the people of the area in which it is sited, ensure that the community as a whole develops, or take steps to combat pollution

which are not also taken by its competitors. While, under a free enterprise system, some people can choose to live in one or another of a range of different types of house, they can do little to choose the type of total environment in which they will live — yet it is this total environment which primarily determines the quality of their lives. This total environment is primarily determined by overall social, economic, and physical planning policies. Relevant aspects of the physical environment include the provision of water, and sewerage, the *balance* of different types of housing available, the balance between houses and places of work in a particular area, and access to recreational and community facilities. The social environment includes the ability to influence the decisions of the government, freedom from epidemics and crime, and the structures available to enable people to change their houses and places of work as their needs and those of society change, and, if they do move house, the structures available to them to quickly grow new roots in any new community they enter. A free enterprise system does not provide people with the choice of living in a society which is more, rather than less, economically stagnant. People are rarely able to choose to live in environments offering different ranges of employment or in towns providing alternative patterns of satisfaction and amenity and at the same time to choose their type of work and retain desired social contacts.

The reasons which have led to the socialisation of our internal economy are also valid internationally. It is these which are leading to such demands as those being made by the Brandt Commission. The demands are not entirely, or even mainly, altruistic. (Which is not to say that they are not as much in the interests of the Third World as they are in our own.)

Just as the unfettered workings of the invisible hand of the economic marketplace gave us little control over the inequitable distribution of wealth, exploitation, unethical practices of employers, the control of pollution, or the quality of life internally, so, too, it gives us little control over these forces internationally. And just as it was in the interests of the wealthy to introduce means of controlling wars, crime, disease, famine, and the living conditions of the poor nationally, so, too, it is in their (*our*) interests internationally. What our neighbours do by way of controlling wars, pollution, exploitation, and crime, and by way of providing for the health, welfare and well-being of their workforces, critically affects us. It not only affects our economic competitiveness, it also affects such things as the food and other resources available to us and the chances of becoming involved in mutually destructive warfare.

Public Servants are our Main Wealth-Producers

In all these ways government activity is crucial to the economic and social development of our society and the well-being of its members. Put another way, it is what our *public servants* do, by way of giving us control over forces which were previously beyond our control, which primarily determines the quality of our lives. They are the *primary producers* of our wealth.

While many people accept the argument of this chapter until they meet the last sentence of the previous paragraph, they frequently bridle at the notion that public servants *produce wealth*. It is therefore worth dwelling on the idea a little longer. Even in classical economic theory, the value of a good is dependent on one's ability to use it. A car is valueless unless one has roads and petrol, reasonable health, and places to visit — work, shops, friends, and leisure facilities. Thus the actual monetary or exchange value of the goods we buy and sell is primarily dependent on public provision. Our wealth, even in this very restricted sense, is therefore primarily dependent on the doings of our public servants.

On the international scene the price of our goods and services — and hence our trade — is again primarily determined by the arrangements which are made by public servants. It is they who establish the mechanisms which determine how much of the money we need to run the public services will be raised from overseas customers. Because the largest component in the cost of any exported goods or service is the tax required to provide infrastructure (defence of the realm, law enforcement, health services, welfare services, education) it is open to public servants to vary the prices of exports across an almost infinite range by varying the structure of taxation. In other words, the “cost” of exported goods and services is, in fact, almost infinitely elastic. And the level at which they are set is *primarily* determined by the arrangements made by public servants, not by the “efficiency” of the primary producers. It is on the ingenuity and innovativeness of our public servants that the level of our trade is *primarily* dependent. And this statement applies as much to the product-mix as to the overall level. For unless public servants create the conditions conducive to innovation and development of new goods and services in the society as a whole, the balance of our exports will swing toward labour-intensive, traditional products. It may be worth commenting that export prices can be trimmed to a very low level and still cover the direct (or marginal) costs of production (that is what such strategies as the establishment of duty-free ports are all about). This discussion serves to underline the importance of divorcing the mechanisms we use to administer the *internal* exchange of goods and services from those which we use to administer the *external* exchange of goods and services. There is, for example, no reason why the cost of caring for the elderly and the costs of reducing the dilapidation of urban areas, both of which are internal matters demanding little by way of imports, should be reflected in export prices.

But the resistance to acknowledging that public servants play a greater role than any other individual group of people in producing our wealth has a deeper cause too. It is associated with our out-moded tendency to equate wealth with goods. Like the other beliefs and perceptions we are concerned with in this chapter, that was no doubt appropriate in the conditions of poverty which existed a century and a half ago. But it is no longer appropriate. As we have already seen, the quality of our lives — the things we are prepared to pay for — is now *primarily* dependent on social services and the quality of the *overall* physical environment in which we live. These are provisions which can only be made on a communal basis, which can only

be established collectively, in which we all have an interest, and to which we all gain access. In other words, they call unmistakably for public provision.

So far, we have established, firstly, that there have been dramatic, and, as yet, barely recognised, changes in our society and the way in which it is organised, and secondly, that there have been good reasons for the change. There can be no going back.

The Need for New Ways of Monitoring the Workings of Public Institutions

In order to gain control over the social, political, and economic forces which have plagued us in the past, our organisations have grown larger and more all-encompassing. They will grow larger still.

But that creates problems. There is now no way in which a small group of elected representatives can monitor the workings of public servants grappling with such a wide range of inter-related policies and issues. New management practices and procedures are required. These new practices must:

- (1) create many more opportunities for those on whom the policies impinge to comment on, and influence, them.
- (2) create better mechanisms to allow the workings of the public service to be monitored in a professional manner and thereafter publicly debated.
- (3) find ways of reducing the conspicuous overload of government by delegating responsibility for monitoring the quality of provision and the actions of public servants to interest groups and to the public in general.
- (4) require managers (and, in particular, public servants) to behave in ways which are appropriate to running — and stimulating innovation in — the vast organisations they control.
- (5) require public servants, managers, employees, and citizens to develop the competencies, expectations and understandings which are required if they are to play their part in running such an organisation and society.
- (6) find ways of promoting adequate accountability, on an individual and a group basis, for both personal and organisational effectiveness.

All of these requirements merit further discussion, although some of them have already been mentioned in the last chapter. Here we may next discuss the mechanisms which are required to find out whether our policies are working effectively (and, if not, why not). We will later elaborate on the concepts of open government and participative democracy which are required.

At this point in history, it is obvious to all that our administered society and our public provisions are *not* working as well as they might. Witness our inability to develop and utilise the human resources available to our society. Witness the desire to wrest control over more of the economy from the public service and “return” it to the marketplace. Witness the widespread disaffection with the public service.

But although it is now fairly obvious that our administered society is not working as well as had been hoped, we should, in fact, have anticipated the problem and established from the beginning, better mechanisms to monitor and improve the quality of those policies. Unless we do this, we cannot find out whether things are working appropriately quickly enough to take corrective action, and, above all, we cannot establish the *reasons* why our policies are not working as we had hoped. Given that the reasons are, as has already been mentioned, likely to arise from the inter-relatedness of issues, the explanation of policy failures is unlikely to be obvious (although they *are* likely to be blamed on individuals). It is therefore unlikely that we will be able to discover whether our policies are working effectively and how to improve them without detailed, professional, studies carried out by policy-monitoring and development units.

The Need for New Means of Running the Economy

At this point it is important to note that it is not just in areas of public policy that social evaluation has become necessary. The introduction of social policies to deal with problems which were previously beyond the control of men has upset the operation of the marketplace even in areas in which it used to work reasonably well. Whereas the price of a product used to tell one something about the efficiency with which it was produced, the directives and subsidies already mentioned mean that its price no longer tells one very much about the efficiency of the production process. British Leyland cars may appear cheap, not because they have been efficiently produced, but because British Leyland has been “subsidised” in order to prevent high levels of unemployment and fund the development of areas of technology with which it is important for the country to keep abreast. Japanese cars may be cheap because all the robots deployed to produce them have been made available free of charge. Because of these interventions in “market pricing” attempts to do such things as assess the costs of replacing postmen by telephones and teleprinters may be grossly misleading. So may attempts to calculate the relative costs of replanning our cities — of moving the “buildings associated with the journeys” — instead of building roads and subsidising nationalised transport.

Sales, or the take-up of services, likewise tell one little about the nature of the demand for a good or service or what should be done to improve it. To illustrate the point, we may instance one of the services which was withdrawn from market evaluation very early on — education. If one has to pay for education whether one avails oneself of it or not, and it is clear that, by dropping out of the educational system, one increases one’s chance of leading a life of frustration, unemployment, and degradation, one is likely to persist in the educational system, not because of any real desire for the skills it helps one to develop, or even because these skills are useful to one in one’s later life, but simply for the social benefits it confers. The demand is therefore for the latent functions performed by the service and not for what it is intended to provide. The problem would remain even if control of education was “restored” to the economic marketplace. Under these circumstances it is obvious that one needs further studies to find out

whether the educational system has achieved both its social and educational objectives and, more importantly, whether the range of options provided is appropriate to the task of catering for people with very different values and priorities. Are all members of the population able to find an educational programme which they find equally satisfying? Does it help them to develop the competencies they will require in the sort of life they will lead? If the educational system is not functioning as effectively as it might, why is that? And what might be done about it? (In actuality, the types of inquiry required to answer the last two questions are very different from those required to answer the earlier ones, and public servants have had the greatest difficulty initiating the types of study which are required because these involve researchers in a considerable amount of fundamental research [see Raven, 1975, for a fuller discussion of these issues].) The same sort of data is required in relation to health, welfare, housing and planning services.

It is important to note here that it is not only the price of our oil, our butter, our electricity, our transport and our cars, which is determined in the way described above. The price of *everything* is inescapably affected. Prices of very many products — and therefore the “economic viability” of those products — are markedly affected by the (politically determined) charges which are made for energy and distribution, and by political decisions about which costs are to be included in export price calculations. Although these are given concrete expression in such policies as the deduction of V.A.T. from export prices, the provision of free robots, the provision of building grants and “free” R. & D. facilities, and the adoption of such strategies as the creation of duty-free ports, the real question at issue is, on the one hand, whether we require our third-world customers to contribute to the maintenance of our armed forces, our pollution-control systems, our health services, our pensions, our educational systems, and our highways, and, on the other hand, whether we will allow *their* goods into our economy (and thereby put our own producers out of business) at the prices at which they choose to market them if they do *not* provide an equivalent support structure for their population. (The answer to that question is not necessarily obvious. We may prefer to encourage certain imports in order to devote more of our resources to activities which will confer greater benefits in the long-term — such as research and development — and that decision requires more effective study of the long-term consequences of alternatives, and subsequent action on the part of public servants.)

In the light of the observations made in the last two paragraphs, it is obvious that detailed studies of the implications of alternatives are required as a basis on which to establish policies and that extensive evaluation studies — which go far beyond the marketplace — are required both to find out whether our social, economic and planning policies are working effectively and how to improve those policies.

We have in fact carried out a series of studies which might be used to illustrate the sort of methodology which is required. Although no attempt will be made to summarise them here (references will be found in the Bibliography), we will take one or two examples which are particularly germane to the current text to illustrate the position.

In the course of our research (Raven, 1980) we have been able to show that many people *are* dissatisfied with their consumer goods. They are still more dissatisfied with the quality of public provision — the quality of their urban environments, their schools, their refuse collection services, their health services, their welfare services. But they are *most* dissatisfied with their *relationship* with politicians and bureaucrats. *All* of these results are important from the point of view of establishing the arrangements which are required to administer public policy but, from the point of view of the present text, the last is the *most* important.

Those we interviewed were not at all clear about *what* was wrong with their relationship with politicians and bureaucrats — because they did not think it was right for them to seek to influence such people or to get differentiated treatments suited to their own priorities *from* them. (It will be argued later that this is the source of the problem.) But of the fact that there is something seriously wrong there is no doubt.

We have also made a detailed study of the workings of the educational system — and shown that there is indeed something very seriously wrong. Schools neither strive hard to foster, nor do in practice a great deal to develop, the qualities which most teachers, pupils, parents, employers, and employees think they should foster in pupils, and which it is, in fact, most important for them to acquire (Raven, 1977, 1981). In actual practice, they do very little to develop the talents of the pupils who pass through them. They are the *least* developmental, and are experienced to be the least satisfactory, environments in our society. Few secondary school pupils derive any *educational* benefit from the time they spend in school. The primary function of schools is to legitimise the rationing of privilege. It is not to educate or develop the talents of those who pass through them. Approximately two-thirds of the money spent on 'education' is wasted so far as the development of human resources is concerned.

Our research shows that no one is to blame for this appalling state of affairs, for what happens in schools is not determined by teachers, pupils, parents, Ministers for Education, or anyone else, but by the *sociological* function which schools perform for society. The problem cannot be rectified by schools themselves, but only by public servants and politicians taking action in relation to the *overall* management of society. One way in which these leaders and managers could move toward a solution to the *educational* problem would be to assure everyone in our society that their talents *would* be developed and utilised and that they would be able to share equitably, if not equally, in the good things available to society. That would reduce the demand for the credentials which it is the main — and very expensive — function of the educational system to provide. In other words, the solution to the "educational" problem demands action in areas which, at first sight, have little to do with educational policy. It cannot be rectified (except by accident) by intuitive action, still less by actions based on out-of-date theories about how to run society. It will therefore only be possible to solve the problem in one area of policy if there is *more* "co-ordination" between different sectors of public policy. Another critical ingredient in finding a

solution is to bring about a wide-spread change in public attitudes. The problem can, in fact, only be solved if more people come to believe in the legitimacy of gearing educational provision to individual pupils' values and interests instead of thinking that it is enough to give all pupils an equal opportunity to compete in the *same* race. In other words, it will only be possible to solve "the problem" if, among other things, more people change their perceptions of how society can and should work.

The implications for definitions of teacher competence should not be overlooked. The implication is that the competence of teachers, like everyone else, is critically dependent on their ability to analyse, understand, and influence wider social forces which critically determine what they can do. The view that, while it may be appropriate for teachers *as citizens* to seek to influence widely held beliefs and social processes, it is not their job to seek to influence these beliefs *as teachers* is incorrect — because their effectiveness *as teachers* is *primarily* determined by these social and civic beliefs, understandings and processes.

This very brief summary of some of our results relating to educational provision could be replicated in many other areas of policy — health provision (Klein, 1980, Rose, 1980), housing (Raven, 1966), welfare (Donnison, 1972), and in relation to the enormous costs of failure to engage in relative accounting (the fact that QUANGOS commonly spend more on promoting a semblance of public accountability for their work than on achieving their goals has already been mentioned. But the cost of civil servants' petty accounting procedures goes far beyond that. As Walker (1961) and Owen (1981) have shown, 25,000 people have, for thirty years, been employed at a single centre to do nothing else but check which of two D.H.S.S. funds claimants will be paid out of. Our failure to control the costs of such petty accounting and checking systems has been one of the biggest drains on our economy since the war. Meantime we have failed to estimate the cost of some of the larger drains on our economy "because they are hard to quantify exactly".

The Need for New Concepts of Government

Confronted with evidence that the effective administration of a socialised economy is plagued by serious problems, most members of our society evince one or other of two incompatible — and equally misguided — reactions. On the one hand they advocate making some one person in central government *responsible* for solving the problem. On the other hand, fearing an already too powerful central government, they advocate "decentralisation".

Neither of these reactions is appropriate. The basic reasons for the observed increase in government activity are *not* the reasons which led to the establishment of centralised administrations in the past. They are new and good reasons — and they do not in fact demand centralisation for their effective operation. Quite the opposite. But their effective operation does demand *new* concepts of devolution, democracy, bureaucracy, the role of the public servant, and the role of the citizen.

Decentralisation of government, for example, is an entirely inappropriate solution to the problems which plague us because, as we have seen, many of these problems can only be solved by *international* agreement. On the other hand many of our feelings of powerlessness and alienation stem from the fact that a single five-yearly vote cannot express, even crudely, what we feel about the adequacy of the wide variety of government policies which so seriously determine the quality of our lives. We *must* find means whereby we can comment *separately* on the adequacy of these policies. We *must* find ways in which our knowledge of why individual policies are less than adequate can be fed back to decision takers so that the policies can be improved. We *must* find ways in which we can obtain treatment geared to our own idiosyncratic needs and priorities, rather than the uniform treatment geared to the lowest common denominator in the population — that uniform grey taintiness which actually satisfies no one — which we all associate with State provision. We *must* find ways of enabling and encouraging public servants to reach decisions which take into account *all* relevant considerations and concerns and thereby avoid the rule-bound 'bureaucratic' decisions which lead so many of us to find the whole notion of a bureaucratically managed society so deeply repugnant. There is no way in which these goals can be achieved by a 'return' to the economic marketplace, because the functions which are most important never were, and cannot be, performed by that economic marketplace.

To solve this tension between the need for effective intervention policies and effective influence on the workings of administration we actually need radically *new* concepts of how society works and should work — new concepts of government, democracy, bureaucracy, and citizenship.

Structures for Policy Formulation and Implementation

It is widely assumed that bureaucratic management structures are, or should be, integrated and hierarchical. Nothing could be further from the truth. To take an example: both the formulation and execution of educational policy is dependent on the activities of at least the following groups:

- Parents (both as the most important educators of their children and representatives of 'consumers' in schools).
- Pupils (and pupil organisations).
- Teachers (and teacher organisations).
- The Parent Playgroup Association.
- Schools.
- Local Education Authorities.
- Ministers of Education.
- Colleges.
- Universities.
- Students (and their organisations).
- Adult Education Agencies.
- The Press and the Mass Media.

Social Work Authorities.
 Health Authorities.
 Employers' Organisations.
 Examination Boards.

As a result, neither the formulation nor the execution of educational policy (in any meaningful sense of the word) takes place through hierarchical institutions. Effective policy formulation and implementation therefore demands the co-operation of all these groups, many of which have different geographical and social bases. The difficulties which this poses are exacerbated by the fact that the previously mentioned tensions between the manifest and latent functions of the educational system affect these groups differently. Thus pupils are much more acutely and explicitly aware of the latent, crudely instrumental, social placement functions of the educational system than are teachers, and social workers are much more aware than are teachers of the destructive and socially damaging effects of much of what goes on in "educational" institutions.

Yet other problems stand in the way of unified policies and delivery systems. Even if we focus only on the manifest — educational and developmental — functions of the educational system, it is immediately obvious that appropriate policies must provide for multiple programmes and types of activity which reflect:

The age of the students.
 The area of the country in which they live.
 The variation in their talents and interests.
 The needs of the institutions in which they will live and work.

Internally diversified policies, which are hard to formulate as an integrated and consistent whole are therefore required.

The *delivery* of education also rests with numerous agencies — parents, schools, colleges, parent playgroups, universities, the WEA — and the effectiveness of any one agency is seriously affected by the activities of others.

The *effects* of what any one educational agency does are also both seriously affected by, and affect, what is done by agencies which do not have any explicit educational role. Thus, the prison service not only has to cope with problems which may have been created, exacerbated, or neglected by the educational system, but also forms *part* of the educational system itself. Housing policy, by creating single class communities, can create major problems *for* the educational system. It can also perform important social and educational functions by, for example, creating balanced communities which allow people to familiarise themselves with others' values and ways of life or by providing the amenities which allow people to grow new roots in new communities, grow and develop in them, and lead satisfying lives. Welfare policies which treat people in a demeaning and degrading manner can destroy initiative, feelings of confidence, and competence to cope on one's own.

Given what has been said, it is obvious that policies and procedures *cannot* be centrally formulated and hierarchically administered, because any central agency would necessarily be ignorant of most of the relevant issues. The complex net of activities which comprise "educational policy" can therefore be developed and extended, both as a service and in relation to other services, only by *networks* of management personnel.

It may be thought that the networks of committees which have been established over the past 20 years provide the necessary communication frameworks. Unfortunately, such committees tend to be dominated by hierarchical concepts of co-ordination and plagued by boundary disputes. They operate on stultifying consensus models which prevent delegation of responsibility to individuals, and they are all too often comprised of people who have little direct contact with the problems of the services they are administering or the clients of those services and they have too little commitment to the hard work which is necessary for policy innovation.

Schon (1971/73) and Toffler (1981) have argued the case for government by *networks* in which the key actors are *marginal*, with all that that word implies by way of being both peripheral but innovative. Schon argues that, if one is to intervene effectively in the sort of network system we have earlier described in the educational system, one must utilise *an intervention system which parallels the system which is to be influenced*. This network must, however, be staffed by individuals who are committed to trying to influence their parts of the system in a discretionary manner, in a knowledge of the overall system, the functions of its parts, and what their colleagues are doing.

Schon argues that the main roles which are required in the intervention system are roles concerned with the design, creation, negotiation and management of *ad hoc* and continuing networks. These key roles include:

- The *Guide* who helps others to negotiate a difficult and fragmented system.
- The *Underground Manager* who maintains and operates informal, underground, networks of contacts across agency demarcations.
- The *Manoeuvrer* who can persuade and coerce *across organisational boundaries* to get specific *projects* off the ground.
- The *Broker* who is able and willing to cope with a mass of detailed legislation and red tape in order to make joint action possible.

Just note how different are these observations about who performs the most important work in our society from those traditionally taught in civics and management education. And note, too, that it is because we do not have an occupational classification which identifies these groups that, as noted in the previous chapter, we have so few studies of the critical competencies which are required by people who are so crucial to our society.

Schon argues that people performing these, and other, roles, need to attempt to make themselves nodes connecting formulation and delivery

networks which would otherwise remain isolated. It would appear that we need more people who see themselves performing *these* roles rather than striving to impose heavy-handed bureaucratic 'co-ordination' on organisations.

In the light of this discussion it is clear that we need to encourage more people to think more deeply about the structures which are required to administer a socialised economy and that we, as educators and personnel concerned with staff development, need to foster the motivation and the competence to perform these roles in staff development programmes and foster support for people performing such roles.

The Role of Public Servants in Managing Modern Society

As we have seen, one of the key changes which is needed in our society is wider recognition of the contribution which public servants in fact make to the quality of our lives. Our public servants *are* the people who do contribute most, and should contribute most, to the quality of our lives: they are the main producers of our wealth, for wealth is a product of organised activity, not a precursor to it, and monetary value inheres, not only in the *goods* which are available, but in the *arrangement* of those goods (as in physical planning) and the provisions which enable us to use and enjoy them (as in transportation, health, welfare and educational services). It is on what our *public servants* do that our quality of life and our wealth is *primarily* dependent. They should not, therefore, be seen as parasites living off the rest of us, but as the most important workers in our society. We are crucially dependent on what they, above all people, do. Yet widespread assumptions, both within the public service itself, and outside, are prejudicial to public servants' effective performance of their role.

Let us highlight a number of the conclusions which are emerging from our discussion of the role of public servants in society and consider some of their implications. The first conclusion to emerge from our work and to which we may draw attention here is that public servants are not only the people who play the most important management role in our society; the first duty of the public servant is to contribute to the management of our society. Unfortunately, in the course of our work, we met very few public servants who viewed their role in this way. As a result, very few asked themselves whether their organisations were contributing as effectively as they might to society or how the value of that contribution might be enhanced. A second conclusion to emerge from our discussion is that public servants are not only responsible for the overall quality of life in our society, they are also responsible for the quality of life of *individual* clients of their services. If they are to exercise this responsibility effectively, they need discretion to relate provision to individual needs. Again, we found few public servants who were prepared to ask what they could do to enhance the value of their services to those they were serving, fewer who were prepared to take on themselves responsibility for doing something about improving the quality of these services, and still fewer who were prepared to take responsibility for individual discretionary decisions about what was best for their clients in particular circumstances.

The Management of Innovation

A key responsibility among those which public servants exercise in managing our society and creating wealth is that of creating conditions which are conducive to innovation. Many widespread beliefs are prejudicial to the effective performance of their role in this area. It is widely believed, for example, that “necessity is the mother of invention” and that the provision of security will stifle innovatory activity. It is widely believed that scientists who are not kept on a tight reign by their (public service) customers will pursue ivory-tower trivia with no practical applications. It is widely believed that what our society needs is *technical* innovation, not social innovation. While a great deal remains to be done to identify the conditions which are conducive to innovation — a need which it is hoped that this book will go some way toward filling — it is necessary at this point to challenge some of these generic assumptions commonly made about the role of bureaucracy and public servants in the matter.

It is first necessary to challenge the notion that insecurity is crucial to invention. Research by Taylor and Barron (1963), McClelland (1961), Rogers (1962), Roberts (1968), Oeser and Emery (1974), and Pelz and Andrews (1966), consistently shows that developments in science and technology come from those who do not have to worry too much about their personal futures or meeting the demands and expectations of others. What is important is the strength of their personal motivation toward creativity and innovation, a climate of support for such activities, and tolerance of the mistakes which inevitably occur.

Not only has this been shown to be the case at the individual level, Jaques (1976) has shown, firstly, that the social invention of insurance and the limited company to protect people from individual risk and to provide financial security against failure, were crucial to business innovation. Secondly, that, contrary to the conventional wisdom, most of the most important innovations in modern society have come from the bureaucracy. Backwaters in the bureaucracy, where conditions conducive to innovation have apparently occurred by chance, have in fact proved to be the most fertile seed-beds for innovation in our society.

This is not, of course, to argue that all is well with bureaucracy. The dead hand of cost-conscious bureaucrats has indeed been responsible for choking off a great deal of innovation which should have been carefully nurtured. But it is important to note that the fault does not only lie with the state bureaucracy. Thus, Roberts (1968) found that 39 companies had been started by 44 former employees of a single large electronics company in the United States. Within a few years these companies had between them total sales of twice those of the parent company. This result was replicated in firm after firm. As Kirtton (1980) and Litwin and Siebrecht (1967) have shown, corporate attitudes, expectations and accounting procedures are frequently anything but conducive to innovation. Nevertheless, it is important to caution the reader against drawing what would be an entirely misleading conclusion from Roberts’ work, namely that all would be well if only the management of innovation was “restored” to the marketplace. This notion

can best be challenged by adding one crucial bit of information: most of these successful companies established by ex-employees of “bad” bureaucratic firms sold their ideas to public servants employed in large departments and with whom they already had contact from their previous employment. It was the ability of officials in the Department of Defence, and at NASA, to release what we would regard as vast sums of money into “risky” projects without getting up-tight about the possibility that those concerned might make a significant profit out of the “public monies” so involved, and without worrying too much about the risks involved, which made it possible for many of these companies to be floated and to survive. Such attitudes are all too uncharacteristic of public servants in the United Kingdom. The role of public servants who have delegated to them the right to make discretionary judgements which involve taking risks with public money to fund individuals rather than plans and to support even those innovators who make mistakes once again turns out to lie at the heart of the matter.

It is important to emphasise that what is being argued here represents a synthesis between the thesis of free-marketeers like Hayek (1960) and the rational planners he criticises. With Hayek we are arguing that it is extremely difficult — indeed almost impossible — for wise men to distinguish between good ideas and others. This is partly because what will turn out to be a good idea is dependent on its fusion with other good ideas which, unknown to those concerned, are bubbling along at the same time. We are agreed that it is essential to allow things to evolve and see what happens (“British Empiricism”) rather than to engage in “rational planning”. But we are also arguing that it is the bureaucracy, and only the bureaucracy, which can provide the security, the sums of money, and the climate which is required to support innovation in modern society and that our society can, indeed must, support a considerable amount of high-risk innovation. And we are also arguing that the mounting of experiments is now a major operation which needs to be planned, monitored, and, if necessary, called to a halt. And numerous government reports (Rothschild 1971, 1982; Alvey, 1982; ABRC, 1982) have all supported this conclusion — although their conclusions have in effect been overturned by the penny-pinching way in which they have been interpreted by civil servants who are terrified of discretion and the possibility that someone might make money out of public funds. We have also transformed Hayek’s thesis by arguing that the innovations we most urgently need are in the public domain itself. And we have argued that it is necessary to use sophisticated tools from the social sciences to assess the effects of innovation rather than rely exclusively on the judgement of the economic marketplace, the public, or public servants.

In this context it is important to note that economic development in the United States over the last quarter of a century has been innovation-led rather than investment-driven. In other words, in the U.S., the crucial steps in the process of economic development have involved the development of innovation followed by a willingness on the part of those with finance (public servants) to back those innovations. It has *not* been initiated by

customers hiring researchers to develop the products they “need”. Financiers and public servants do not “know what they want” until someone puts the product in front of them.

In Japan (Vogel, 1979), things have been very different. There, there have been very careful world-wide market research type surveys of economic openings and trends and very careful compilation and review of the most advanced information available in those countries. Whereas the U.S. model is “British Empiricism” on a grand scale, and with very little attention to the public arena (“Private affluence and public squalor”), the Japanese model is a “rational planning” model, wholeheartedly applied. Its Achilles Heel is that it is heavily dependent on systematically reviewing the benefits of the “British Empiricism” model *applied in other countries*. In this way, it has been possible to externalise the basic development costs which, as Hayek correctly argues, cannot be organised in any other way.

The current problems of the U.K. stem from:

- (1) a widespread lack of interest in innovation.
- (2) the fact that many widely-held beliefs — particularly about the relationships to be established between public servants and others and about the appropriateness of taking risks with public money — are incompatible with innovation.
- (3) the fact that the developments which are needed are no longer those in which ‘British Empiricism’ can operate on a small scale, but those which are choked off by beliefs about the operation of the public sector in relation to spending on a large scale.
- (4) widespread unwillingness to contribute to rational planning of the Japanese sort because of the remnants of individualism, unwillingness to co-operate, and jealousy. Such participation and co-operation has neither worked nor been encouraged in the past.

Quality Control in the Public Service

So far we have seen that both the general public and public servants need more frequently to accept:

- (1) that public servants now play the primary role in the management of society.
- (2) that public servants now have a major role to play in managing the boundary between our own society and others.
- (3) that we urgently need new structural relationships between public servants and citizenry.
- (4) that the areas in which innovation in management are most urgently needed are in relation to the administration of the public service itself and public policy in general.
- (5) that public servants urgently need to make greater efforts to tailor provision to the needs of sub-groups within the population and to the idiosyncratic needs of individuals.

We will now review the need to find ways of ensuring that the public service operates effectively.

Chapman (1978) has provided a useful picture of the inertia and lack of concern with efficiency and effectiveness which permeates the public service. His book documents, on the one hand, the enormous energy, manpower and other savings which it is possible to make by introducing arrangements to monitor the efficiency of the service and, on the other hand, civil servants' resistance to implementing such review activities and taking actions on the basis of their findings. It is virtually impossible to stop things which *are* (but which should not be) going on, and to start things which should be going on but are not.

One of the things which should have been stopped years before it was, was the building of high-rise housing. Research carried out by the author and his colleagues at the civil service's own Building Research Station in the early 60s showed that these:

- (1) were more expensive both to build and to maintain than equivalent two-storey housing.
- (2) housed fewer people per acre than equivalent two-storey housing.
- (3) offered far fewer desired amenities (like gardens and garages) which could be provided for the same cost at the same density in two-storey housing.
- (4) were, for good reason, considered by their occupants to be far less desirable than two-storey housing. The reasons included the fact that they could not supervise their children adequately from high up, that they imposed a sedentary way of life, and they deprived the occupants of the opportunity to modify their dwellings in the way characteristic of those who occupy two-storey housing.
- (5) had unacceptably low-levels of thermal insulation, often resulting in unnecessary cold and damp.
- (6) were often structurally unsafe.
- (7) symbolised for their occupants the local authority's control over their lives, regimentation, and uniformity. They expressed in steel and concrete public servants' disdain for the wishes of their paymasters and the fact that there was no effective way in which the public could command their servants to serve them more appropriately.

Yet local authorities continued building them right through to the 80s! One of the reasons for this was that tenants looked to authorities, rather than their peers, for assistance in dealing with their problems. Another was that public servants felt that they had much more control over both the finances of the builders and the lives of people who lived in tall blocks than over the lives of those who lived in two-storey housing. (Their views were reciprocated, not so positively, by those who lived in them).

This same quest for control, coupled with a revulsion at the thought that anyone might make a profit out of public funds, lies behind public servants' insistence on doing other things in a grossly inefficient manner. Chapman's

examples include growing trees at a true cost amounting to several times the market price and running a car pool costing many times that of hiring taxis for the same service.

But identification of much of the gross wastage of resources in the public service — ranging from spending time doing things which do not need to be done, organising car rallies in official time, and wasting energy heating empty buildings — can only be achieved by:

- (i) opening up the public service to a much greater degree of public surveillance.
- (ii) finding ways of encouraging members of staff who spot such problems and potential savings to draw attention to them and
- (iii) finding ways of ensuring that good suggestions are in fact acted upon rather than side tracked.

To achieve these goals it is essential to establish an organisational climate which is conducive to innovation and concerned with effectiveness. The strategies which are required to do this are discussed in Chapter 11 of this book. Here it is sufficient to underline the need for both appropriate accounting tools and for policy development units which will, in fact, identify the real reasons why suggestions are not acted upon and identify the more absurd aspects of policy which continue without question from year to year.

It is often thought (as Chapman thinks) that these problems could be solved by privatisation. Far from it. For a salutary lesson to this effect we may summarise the results of another study conducted by Roberts in 1967. When he examined the *actual* — as distinct from the formal — process of decision-taking involved in funding research and development in the United States, he found that the *actual* decisions were based on a much more direct assessment of personal capacity than would appear from the formal procedure of requesting hundreds of proposals, putting each out for several hundred reviews, and selecting winners. In fact, in 90% of the cases he studied, the civil servants concerned could identify who would be the winner before the review process was initiated. The process itself was a charade — but a charade which wasted an enormous amount of money. Hundreds of man years were spent preparing proposals and a similar number of man years wasted reviewing each submission. Each submission was checked against thousands of criteria. Unfortunately, the central problem with the review process was that “the proposed technical approaches to the solution of advanced problems are only the subject of speculation . . . only opinions”. In other words, as we have noted, one is in fact relying on the unverifiable judgements of individuals and “the best person to decide what shall be done is the man doing the research”.

The criteria which were *actually* used in the small number of cases in which a real decision had to be taken about who would get the contract included “the contractor’s trustworthiness . . . his flexibility, his willingness to work out unexpected problems amicably, the sharpness of his technical staff”. The winners were much more likely than the losers to have worked previously with the government agency concerned and to be known to

them. The paper mountains which were moved from desk to desk were an epiphenomenon — not a contributory factor in the decision-making process. In this context, not only did the formal procedures in fact waste vast resources, they undermined morale and, eventually, the whole enterprise, by teaching people that efficiency does not matter and that it is more important to play games in order to satisfy “the machine”.

Finally, the study shows that making the contractors' profits depend on the quality of their estimating and on their performance did *not* yield improved performance over cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts. The “profit motive” does *not* work — even in America — although it does have other effects like promoting harmful short-cutting and work stoppage threats. Formal review procedures and an emphasis on the use of competitive bids does not, therefore, improve performance. Quite the reverse. The costs of implementing the system are vast, demoralising, and de-stabilising.

Criteria and Procedures of Accountability

It would seem from the material which we have reviewed in this chapter that there is an urgent need for procedures which will:

- (1) enable public servants to be held collectively accountable for
 - improving the management structure and operation of society.
 - their ability to innovate and stimulate innovation in others.
- (2) Enable *individual* public servants to be held accountable for:
 - taking initiative and engaging in innovatory activity.
 - exercising judgement and discretion in an effective way.
 - varying their behaviour to meet the needs of individual clients.
 - their ability to release energy, enthusiasm, and creativity in others.
- (3) Enable the public service to be open to:
 - scrutiny from individual members of the public and interest groups (as we have seen, it is no longer possible for the vast array of crucial policies which now exist, and which predominantly determine the future and welfare of our society, to be adequately monitored through government).
 - suggestions from the public concerning new tasks to be done and new ways in which to perform existing tasks.
 - demands from the public for personalised treatment in the context of a diversity of overall policies.
- (4) Enable individual public servants — and other members of the public — to be released from their day-to-day activities to research problems which only they have noticed and subsequently to work on the development of solutions to those problems.
- (5) Enable public servants and members of the public to *initiate* — through Policy Research and Development Units — research activities related to problems which they, because of their position, have noticed.

These notions, in turn, clearly imply the development of new accountability procedures, new concepts of the role of the public service, new concepts of the public servant, new concepts of the role of the citizen, and a concept of the public service, public servant and citizen which, taken together, amount to a new form of government — a new form of democracy — *participative* democracy, as distinct from *representative* democracy.

These conclusions have a number of further implications which may be spelt out.

One of the most important of these is that there is a need to get away from holding public servants accountable for not having made mistakes, for having avoided personal responsibility through collective decision-taking, for having accounted correctly for small sums of money despite the immense costs of those accounting systems assessed both in financial terms and in terms of stifling innovation. (We have already noted the enormous costs of doing such things as allocating welfare claims to one fund rather than another and the costs of maintaining a facade of competitive tendering, but we could equally well have instanced the costs of high level manpower processing 'claims' from public servants and the public and the costs of committees and QUANGOS set up to administer tiny amounts of money. Equally important are the effects of focusing attention exclusively on cost-cutting operations rather than on stimulating activity designed to ensure that all the human resources available are employed as effectively as possible in maximally developmental activity).

Contrary to what many people believe, a focus on benefits, rather than costs, does not lead to inefficiency. Quite the reverse. No one who is truly concerned with benefits will waste either time or money. A focus on benefits yields the attitude: "The labour's there, this is an important thing to do, we can organise the activity in such a way as to avoid upsetting our balance of payments — so let's do it — and do it *well* and quickly". It leads to the notion: "It sounds like a good idea so let's get him to do it and see what comes of it". In contrast, a focus on costs leads to penny-pinching policies which discourage risk taking and innovation and, in particular, discourage activities which may require further injections of cash to turn them into successes. It leads to the establishment of extremely expensive and ponderous accounting and advisory procedures whereby vast committees and hierarchies of activities are set up to oversee the spending of trivial sums of money. It would therefore be cheaper and more beneficial to cast one's bread on the waters. And if evaluation procedures *are* needed, they are in terms of trustworthiness, discretion, *need* Achievement, innovativeness, flexibility, and managerial ability as defined here.

In order to reduce the current wastage of resources at mindless job-protection activities (such as the production of parts which are known to be defective in order to avoid being seen to have nothing to do and on the grounds that the more money that has been invested, the less likely it is that a programme would be scrapped) it will be necessary to create mechanisms whereby public servants and the public in general can, without going through their MPs, initiate enquiries into the value of apparently pointless

activities. We have already discussed the difficulties involved in assessing in advance the developmental potential of innovative activities and it is not necessary to describe the problem and the ways in which it may be solved again here. It is more important to note that the gross inefficiency of the public service more often derives from:

1. Failure to tackle the wider social processes which make for the perpetuation of unnecessary activities (examples include our failure to put a stop to the extremely expensive checking procedures which dominate our taxation and administrative systems, and the socio-logical processes which result in a continuing demand for 'education' when that 'education' confers no developmental benefits on those concerned).
2. A concern to avoid *blame* and, as a result, to (a) engage in corporate decision-taking which results in many senior people having to come together to decide on relatively trivial matters and the implementation of procedures which destroy initiative, innovativeness and responsibility in others, and (b) procrastinate rather than initiate the risky actions which are needed to do something about important problems.
3. Policies which have long outlived their usefulness because the problem which they were designed to solve no longer exists or because so many people are employed in them that it would be unthinkable to cancel them. (Numerous examples are cited by Chapman (1978) and many others will be found in the Health Service).
4. Penny-pinching checking procedures which destroy motivation by assuming that those concerned lack goodwill and responsibility. Such penny-pinching checking procedures include not only the deeply destructive, degrading, and inhumane checking procedures of the welfare services but also such things as clocking or signing-in and out at work. The effect of such procedures is to destroy people's inclination and ability to take responsibility for solving their own problems for themselves or to contribute solutions to society's more general problems. (They do this by treating *all* in a demeaning way, thereby indicating that *all* are untrustworthy, and insisting that *all* conform to rules which are, in reality, designed to catch a few defaulters and which don't work anyway because untrustworthy people find ways round them. It would be far more appropriate to create a climate in which it was unthinkable for anyone to do anything other than turn in the best performance of which they were capable).

These remarks point to the enormous scope for increasing the efficiency of the public service and our society in general. But they also indicate that the solutions to our problems are to be found by proceeding in a direction very different to that on which we have embarked. To reap the benefits which would be so readily available to us it will be necessary to establish new types of organisations staffed by people who do not hold the conceptions of their jobs or society which are current in the public service.

Roles in the Public Service

In fact the *public service* itself needs to explicitly provide for new roles which it would simply not have been able to tolerate in the past. These roles include those of:

Critic

Muck-raker

Whistle-blower

Entrepreneur

Organisational invader

Advocate — for both the less articulate members of the public service and less powerful and articulate groups in the community

Change agent

Prophet

Visionary

The public service urgently needs to create opportunities for members of staff to devote time to doing these things and to accord legitimacy to such activities as exposing the reasons for resistance to the growth in public activity which, as we have seen, is so necessary. The service needs, for example, to make room within its ranks for people who will call attention to the fact that one of the reasons why the concept of planning now encounters so much opposition is that public planning has, in the past, not only been associated with autocratic and absurd bureaucratic decisions which do not take account of particular circumstances, but has also, in the event, turned out to be anything but *rational* planning. “Rational planning” — by bureaucrats — was intended to overcome and avoid the problems of “haphazard development” brought about by the marketplace — urban squalor, blight etc. Too frequently, however, such bureaucrats have overlooked needs and feelings which were hard to make explicit and quantify — such as the reactions of tenants to multi-storey housing and the reactions of pupils to vast concrete jungles called schools. Too often planners have paid insufficient attention to considerations which could not be quantified and weighted against other considerations. Too often they have regarded certain considerations — such as a tenant’s concern with the sort of person who would become his neighbours — as *illegitimate* concerns even though the people involved would have been prepared to back their feelings with cash in the economic marketplace. By dismissing such considerations as irrelevant and “subjective” planning has often become anything but rational. It has often become *less* complete and less responsive to ‘non economic’ needs than the (rightly) discredited marketplace. Likewise the term “to educate” (which means to “draw out and develop”) has too frequently come to mean “to put in, to control, and to stultify”, and the word “community” has, despite its warm, human connectedness connotations, come to be used for places where no one knows anyone and in which the ‘welfare’ workers — social workers, doctors and teachers — on whom the members of the community are so dependent do not live.

These are merely examples. The point is that, if the public service is to be effective, it must make room within its ranks for those who will expose such sleight-of-mouth, who will expose, and who will fearlessly investigate, defects and inefficiencies in public policy. If we do not make such appointments, public reaction will be such as to demand a diminution in the public service itself. It will, in the process, kill the golden goose.

Although it would, in the past, have been thought inappropriate for public servants to do any of these things, the public service cannot now do its job without people to perform such roles. And not only the *people*, but people provided with a network — an institutional framework — which will legitimise their activities and provide them with support in times of difficulty.

New Expectations of the Public Service

We may spell out a number of further implications which seem to follow from what has been said about the public service:

- . Most of the problems with which the public sector now has to grapple do not lie within traditional boundaries like health, education, or industrial policy, but are overarching problems which have to do with the operation of society as a whole or with the links between these traditional areas of policy. For these reasons, such problems have frequently been categorised and dismissed as 'political', and, as such, outside the remit of the public service itself. Unfortunately, the *only* people who can devote the necessary time and resources to thinking about and tackling such problems are public servants.
- . It is inappropriate to try to solve the problems of interconnectedness by creating vast departments like the Department of the Environment. The necessary interconnections cannot be achieved through hierarchical structures but only by creating networks of organisations with many lateral links.
- . Public servants urgently need new concepts for thinking about how society works, and their role and that of others within it, to guide their actions. There is therefore an urgent need to set a number of social scientists to work to look at the nature of modern society and the institutions, understandings, and tools which are required to run it effectively.
- . New perceptions, understandings and tools are required to hold public servants individually and collectively accountable for the best use of the human resources available to the public service and to society and for stimulating initiative, discretion, flexibility, and the acceptance of personal responsibility by all members of the population.
- . New understandings and tools are required to administer diversified public policies capable of tapping idiosyncratic potentialities in members of the population and meeting their idiosyncratic needs.

Thus, new tools are required to formulate, administer and evaluate public policy. Research and development units to develop these understandings and tools are therefore urgently needed.

Many of the problems which the public service is trying to tackle have a major cross-cultural dimension. Research and development units are therefore required to develop the understandings of, for example, the ramifications, both internal and external, of pricing particular goods and services in particular ways, of stimulating particular developments in manufactured goods, community services, etc. and the initiation of trans-national corporations in the interests of the United Kingdom. (In this context it may be remarked that export 'prices' do not need to be related to the 'costs' of production but rather to the ability of the market to bear the price and our need for particular external currencies. However, any action does need to be taken in the context of a full awareness of its implications for other imports and exports and the overall development of world trade. Detailed knowledge of the flows and connections between different types of import, export, service, and social development is, therefore, needed in order to establish price structures for particular goods and services).

The Supervision of Public Policy

So far in this chapter we have established that the quality of our lives is primarily determined by the activities of public servants, both because they themselves provide the amenities and services on which the quality of our lives is mainly dependent and because they create and manage the conditions which encourage (or discourage) innovation and trade. Likewise, we have established that the enormous role which the public service plays in society cannot be effectively supervised by elected representatives. The role of elected representatives is to introduce alternative ways of doing things and to monitor their effectiveness. And we have seen that new, formal, social-science based, accounting procedures and research and development units are required to run modern society effectively. But what about mechanisms to enable the public to monitor what is going on: we have spoken about openness and access, but can we be more specific?

In the last chapter we discussed the inappropriateness of committee surveillance and consensus decision-taking *in management*. The same remarks apply with even greater force to committee surveillance and decision-taking in the public service. In order to create a semblance of public accountability vast numbers of Quasi-Autonomous, Non-Governmental Organisations (QUANGOs) have grown up to supervise aspects of public policy. These QUANGOs tend to be made up of appointed representatives of numerous organisations and interest groups. But since the number of people with time available to sit on such boards and councils is limited, the same faces tend to appear on many of them. Furthermore, it is the peripatetic civil servants who carry most weight on

these bodies and intrude their petty public-servants' concerns into the most detailed decisions. Actually, it is not the criteria which the public service applies to itself which they foist upon QUANGOs but a special, particularly restrictive, set of public service criteria which are reserved for organisations extrinsic to the Service. For while the public service itself will commonly release vast sums of money in pursuit of poorly thought through policies on the say-so of one or two individuals, it has developed a special brand of penny-pinching paranoia which it applies in its dealings with outside bodies. Public servants are particularly frightened that someone will discover a minor irregularity in the deployment of funds of QUANGOs and create a public furore about it. Peripatetic public service accountants are therefore despatched to check both that every decision made by the managers of QUANGOs accords with demeaning rules and that expenses are allocated to specific sub-heads which cannot be varied without the investigation and approval of the most senior and well-paid staff in the public service and their underlings and secretaries. They thereby deprive QUANGO managers of virtually all opportunities to exercise discretionary judgement. The whole process is deeply demeaning for both the staff of the QUANGOs concerned and the public servants involved.

Toward Supervisory Networks

What alternatives might be envisaged? One widely canvassed solution is privatisation — but this does little to solve the problem — for the “firms” concerned would still hold their contracts only so long as they enjoyed the goodwill and patronage of particular civil servants. Paying the piper, these public servants would still call the tune without themselves being subject to any effective form of public accountability.

It is not clear what alternative arrangements might be adopted. But pursuit of one line of thought might lead to a solution. We have seen that new, formal, social-science based accounting procedures are required to hold public servants publicly accountable for responding to suggestions which are made to them.

In the context of such procedures a network of public monitoring groups to oversee the work of public servants would be effective. Let us take education as an example. Many people have an interest in, and expertise on, the quality of educational provision, whether as pupils, ex-pupils, parents, employees, employers, teachers or researchers. There is therefore an enormous pool of expertise, experience and goodwill available in this area. A relatively fluid structure of monitoring groups could therefore be set up — monitoring groups to examine the work of particular teachers, schools, educational institutions, groups of children, advisory services, regional organisations, national authorities, and the outcomes of research activities. Such groups could monitor the effectiveness of policy and the links established between educational policy and other areas of policy and investigate alternative arrangements. It would be relatively easy to establish channels of communication between such groups — channels of communication designed to improve education at classroom level, school

level, regional level, and national level. The work of the public servants involved — at whatever level — from classroom teacher to Permanent Secretary — would be open to inspection by whomsoever had the time and the interest to go along. Such observers would not have the right to *demand* that public servants comply with their suggestions, except in relation to services supplied to them as individuals, but they could have the right to make their views and observations known, both to the public servants concerned and to the general public. The official, for his part, would be required to convince relevant monitoring groups that his behaviour was at least one of the justifiable options. Normally, of course, the procedure would simply serve to keep everyone on their toes and no heavy-handed intervention would be required. But if intervention *were* required, intervention and transfer to a more appropriate post would become a great deal easier than it is today. The system would be far from perfect — but it would be a significant improvement on current arrangements.

It is important to emphasise that this whole process could be brought about without central legislation; monitoring groups could simply begin to meet and, as they became established and effective, and as they came to influence public opinion and promote debate on important issues, it would become accepted that they had a right to a voice and that the members had a right to release from their “normal” jobs to perform such an essential service for society.

The main objections to such a system are:

- (1) that it would take up a disproportionate amount of time on the part of the public servants concerned — but, given the enormous costs of our current accounting systems, and the gross inefficiency of the public service, that objection can be discounted.
- (2) that the public are ignorant and uninterested. In response to this objection I can only say that in my experience as a survey worker I have found the public to be both interested and informed about aspects of the workings of policy of which public servants in their offices are often totally ignorant. It is true that the public was often not informed about aspects of policy of which public servants were aware — but that is largely because little attempt was made to promote discussion of these issues. The case for promoting more widespread monitoring of, and debate about, public policy seems to be overwhelming.

The Need for Policy Development Units

So far we have explored the new criteria against which public servants need to be judged and held accountable, we have emphasised the development of the tools needed to do this, and we have advocated one mechanism which would help to contribute to the process — openness of the public service to public surveillance.

But many of the most serious failures of public policy do not stem from the lack of effective exercise of discretion and the obvious failure of public servants to ask themselves how they could perform their activities more

effectively. They stem from causes which are not at all obvious. For example, the fact that some two-thirds of the money spent on secondary education is wasted stems from the fact that the latent (and most important) function of secondary schools is to perform a *sociological* function for society and not to perform an educational function. Likewise, the fact that we have continued to build high rise blocks for some twenty years after the public service itself had shown that such buildings could not be justified except in certain specific circumstances has to do with the fact that local authorities had no means of picking up the research which was available and the fact that building was associated with other needs — such as a desire to retain “control” over builders and tenants and the fact that architects liked building monuments to themselves rather than “mundane” two-storey housing.

What these (and other examples which could be cited) show is that the clarification of appropriate public policies, the assessment of their effectiveness, and the assessment of why they are failing, is heavily dependent on appropriate professional research. It is frequently *not* obvious what to do. Indeed, even the problems are not obvious and still less frequently is it the case that they are what they at first seem to be. Despite the fact that a number of policy research and development units have been established since the war, there are nothing like enough of them — and there were nothing like enough of them even before Mrs Thatcher's government set about closing them down in the mistaken belief that one could reduce the role of the public service in society. Likewise, the function of such units as have been established has so often been seen as merely collecting data for use by public servants. Since it is the *definition of the problem* which is most problematical it is necessary to reconsider this position. The question of the relationship to be established between researchers and policy-makers on the one hand, and citizens on the other, requires urgent discussion. Reference may be made to Donnison (1972), Cherns (1970), and Raven (1972, 1975, 1977).

Sources of Resistance to Public Provision

Having, in the course of this chapter, developed a strikingly unusual (and positive) view of the public service, it may be useful to list some of the reasons why there is currently so much opposition to the public service itself.

The following reasons for resistance to the public service have already been mentioned: the irrationality of much decision-taking; the hide-bound, uninfluenceable, and contextually inappropriate rule-bound decisions of many individual bureaucrats; the uninfluenceability of policy decisions and their anonymity; the pretence of powerlessness on the part of public servants; the unwillingness of many public servants to accept responsibility for the effects of their actions; public servants' tendency to engage in buck-passing and to ensure that they are not personally responsible for any decisions which might produce a backlash; the inefficiency introduced by referring all potentially embarrassing decisions to committees; the

inefficiency introduced by cost-accounting systems gone mad; the absence of effective links between different sectors of public policy; and the tendency of bureaucrats to generate rules which, while intended to prevent a small minority of the population from engaging in unethical and potentially socially destructive anti-social behaviour, have a generally demotivating effect which crushes the growth of initiative and personal responsibility. These procedures communicate the message that people are viewed with contempt and as lacking in the goodwill, the ability, and the commitment needed to contribute to society. Not only do the processes communicate these messages, the legislation often pressurises people into low-level behaviour. To get their rights they have to submit to demeaning inquisitions into their lives and acquiesce with demands that they behave in self-depreciating ways. This kills their initiative, self-reliance and self-confidence.

But perhaps more serious than any of these reasons for opposition to the growth of public provision is its tendency toward that uniform grey taintness and lack of variety which actually satisfies no one. This is a product of our cultural concern with equality in public provision and the widely-held belief that public provision should be *uniform*: the belief that bureaucrats are fallible and that to give them the discretion they would need to administer internally diversified policies would result in the more articulate and the more powerful members of society getting an even better deal than they do at present, whether in health, housing or education. The result has been a definition of equality which asserts that everyone should get equal treatment however bad, rather than equal access to treatment geared to their own priorities. To avoid this problem one needs *tools* to administer internally diversified policies (tools which will take account of subjective feelings in the way in which the economic marketplace takes account of inarticulate feelings when it is working properly) and accountability procedures which will enable us to find out whether individual public servants have administered diversified policies in an impartial and equitable manner.

Concepts of Democracy, the Role of the Politician, and the Role of the Citizen

What we have said about the structures of government and the role of the bureaucracy has major consequences for our concept of democracy itself.

What has been said implies that we must move away from a concept of *representative* democracy toward a concept of *participative* democracy. There is now no way in which a small number of representatives could do all that needs to be done to monitor the quality of provision and enact more appropriate policies. This feedback and these improvements *can* only come about through much more significant and continuous interaction between citizens and public servants. The function of politicians must now be to establish these overarching structures for the administration of the society and to monitor their effectiveness, not to seek to establish and monitor the effectiveness of the vast number of detailed policies which are required.

It follows from what has been said that the policies which are implemented by public servants will not on the whole be decided on by votes but by discussion. For most of the policies, while they will affect everyone, will not be of direct concern to everyone. Thus, while much more use does need to be made of surveys and feedback obtained through developments in communications technology, most of the developments which are needed will come about through discussion between citizens and public servants. Politicians cannot *possibly* be informed about all the issues on which they are now asked to take decisions.

The discussion in the last paragraph carries a major implication for the way British people conceive of democracy — for while a single vote every five years or so can meaningfully comment on the overall performance of the government, it cannot possibly provide the detailed feedback which is now required. Detailed, articulate, interaction with public servants is needed. Now the British people have, in the past, proved extremely reluctant to make their views explicit, and they regard interaction with officials as both futile and undesirable. And futile it was — for public servants were not held accountable for acting on suggestions made to them by anyone other than elected representatives. This is not an isolated set of attitudes, for its parallel is to be found in the marketplace of goods and services — where the British, unlike the citizens of many other countries, are reluctant to complain and suggest improvements, but prefer simply to vote with their pennies and take their custom elsewhere. It would seem, therefore, that the behaviours which are now needed in the area of government run counter to some very basic British attitudes particularly as most of the population regard complainers, troublemakers and whistle-blowers as tainted. We need to move from this voting with our feet toward viewing intellectual argument as efficacious — and developing the procedures of accountability which are needed to ensure that it is effective.

Next we may note that British people have tended to equate “democracy” with “the majority vote”. Now, as we have seen, different people make very different demands on the public service, some making the greatest demands on cultural provision, others on environmental conservation (businessmen), others on leisure facilities, others on transport facilities, and others again on education. Within services, different people have very different priorities. The need is, therefore, to develop policies which will allow people with different priorities, both between and within services, to obtain provision which will meet their needs. There is no way in which majority decisions offering the same thing, or the same opportunities, to everyone can meet the variety of needs. Provision must meet the priorities of multiple interest groups — both within and between services. Yet the majority of the population have, in the past, regarded pandering to pressure groups as somehow undesirable. The concept of majority decisions which are binding on everyone must therefore be replaced by a concept of majority decisions which allow people with different priorities to get treatment geared to their own priorities. Toffler has suggested that geographical region *was* in the past the best proxy for variation in needs and priorities — and that it was this that led us to establish

regional representation in parliament. Whatever the validity of this argument this is no longer the case. The need now is to find ways of representing the variety we have mentioned. And this means quite different concepts of what it is appropriate to take majority decisions about. It also means taking decisions about whose views are to count when taking “majority decisions” on particular issues. And it means developing voting and feedback mechanisms to facilitate the gathering of information from interested and concerned sub-groups within the population on a much wider range of issues and on a much more regular basis.

In conclusion, we have argued that the role of the politician in establishing the overall structures, institutions and understandings — both nationally and internationally — which are required implies the need to delegate many of the activities in which they at present engage to public servants and to public monitoring groups. We have emphasised the need for a new, active, involved, concept of good citizenship. We have argued that this is not unrealistic given, firstly, the conception of government which we have developed, secondly, the fact that most of us now work, directly or indirectly for the public service itself, and can therefore be expected to devote time to such activities in the course of our normal working day, and thirdly, developments in communications technology which will allow people to vote easily and quickly from the comfort of their own homes on a wide variety of issues.

The conception of good citizenship implied by this way of thinking is dramatically different from the traditional view of good citizenship. What is now required is a concept of good citizenship which encompasses everything an individual does in the course of his daily life: does he consider the long term social consequences of his actions and strive to do things which will result in the greatest long term good for his society? It is up to him to do something about problems which he alone has noticed and about insights which he alone has gained. It is up to him to do something about these things in the context of an assumption that these are not isolated instances, but symptoms of a wider social process which it is his responsibility to understand and influence.

Concepts of “Business”, “Profitability”, Wealth and Money

We have seen that businesses are now required to perform a very large number of activities on behalf of the State (administering pensions, VAT, health and welfare provisions, etc.) and that most businesses sell most of their products directly or indirectly to the State or to other nationalised industries (buses, aeroplanes, buildings, roads, etc.). We have seen that many of the research and development activities undertaken by “private” firms are markedly influenced by the policies of the civil servants who monitor their affairs. And we have seen that most businesses are dependent on the State for providing services they require: research and development in the universities and government laboratories, education and training, health services, welfare services, housing, unemployment benefit for their employees, energy, transportation systems.

pollution control systems, and international trade services. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that their profitability is *primarily* dependent on their relationship with the State and, in particular, on the ability of their accountants to understand and exploit financial legislation and to engineer favourable legislation on the part of the State, and on others who are able to secure government contracts, whether at home or abroad. Indeed, cross-culturally, profitability often comes from deeply unethical exploitation of the absence of regulatory legislation in countries in which the population is unaware of the hazards of pollution or the effects of drugs, or in which the government is unable to provide the infrastructure needed to afford decent housing, and health and welfare provisions for their inhabitants.

Given what has been said it is obvious that the very concept of “independent”, “private enterprise”, firms is archaic. The question is not whether the State runs the affairs of “private” firms but “how”? Privatisation of government activity to firms which are totally dependent on state patronage and the goodwill of particular public servants represents no advance whatsoever.

It will be immediately apparent from what has been said that the question of efficiency and innovativeness which we raised in relation to the public service demands equal attention in relation to those services the costs of which the public sector has externalised by requiring “private” firms to administer and pay for the activities for them. The private costs of administering our current tax and pension systems are enormous. It is also obvious that the concepts of “demand” and “profitability” are no longer appropriate criteria to apply to the activities of individual firms. Once again, there can be no escaping the need to replace current, expensive, costing and accounting systems by more detailed and more appropriate social accounting procedures in order to ensure that there is a need for the firm’s products, establish the links with the rest of the economy, ensure the effective production of the goods or services and to ensure high levels of innovation within firms and equitable rewards for those who produce their products.

In relation to the question of equitable reward it should, however, be noted that the success of an innovator is always dependent on the number of other innovations in related social or physical technology which have recently taken place — with most of the innovators never making a penny from their dedication and hard work. Disproportionate reward for the one who brings relevant material together is, therefore, often hard to justify — a conclusion which should not be interpreted to mean that there is any difficulty at all in justifying disproportionate reward for all who behave in an innovative manner.

Manufacturing Industry as the Main Source of Wealth

We have seen that the quality of life in our society is now primarily dependent on the activities of the public sector. It is appropriate now to consider further the widely-held belief that “manufacturing” industry is the main source of our wealth. This myth is based in part on the tangibility of

goods — despite the fact that their production and distribution is often *primarily* dependent on services — designers, drivers, salesmen, software experts, service engineers, management personnel, accountants etc. But goods *in themselves* are valueless. They acquire value only if we can use them — and this demands the provision of an infrastructure — roads to use our cars, banks and insurance companies to use our computers, and traffic controllers to enable us to use our aeroplanes. Not only is the provision and value of a good therefore primarily dependent on the provision of appropriate services, most of our international trade now comes from the provision of *services* — finance, consultants, education and tourism. Thus even the mistaken identity which exists in most people's minds between wealth and economic value does not lead us to the conclusion that manufacturing industry is the main source of our wealth.

Nor do we have to have wealth *before* we embark on a course of activity. Wealth is a *product* of efficiently organised activity. There can, therefore, be no case for cutting back on activities which would increase the quality of life because “we haven't got the money”. Money is a means of organising wealth-creating activities. It is not wealth. Finding ways of printing the necessary money and ensuring that its use does not lead to inflation or balance of payments difficulties is a social management problem — a problem for our public servants and our research units — not a financial problem.

In short, the management of modern society not only requires new concepts of government, bureaucracy, democracy and citizenship, it also requires more appropriate ways of thinking about business, profitability, wealth and money. In *all* these areas we appear to be working with outmoded ideas which are seriously undermining the effective working of our society.

Whose task is it to usher in the new understandings which are needed? Lest it be too quickly concluded that it is the task of general education to usher in the new concepts of society, management and citizenship that are needed, we may point out, again, that most of us now work, directly or indirectly, in the public sector. If it is not *our* job to think about these wider issues and take appropriate action when necessary, then whose job is it? Secondly, those of us who still work for “independent” firms are, as we have seen, so dependent for our livelihood on appropriate public attitudes and provisions, that we might also be well advised to think about these issues, and participate in the running of our society, as part of our job.

Not only does our society need to get new concepts and understandings quickly into circulation, we need to establish institutions to monitor the workings of our economy, nationally and internationally, to explore connections between the sectors, the implications for other sectors of changes in policy and regulations within one sector, and the tools which are required to administer the sort of economy which we find ourselves trying to handle.

The Way Research Works

We have repeatedly emphasised the need for research and development units both within, and in relation to, the public service. Unfortunately, just as the public service itself will not deliver the desired benefits unless there are changes in the way it operates and the criteria against which it is held accountable, so neither will research units yield the desired understandings and tools unless there are changes in beliefs about the way research works and the criteria against which research is evaluated.

We may illustrate the changes which are needed from the work on which much of this chapter has been based. The reflections we have presented in this book grew out of a research programme involving several surveys of adults' and children's civic attitudes (Raven, 1973, 1980, 1981; Raven and Litton, 1976; Torney, Oppenheim and Farnen, 1976; Raven and Whelan, 1976; and Raven and Litton, 1982) which produced results which greatly exercised our minds. The reflections we have presented were *not* documented *in* those studies; they grew out of them. And the studies themselves grew out of a research programme which was intended to achieve yet other objectives — to look at “human resources” defined as personal qualities like initiative, self-confidence, leadership, and the ability to work with others to explore their consequences, and to find ways of fostering them. To have insisted that we only answer questions which civil servants wanted us to answer, that we did what we said we were going to do, or even to have insisted that our reports consist only of “facts” rather than “reflections”, would have deprived us of what can now be seen to be the most important outcomes of our work. Just as innovators in engineering and public provision need scope to innovate in ways which are characteristic of good innovators (a process which is very different indeed from the tidy process envisaged by administrators) so, too, researchers — or at least a significant proportion of them — need to be able to proceed as we have proceeded here. (A discussion of the expectations which it is appropriate to have of research and the relationships to be established between researchers, policy makers and the clients of research will be found in Raven, 1976).

The Inappropriateness of Widely Held Beliefs about Society

The data we collected shows that most people think that it is what the government does — and not what *they* do, what businessmen do, or what international companies do — which determines the future of the country. Furthermore most people believe that they can do little about the problems which plague them; the government must tackle them. They think that members of parliament should take steps to assess what they, the citizens, want, but should then go ahead to provide what they themselves judge to be best for the citizenry. Most people do not think that a citizen should go out of his way to make his views known to his member of parliament. Indeed, a sizeable proportion said that a good citizen should not do this or take steps to join a political party or a trade union in order to try to influence government policy. The role of the citizen is essentially

passive. It involves voting in elections, standing up for the national anthem, paying taxes, and attending funerals. The role of an M.P. is to ensure that the bureaucracy gives one one's dues. *He* should go out of his way to ascertain public opinion and develop his policies in the light of what he finds, thereby giving the citizen *influence*, but citizens should *not* have to make an effort to influence him. If the government misbehaves, one simply votes them out of office at the next election. One does not take any active steps in the interim to ensure that the government considers the right questions or does the right things about them. And a third of the informants in one of our studies did not even think that regular elections were necessary. Nevertheless, many people did think that it is *too* difficult to influence the government and that ordinary people should have more say.

Although, because people are thought to be basically irresponsible, the government should make firm rules and exercise rigid sanctions to ensure that people comply with them, once people get into positions of authority, whether in the home, the workplace, or the wider society, they seem to be expected to be responsible and trustworthy. It is felt to be unnecessary to have a system of public surveillance in order to ensure that these authorities behave in responsible ways. Public surveillance of leaders would be unworkable because public opinion is felt to be so lacking in consensus. For the same reasons a leader who paid much attention to the public's wishes would not be expected to make much progress. Democratic processes are, on the whole, not thought to be viable. A strong leader who finds out what people think and then does what is good and right, is essential. He cannot be responsible to the citizenry because, not only would he be unable to make much progress because of the lack of consensus, there would, if he responded to such 'pressures', be a danger of his being subverted from the right goals. He would end up by responding to the most articulate and influential. Therefore, no one should seek to influence him. Although they should have an influence (because he should consult *them* before making up his mind what to do), citizens should not 'participate' in the government process. Behind these views clearly lurks the assumption that *one* policy is appropriate for *all*.

In short, most people believed in authoritarian leadership, hierarchical accountability, uninvolved good citizenship, and centralised (as distinct from personal) initiative to tackle the problems of society and individuals. People knew what they wanted — a better standard of goods and services — and it was the task of the government to organise things in such a way that this would be obtained. There was no need for them to 'participate' in the process other than as civil servants paid to do their job. The solution to our problems does not lie in *our* hands but in recruiting to our aid more powerful figures — such as the EEC or God.

Some data have also been collected from much smaller samples which point to the probable existence of another set of perceptions and expectations which, in the context of what has been said earlier, are equally alarming. We have seen that, if a socialised economy is to operate in the interests of the population, it is necessary for the laws enacted by the state, and for the bureaucracy itself, to make provision for a wide variety of

alternatives suited to people with different priorities and between which people can be invited to choose. Such variety cannot be developed, administered, and, in particular, evaluated, through the existing political channels but must come into being by developing open bureaucracies which enable differentiated policies suited to the variety of different needs and priorities which exist within the population to be evolved, administered in different ways, and evaluated against different criteria.

Most people are utterly opposed to any such developments. In a study reported in 1980 we asked people to say, first, how *satisfied* they were with various services — including the housing, health, welfare, education and planning services. We then asked them how important they thought it was that there should be a variety of provision in each of these areas and between which they could choose. People consistently indicated that they were dissatisfied with current provision. However, as far as variety is concerned, the results were striking. They wanted a choice of schools, doctors, and hospitals, but they, most emphatically, did not want those responsible for any of these provisions to seek to provide a wide variety of alternatives suited to people with different values and priorities. There were bad schools, bureaucrats, doctors, and social workers, just as there are bad plumbers and electricians. They wanted choice so that they could get rid of them (note the workings of the inarticulate market again). But, having got rid of the incompetent, a good plumber, social worker, doctor, or teacher, would not, indeed should not, seek to cater for his different clients in different ways. Indeed, the whole notion of individualising provision of the goods and services provided by bureaucrats seemed to be inconceivable. It was neither possible nor desirable. It was not possible because there is no known mechanism other than the economic marketplace for providing and evaluating variety. It was not desirable because it would result in the most articulate getting the best provision. Whereas the economic marketplace was impersonal, the bureaucrat is not, and some people would be able to exert undue influence over him. But, more basically, despite what people might have inferred from their experience in the consumer goods market, there was little recognition of the fact that different people defined 'the best' form of provision in different ways. It is possible, too, that the notion of choice frightened many people because they feared that they would not be able to understand the issues, with the result that others would score over them. As a result they wished that choice to be eliminated for everyone.

Asked what they would do about the problems which were revealed by large discrepancies between their ratings of importance and satisfaction, most people responded by saying that there was little they could do; the 'government' (i.e. the bureaucracy) should do it. Furthermore they themselves were not the sort of person who would do something about such problems, or even draw the government's attention to them. Not only did they lack the knowledge of where to begin, the financial resources, and the contacts necessary to do anything about them, they were not the sort of opinionated, aggressive, loud, manipulative, troublemakers who, they felt, would in fact be able to do something about such problems. They lacked the knowledge, skills and motivation needed to gain control over their own

lives, and their self images and expectations of others were not conducive to trying to take direct action to do something about their problems.

The long term social consequences of the set of attitudes, perceptions and expectations which have been described cannot be expected to be anything but unpleasant. Equality means the same provision for everyone, not an equal opportunity to choose between one of a variety of different types of provision. Citizens should, as they do, accept what they are given in a spirit of frustrated resignation, rather than take an active role in seeking to improve the situation for the good of all. What's more, it is widely believed that it is inevitable that there should exist no way whereby people can recruit the energies of others in a team effort designed to do something about the root causes of some of their pressing social problems. Politics is a dirty, underhand, unmentionable business in which no responsible person would dabble, not a means of solving some of our most pervasive and pressing problems.

Despite the obviously dysfunctional nature of many of the beliefs and expectations which have just been summarised, it will be apparent that they are considered and sensible views which are not to be lightly dismissed. More than that: they *were* highly functional views when governments were not trying to get control over the complex international social and economic forces with which they are currently trying to grapple, when chains of authority and accountability (e.g. between teachers and LEAs) were shorter, when the issues for which the central or local government group were responsible were less all-encompassing, and when society was emerging from a peasant tradition, with its emphasis on patriotism and nepotism, and when it was therefore necessary for officials to follow rules impersonally, without regard to their familial ties to the applicant.

But all that has changed: hierarchical chains of accountability for provision are now altogether too long and the incompetent public servant can remain undetected for many years and, if detected, be hard to remove. Government and Local Councils are responsible for a myriad of policies on which no effective comment can be made in a five yearly vote. The problems of bureaucracy now stem, not from the bureaucrat's ties with the people and the community he serves, but from his lack of contact with the recipients of his policies, and his clients' lack of effective familial ties with anyone.

In such a situation everyone can and must participate in running their society — as an employee and as a citizen.

But anyone who attempts to give expression to his views will encounter fierce opposition, not only from his fellow citizens — for the reasons we have discussed — but also from public servants who feel that their authority is being undermined. Their problem deserves more detailed consideration than we have so far been able to give it. As we have seen, public servants used to be accountable to elected representatives for the quality of their judgements. Now they can, and do, hide behind a plethora of committees, hierarchies, corporate decisions, and demarcations of responsibility. This 'hiding' is not necessarily from bad motives. As we have seen, it is widely believed that it would be entirely inappropriate for the public servant to

respond to pressures, he is often in no position to cater for people with different priorities in different ways, he often lacks the discretion and responsibility needed to change the system so that his department can behave more effectively, and there are no tools which will enable him to get credit for effective initiative involving rule-breaking and boundary-crossing instead of staying within established areas of responsibility. These may be among the reasons for one of the findings which has emerged from this research — and which will later be documented — that very many of those we interviewed wanted positions of authority and status, but did not want to do the things which would make for effective performance in those jobs. If they did them effectively they would, given current perceptions and expectations, only be laying themselves open to criticism. There is a clear need for tools to hold managers accountable for their initiative, discretion, and ability to release the energies and initiative of others. At present they have to stand on their authority because there is no other way in which to validate the quality of their judgements. The tools which are needed would necessarily have to index the reactions of subordinates and clients to a manager's activity and would have to do so in such a way as to cease to choke off the individual — so important to development — who wishes to act on his hunches and to exercise discretion and, in turn, initiate action, monitor the results, and take corrective action when necessary in order to achieve his goals.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have seen that dramatic changes have come about in our society over the last quarter of a century. Organisations have become larger and we now find ourselves living in an administered world. The forces we are trying to control are more world-wide and are not susceptible to control by the techniques which man had previously at his disposal. We have shown that control over these wider forces demands more explicit planning, more long-term planning, more consideration of the relationships between variables, and more monitoring of the effectiveness of the procedures which are introduced. It demands the invention of new ways of doing things. We have seen that competent behaviour in this society of ours is critically dependent on evolving new concepts of:

- . government
- . wealth
- . the role of the public servant
- . the role of the citizen
- . democracy
- . bureaucracy
- . equality and
- . diversity in public policy.

We have seen that we need new procedures to hold individuals and organisations accountable for reaching their goals and new criteria against which to evaluate their effectiveness. We need new structures to replace our

hierarchical, committee-dominated, procedures. We need to move toward greater use of non-hierarchical networks to implement and evaluate the procedures we use to run our society. We need to find room within our public service for more whistle-blowers, ideas-men, muck-rakers and negotiators. Many more people need to be involved, thus creating participative rather than representative democracy. We need more units charged with the task of policy development and evaluation.

We have seen that, to perform our roles as employees or as citizens effectively, we need new understandings, concerns, values, priorities, and competencies in the narrower sense of that word. We need new concepts of the role of the manager and follower — and managers and followers need to be concerned with different things and to develop new patterns of competence.

All of this may sound novel and radical, but the most remarkable reflection of all is that it was precisely the unilateral imposition, by military dictat, of the most advanced American thinking about government and civic responsibility (and not that which was current in America at the time) which has been responsible for the remarkable post-war economic growth of West Germany and Japan.

CHAPTER 6

THE NATURE OF COMPETENCE: AN INTRODUCTORY AND SUMMARY STATEMENT

The purpose of this chapter is first to integrate what has already been learned about the nature of competence and its assessment and development and then to extend that understanding sufficiently to enable the reader to benefit from the next four chapters. Chapter 13 will build on and extend the foundations laid here in order to develop a more complete and formal account of the nature of competence and the procedures which it is appropriate to adopt in assessing it.

In the previous chapters we have seen that competent behaviour is, among other things, dependent on:

- (1) The motivation and the ability to engage in high level activities like taking initiative, exercising responsibility, or analysing the operation of organisations or political systems.
- (2) The willingness to engage in value-laden activities like striving to influence what happens in one's organisation or the direction in which one's society moves.
- (3) The willingness and the ability to contribute to a climate of support and encouragement for others who are trying to innovate or find better ways of doing things.
- (4) Appropriate understandings of how the organisation and society in which one lives and works operate and appropriate perceptions of one's own role, and that of others, in those organisations.
- (5) Appropriate understandings of a number of concepts which relate to the running of organisations. These include such things as risk-taking, efficiency, leadership, responsibility, accountability, communication, equality, participation, wealth and democracy.

The Nature of Competence

In attempting to indicate the developments which have taken place in our understanding of the nature of competence it is, perhaps, best to begin by taking an example: 'initiative'. The first important feature of this quality to which attention may be drawn is that it is self-motivated. It does not make sense to describe as 'initiative' any behaviour which the individual concerned has to be told to display. If one is to foster the willingness and the ability to take initiative, one therefore has to foster the tendency to trigger it off *for oneself*. Next, it should be noted that if an individual is to take a successful initiative he has to devote a great deal of time and thought to the activity. He has to take innovative action, monitor the effects of the action, learn from those effects more about the problem he

is trying to tackle and the effectiveness of the strategies he is using. He has to wake up at night in an effort to seize on the flickering glimmerings of understanding on the fringe of consciousness and bring them to the centre of attention so that they become fully conscious and usable. He has to anticipate obstacles in the future and invent ways of circumventing them. He has to get the help of other people. He has to build up his own, unique set of *specialist* knowledge to tackle the problem — specialist knowledge which is most unlike the general, low-level, knowledge conveyed in most programmes of education.

No one is going to do any of these things unless he cares very strongly indeed about the goal in relation to which he is attempting to take initiative. The valued goal is therefore of crucial importance. In practice it turns out that the valued goal can be in a particular content, such as developing a knowledge of the properties of alloys. On the other hand, it may be a particular *type of behaviour* which the individual values. Examples of the latter would include inventing better ways of doing things or getting people to work together effectively.

What we have just said implies that one must assess values or intentions prior to any attempt to assess ability — for important abilities will only be displayed in relation to valued goals. It therefore does not make sense to attempt to assess abilities except in relation to valued goals.

What has been said also implies that it does not make sense to attempt to assess separately the cognitive, affective, and conative components of activity. Effective initiative demands finely-tuned interdependence between the cognitive, affective, and conative components of the activity. While these components can be thought about separately, they cannot be separately assessed.

The observations we have made in connection with initiative conflict markedly with many traditional canons of psychometry. We have asserted that one cannot assess abilities independently of values. It is, therefore, essential to adopt a two-stage (*not* a two-factor) approach when assessing these qualities. We must first assess an individual's values, and then, and *only* then, assess his ability to bring to bear a wide variety of cognitive, affective and conative skills to achieve his valued goals.

Our observations also suggest that such qualities are factorially complex. It is the individual's willingness to do a number of independent and different things which will result in successful goal achievement. He has to analyse, conceptualise, gain the help of others, and be able to develop his own understanding of, and seek to influence, the workings of social and political systems. His ability to do any of these things in pursuit of his goals is unlikely to be closely related to his willingness to do others. Yet the *more* of these independent things he does in pursuit of his goals, the more likely he is to achieve them. On the other hand, if he does any one of these things particularly well, it will, to some extent, compensate for his failure to do others. The implication of these observations is that factor analysts have been wrong to argue that important human qualities can only be meaningfully assessed by adopting scales made up of items which are highly

correlated with each other and have significant internal consistency. Our reflections suggest that, on the contrary, it is of the greatest importance to assess the tendency to engage in these activities by making use of *indices* made up of items which are *uncorrelated* with each other. (While it may be thought that the viewpoint developed here might be reconciled with traditional factor analytic theory by focusing on qualities like "the ability to make one's own observations", a little reflection shows that this is not the case. Our argument is precisely that such qualities cannot be assessed independently of valued goals. They have no *generalised* meaning. They therefore cannot be assessed by factorially pure scales).

The conclusion to which this discussion points is, then, that it is necessary to make use of *indices*, covering a maximally heterogeneous cluster of relevant behaviours — rather than maximally homogeneous *scales* — to assess important human qualities.

In actual practice, it turns out that detailed cognitive-affective maps of people's interests, perceptions, and expectations in each such area are a great deal more revealing than any overall measures of motivation. In other words, category-based descriptive statements about people are more useful than profiles of scale scores.

Institutional Structures

It would be wrong to give the impression that people are aware of their distinctive concerns and values. They are not. They simply do not know how different are the concerns and priorities of others until these have been brought out into the open. Until that time, they tend to assume that other people share their priorities, perceptions and goals.

This is, however, only the tip of the iceberg because the way in which other people with whom one has contact think overwhelmingly determines the way in which one thinks oneself. To an even greater extent, these shared thoughtways determine one's behaviour even when one is not thinking about it. It is extremely difficult to escape from shared understandings, assumptions, thoughtways and behaviours, particularly if these shared thoughtways and behaviours have not been made explicit. It is, however, made somewhat easier if such shared perceptions and expectations are made explicit. It is easier still if it can be demonstrated that other groups of people can, and do, think differently. And it is easier still if it can be shown that those other ways of thinking do, in reality, have very different consequences.

Important perceptions, thoughtways and understandings include beliefs about how things *should* be done, who should relate to whom, about what. They include other role expectations as well. What does one think it is appropriate to do oneself? What does one think others expect one to do? How does one think others *should* react? How does one actually expect them to react?

As will be readily apparent, the institutional framework in which a person lives and works influences his behaviour directly, obliquely, and indirectly: *directly* through the constraints which it places on what he can do; *obliquely*

through the concepts, understandings and competencies which he is able to practise and develop; and *indirectly* by influencing his motivation — his beliefs about how it is appropriate for him to behave and how others will react to various behaviours on his own part. The assessment of the institutional context of behaviour is not, therefore, independent of the assessment of motivation. As a result we have devoted considerable attention to assessing perceptions and expectations of this sort. This has unexpectedly led us directly into assessing perceptions of how organisations and societies work — “political” perceptions — into assessing role expectations of people in organisational and political hierarchies and into enquiring into understandings of concepts like participation, majority decision-taking, and managerial responsibility and accountability. Understandings of a range of such concepts have centrally to do with the release of behaviour (“motivation”) and with the quality (“competence”) of the behaviour so released.

Practical Implementation in The Edinburgh Questionnaires

At this point we may forge a link between the general theoretical framework summarised above and the specific assessment procedures — *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* which we have developed. In the latter, we attempt to identify a problem which the individual concerned finds personally important by asking him to rate, first, the importance he attaches to a large number of possible satisfactions in life and, second, how satisfied he is in each respect at the present time. After this task has been completed an item which has been rated both important and unsatisfactory is selected. The person completing the *Questionnaires* is then asked to indicate what would happen if he tried to tackle the “problem” identified by this discrepancy between his personal priorities and his experienced life situation — would it mean that he would have to give up other activities which he values? Would he be able to gain the necessary co-operation of others? Would other people support him? Would it be appropriate for someone in his position to do this? Would the environment in which he lives and works enable him to do it? Would it enable him to experience satisfactions he desires?

PART III

**A PRELIMINARY SURVEY
USING THE EDINBURGH
QUESTIONNAIRES**

CHAPTER 7

A SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THE PRELIMINARY SURVEY: THE PROSPECTS FOR BRITAIN ARE BLEAK

In this chapter we will present the results of a preliminary survey conducted with *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*, and it may be useful to begin by summarising some of the conclusions. The study revealed little interest in innovation or in doing things more effectively. It revealed an overwhelming concern to have a high status, managerial position, but little interest in doing things which a manager would need to do to make his section hum. And it revealed that, if people do not do the things which they can see need to be done, it is not usually because they feel that they lack an opportunity to do so, but because they lack the necessary interest and ability.

The Edinburgh Questionnaires were constructed as a means of implementing the assessment model developed in the last chapter. The *Questionnaires* deal with a number of different topics. The first Questionnaire covers the quality of working life. The second, the activities which the individual concerned feels that it is important for him to undertake at work. And the third covers the consequences which he anticipates if he were to tackle a problem which is important to him. Each Questionnaire is made up of a number of different sections and the data from these different sections are dealt with separately in this chapter.

The data to be summarised were collected from about 300 employees of about 20 organisations in Scotland. The organisations ranged from civil service departments to small production firms. Employees at all levels were involved. Although several hundred people took part in the study, the numbers who completed any one questionnaire were much smaller. Details will be found in Part VII of this book.

QUESTIONNAIRE 1: THE QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE

The Quality of Working Life Questionnaire covers (1) "hygiene" variables (i.e. the formal conditions of work, the term being drawn from Herzberg (1966), (2) the type of work wanted and (3) organisational climate. Topics covered under the heading of organisational climate include relationships with others and attitudes of colleagues.

(1) Hygiene Factors

For the group studied, as for many others for whom results have been published, security emerged as by far the most important aspect of the working environment. It was followed by work which offered variety and good pay. Apart from "security", however, people varied a great deal in

what they wanted from their working environment. The most important of the dissatisfactions at work were pay and paperwork. "Maximise pay and minimise paperwork" would, therefore, seem to be a good general maxim.

(2) Type of Work Wanted

Most frequently wanted (by all but 6% of those who completed the *Questionnaires*) was an opportunity to go on learning new skills. The notion that people "fear change" would, therefore, seem to be, at best, questionable.

The vast majority of our informants also said that it was important to have work in which they were kept on their toes mentally. These results parallel those of Flanagan and Russ-Eft (1976) from the other side of the Atlantic. Taken together with the emphasis placed on "variety", the results point to the conclusion that a desire for routine work is relatively rare. Likewise, few people seemed to wish to turn out shoddy work — and requiring them to do so might de-motivate them: the high proportion who wanted to feel that they had created something may also surprise some readers, and it would seem to be a source of motivation which is too infrequently tapped in workplaces and educational institutions.

Most people wanted to work as part of a team, although some did not. Nevertheless more than half wanted to be able to work at their own speed, rather than at the speed of others. Only 21% said that it was very important to them to have ample free time. The notion that people want *leisure* would therefore seem to be open to serious question.

On most of the other items there was considerable variation.

The qualities of work which people *least* often wanted were to invent things, to make things, paperwork, to deal with figures, and to operate machinery and equipment. Fortunately, some people said that they did want to do all of these things.

From these results it would seem important for employers to create developmental environments which offer most of their employees a greater opportunity to gain a sense of accomplishment from their work. It would also seem important to seek out, and to some degree to cosset, those who wish to find better ways of thinking about and doing things, those who want to deal with figures and paper, and in particular, those who want to invent things.

3. Organisational Climate

The *Quality of Working Life Questionnaire* deals separately with people's feelings about their relationships with others and their expectations from, and assessments of, the attitudes of their colleagues.

Relationships With Others: Importance

In our survey, top priority, as far as relationships with others was concerned, was that everyone should be treated fairly and that the workplace should be well organised and run. People should be friendly and

work well together. Superiors should be helpful, listen to one and tell one the reasons for their decisions. One's workmates should be good at their jobs and one's abilities should be recognised and valued.

However, rather less than half said that it was *very* important that their employer should let them take responsibility for making their own decisions, that differences of opinion should be discussed openly, or that they should be consulted and have their views taken into account.

Least often wanted was to be thought of as someone who had the well-being of the organisation at heart, to be expected to reach high standards, to be able to *influence* decisions, and work in which one would benefit personally from any extra effort one made. Some readers may share the author's fear that some of these values may inhibit economic and social development in the United Kingdom.

It would also seem that there is a considerable pool of willingness to take on demanding work and extra work, provided it does not involve one in being a troublemaker, unpopular, or making extra work for others.

Nevertheless, the variation between people in the importance they attached to avoiding these potentially distressing activities is striking.

Relationships with Others: Satisfaction

Levels of satisfaction for these items were, on the whole, considerably lower than those obtained for the working environment and type of work wanted items. While those who completed the *Questionnaires* felt that their colleagues worked well together, they had a much lower opinion of their competence. Although they generally thought that their boss felt that they themselves were of real value to the organisation, they also often believed that their own abilities were not recognised or utilised. This combination of a high regard for their own under-utilised abilities, a low regard for their colleagues' competence, and a feeling that their boss thought highly of them as individuals may explain the widespread opposition to peer ratings as part of manpower assessment processes.

Our informants were *least* likely to be satisfied with the way the organisation in which they worked was run, its ability to tap their abilities, their ability to influence decisions, and the ability of the organisation to delegate to them responsibility for taking their own decisions about what should be done. These results presumably imply that the organisation was not able to tap their knowledge in taking decisions. The fact that there was so much dissatisfaction with standards of work would appear to reinforce our respondents' view that their colleagues were not competent.

It would appear from these results that there is widespread dissatisfaction with those aspects of organisational climate which Litwin and Stringer (1968) have shown to be so important for the success of organisations — and which our own informants rated as so important, namely a concern with innovation, delegation of responsibility, ability to tap personal know-how and initiative, confidence in the competence of one's colleagues, good organisation, and a general emphasis on high standards and performance.

The results would seem to indicate there is considerable scope for action programmes designed to improve the quality of the organisational environment.

Attitudes of Workmates and Colleagues: Importance

According to our informants, the most important quality to have in colleagues is a willingness to help one when one has difficulties or problems. There was nearly universal agreement about this. Likewise, one's colleagues should avoid muddle and inefficiency, have confidence in one's ability to tackle one's problems on one's own, and try to make the most of their abilities.

Least important for this sample was to have colleagues who were more concerned with improving the overall performance of the organisation than with what they could personally get out of it, who expected people to learn what they needed to know as they went along, who let people do their own work in their own way, and who tried to find out how well they were doing and then strove to improve their performance on the basis of the insights so gained (although a fifth did think that this last was very important).

Although falling in the middle of the list, well under half felt that it was very important for their colleagues not to waste time fussing about trivialities, to support new ideas, to welcome suggestions, or to keep trying to do new things. There would, therefore, seem to be scope to lead many employees to reconsider their views on these topics. In any discussion of the implications of such views it might be useful to note that, not only did so few not think it was important for their colleagues to be more concerned with the overall organisation than with what they personally could get out of it (which might be interpreted as seeking just reward for effort) but that few also thought it was important to have work in which they personally would benefit from extra effort. If one is *neither* concerned to get personal reward for effort, *nor* to work toward the benefit of the overall organisation then just what *is* one supposed to do? Do these views reflect a wider alienation from the workplace than our other data would lead one to suspect? Do they imply that it is widely felt that one should not work for the benefit of the wider organisation because that organisation is corrupt, geared only to generating private profits regardless of the benefit to society, or unnecessary and geared only to providing jobs for its employees (and, in particular, its senior employees) rather than to conferring important benefits on society?

Attitudes of Workmates and Colleagues: Satisfaction

Our informants were most dissatisfied with their colleagues' tendency to expect people to learn what they needed to know as they went along, their concern to avoid wasting time fussing about trivialities, their colleagues' tendency to be concerned with what they could get out of the organisation rather than with its overall performance, with their colleagues' confidence in their workmates' ability to take corrective action when necessary, with their colleagues' tendency to keep trying to do new things — which was not

really considered very important anyway (!), with the level of support for innovation, with their concern to avoid muddle and inefficiency, and with their commitment to finding ways of getting important things done.

Concluding Comments on the Results obtained using the Quality of Working Life Questionnaires

We have seen that there appears to be an overwhelming concern with security and pay and little interest in making things, inventing things, finding better ways of thinking about things, finding better ways of *doing* things, influencing decisions in organisations, or reaching high standards. There is considerable dissatisfaction with the amount of paperwork to be done, the amount of time spent fussing about trivialities, and the way organisations were run. The prospects for Great Britain Limited, therefore, appear to be bleak. However, there appear to be considerable untapped energies: many people want opportunities to go on learning new skills, to have variety, to perform high quality work, and the opportunity to feel that they have really created something. More than half said it was very important to them to feel that they were doing something worthwhile. Despite their own lack of interest in innovative activity, and a general feeling that it was not very important to support such activity, there *was* a fairly widespread feeling of unease about the general level of support for such activity, and activities designed to improve efficiency and effectiveness, at the present time. There was also little concern to avoid blame or to avoid doing things for which one would not get personal recognition.

One outstanding question is the extent to which one should seek to change, rather than pander to, widespread attitudes. If one is not going to influence the general level of concern with innovation, it would seem to be of the greatest importance to locate and cosset innovative individuals so that they can engage in innovative activity freed from the stresses of innovation. Attitudes to paperwork are also important. As we have seen, such attitudes are often based on the fact that a great deal of paperwork is extremely expensive, and often meaningless — the meaningless ranging from time sheets, through checking of accounts, to gross public sector accounting. Society would, indeed, seem to have much to learn from Lord Sieff. Yet the more appropriate social accounting procedures which are so urgently needed will undoubtedly involve paperwork.

It is important, too, to get behind the widespread desire for money: is what is wanted more *discretionary* spending, more leisure, or improved housing and urban environments? Given the new concepts of money which are needed by society, the development of appropriate policies will be very dependent on the answer to this question. The desire for security is also disturbing. As we have seen, feelings of insecurity are strongly associated, in a causal manner, with risk-avoidance. If we wish to promote higher levels of innovation in Britain we must, as a society, provide more security for the members of our society, but do so in the context of a climate which stresses innovation and development.

Above all the results would seem to justify the widely held view, documented in the survey, that one's colleagues and workmates were too concerned with what they could get out of the organisation they worked for and too little concerned with what they could do for it.

QUESTIONNAIRE 2: THE IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES QUESTIONNAIRE

On the *Important Activities Questionnaire* our informants were asked to rate how important it was to them to be doing various kinds of things at work, and to behave in ways which would lead them to exercise various types of competence.

One of the most important conclusions which emerged from the data collected with this *Questionnaire* was that a considerable proportion of our informants espoused a conventional view of management. According to them, management consisted in making sure that high standards were attained and maintained, persuading others to turn in their best performance, taking responsibility for others, ensuring that things were well organised and run, improving the relationship between management and workforce, ensuring that people co-operated, making the most of one's own abilities, doing something about complaints, and making sure that everyone knew what was going on.

Relatively few wanted to do things which would seem to be crucial to the effective management, or to the effective operation, of the organisation. Few wanted to build on hunches and take the steps necessary to ensure that something came of them; few wanted to take other people's suggestions and translate them into practice; few wanted to sit on committees taking important decisions; few wanted to introduce new products or services, think out how to improve those products or services, or even how to make the products or deliver the services more efficiently; few wanted to persuade others to explore the merits of suggestions; few wanted to work out the unexpressed feelings which lay behind what people said, to take responsibility for the continued livelihood or well-being of others, to ensure that others did things that they liked doing and were good at and did not get asked to do things they could not do, or to ensure that there was participation in making important decisions.

These statistical results amply confirmed the impressions we formed during the exploratory work for the study. What many people seemed to be saying was that they wanted a formal position or status. They seemed to be saying that they wanted the external, visible, trappings which went with a management position. They wanted to be *seen* to be managers. But they did *not* want to do the things which it is necessary for managers to do if they are to make their organisations hum: to listen to the unexpressed (and often unacceptable) views which lie behind what people say, to assess the competencies and interests, and incompetencies and areas of disinterest, of their staff and deploy them appropriately, to assess the organisational barriers to effective working — both internal and external to the organisation — and try to do something about them, to create a climate of participation, dedication and enthusiasm, to lead their work-force into the

unknown and ensure that something comes of it, and to create a climate of support for innovation in which suggestions are taken seriously and acted upon.

Although many wanted to ensure that high standards were attained and maintained and to persuade others to turn in their best performance, few seemed to want to do the things which would be expected to make for a climate of enthusiasm, dedication, initiative, and ability to capitalise on ideas, in which the need for a variety of different types of quality of contribution is recognised, and a climate in which it is unthinkable to do anything except turn in work which is, in one sense or another, up to a high standard. Few seemed to think that, if high standards are to be attained, it is necessary to spend a considerable amount of time mulling over the organisational climate, systems, and extra-organisational, barriers to high standards. Few seemed to acknowledge that *whether* an individual's work is up to standard can often only be decided after having examined what he was asked to do and the context in which he was working. Few seemed to acknowledge that persuading others to turn in their best performance often means ensuring that they can participate actively in running the organisation by being fully informed about what is going on and by ensuring that they have an opportunity to take personal responsibility for deciding what they do. Few seemed to recognise that to delegate responsibility one has to ensure that those concerned are sufficiently well informed to make good decisions, and expect them to make as many mistakes as one would make oneself. Few seemed to feel that ensuring that differences of opinion come out into the open means that it will be necessary to put in a great deal of effort to make unexpressed thoughts, and widespread assumptions which operate to the detriment of the organisation, explicit. Few seemed to recognise that the growth of most organisations is dependent on creating a developmental environment *within* them, on isolating, and thinking about, *systems* problems which prevent the organisation operating effectively and doing something about them, on gaining control over outside factors which have previously been beyond their control, locating resources on which the organisation could capitalise, and capitalising on a developing situation by taking risks and ensuring that at least some of them are turned to advantage.

Still less did the data bode well for the future level of innovation and development in Scotland. Few said that it was important to them to do things which were likely to lead to innovation. Although some of the items which are likely to be associated with effective innovation are the same as those which are likely to be associated with effective *management* (and for this reason have just been mentioned) it is worth listing them again, but this time considering their implications for innovation. Few said that it was important to them to work for long spells at boring tasks in order to accomplish something really worthwhile; to find ways of doing something which no-one had done before; to put forward new ideas and make controversial suggestions; to build upon hunches and ensure that something worthwhile came of them; to take over other people's suggestions and translate them into practice; to find better ways of thinking about things; to persuade others to accept their point of view; to introduce new products and

new services; to work out what needs to be done and to suggest it to others; to persuade others to explore the merits of suggestions or ensure that subordinates are able to do their work in the way they think best.

It is of the greatest possible importance to emphasise the probable effects of these priorities for the future of British society. They underline the importance of rethinking our concepts of leadership and management. But attention should also be drawn to the fact that there was considerable variation in the importance attached to doing nearly all of the things we asked people about. Thus employers need to take care to find the relatively few people who wish to innovate and turn risk to advantage and then move these people into positions from which they can engage in such activities. It is hoped that *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* will help managers to do this.

QUESTIONNAIRE 3: THE CONSEQUENCES QUESTIONNAIRE

On the third Questionnaire, we first asked our informants to indicate how likely it was that a number of general consequences would follow from their attempts to tackle a problem they had identified. After that, we asked them to indicate what they thought their supervisors' and colleagues' reactions would be. Then we asked them to say what they expected their personal reactions to be: would they enjoy it? Would it be doing something they felt they should do? Next, we asked them to rate what competencies they thought they would have an opportunity to exercise when tackling the problem. Finally we asked them to estimate their subjective ability to do the things which they felt it would be necessary to do. In the following summary of results this structure is retained.

General Consequences Expected on Seeking to Tackle a Personally Important "Problem"

Our informants' subjective abilities and perceived role expectations did not, on the whole, seem to militate against their trying to solve the problems they had identified. Only about a quarter felt that it would be inappropriate for them to try to do something about the problem they had identified, that they would be unable to persuade others, that they would have to be underhand and devious, or that they lacked confidence in their ability to tackle the problem.

However, rather more than half did feel that, if they were to be successful, they'd have to be more determined and out-spoken than they would like to be. One-third said that it would be a task for someone higher up in the organisation. A third felt that they would be unable to persuade other people to support them and to agree about what needed to be done.

Thus, while some people would seem likely to profit from experiences which could enhance their feelings of confidence and lead them to develop more positive perceptions of their role, this is not a widespread problem.

However, it does seem that there may be a need for wider discussion of the role of the citizen at work and in society. This is suggested by the reluctance of our informants to speak out about sources of dissatisfaction,

the suspicion that they have that doing something about a problem one has noticed is not really up to someone like them, and a feeling that it may be difficult to get others to support them in trying to get something done about it and agree about what needs to be done.

This British reluctance to complain and take on themselves, as individuals, or as part of a group, responsibility for getting something done about a problem which they have noticed (also documented and set in the context of international figures by Raven, Whelan *et al*, 1976) may be associated with the fact that Adam Smith came from Britain. On the whole, British people have given expression to their feelings either by changing their jobs or by choosing alternative products or political parties. In this way, they have avoided the need to make the reasons for their feelings explicit and have been able to persist in believing that it is somehow not quite nice to complain about things which are wrong. One simply goes elsewhere for one's goods or services or votes for another political party. Complaining to officials is thought to be fruitless. Taking one's business elsewhere is effective!

Now, given that the marketplace has, for the best of reasons, largely been neutralised, and given that we nearly all now work, directly or indirectly, for large organisations in the State apparatus, these beliefs and expectations will no longer serve us well. State services are likely to serve us badly unless we complain, try to get something done about things which are wrong, and expect and demand that our officials do something about our complaints. Our organisations will serve our society badly unless those who know something about those organisations complain about the things which are wrong and try to rectify the defects. We will not be able to develop and utilise our talents unless we stop imagining that we can move from one employer to another until we find a niche which suits us. Instead we will have to persuade our society to implement a manpower policy which explicitly strives to recognise, place and develop everyone's particular talents.

The data we have presented suggested that too many of us are prepared to accept poor provision from the socialised sector of the economy in a spirit of frustrated resignation rather than articulate our needs clearly and loudly.

Expected Reactions of Superiors

To a degree which surprises the author, those who completed the Questionnaires felt that their superiors would support them in trying to tackle the problem they had identified. Only about a third said that their boss would not be helpful, that he would be unwilling to listen, obstruct them, discourage them, or not think them an asset to the organisation.

One-third may, of course, be too high a proportion for comfort, particularly as it may be made up of those who have tried to improve things and encountered previously unexpected obstacles.

In addition, only about one-third believed that their bosses would actually think it was *important* for them to try to tackle the problem or that they would actually be encouraged to do something about it.

Anticipated Personal Reactions

There were a number of strong personal motivations to tackle the “problem” which had been identified: those concerned felt that they would get a sense of achievement from trying to tackle it, they’d feel that they were doing something worthwhile, they would get satisfaction from doing it, and they’d enjoy it.

The main disincentive to doing something about it which was anticipated was that they’d end up with more work to do.

Only about a third mentioned possibly more important reasons for not tackling the problem: risking dismissal, extra worries, being labelled as a trouble maker, and being unpopular.

Three-quarters, however, said they’d have to overcome a lot of difficulties.

Expected Reactions of Colleagues

Colleagues, like superiors, were expected to provide support: half said that their colleagues would respect them for tackling the problem, two-thirds said that they would co-operate and half said that they would be pleased that someone was doing it. In other respects, however, they were not so supportive. Half said that others would blame them if things went wrong, half said that others would be indifferent even though it was in their own interests, half said that their colleagues would think them interfering, and one-third said that others would see it as a threat to their jobs, think they were doing it for some hidden motive and obstruct them.

Competencies One would have an Opportunity to Exercise

Nearly all the competencies we asked about were felt by more than half of our informants to be called for if they were to tackle the problem they had identified. Thus the strength of their motivation to tackle the problem will be primarily determined, first, by the *importance* they attach to exercising these competencies, and secondly, by their subjective *ability* to behave in these ways. As we have seen, there are very wide variations between items in the proportion of our informants who said that they *wanted* to do these things or to exercise these competencies. It is appropriate, therefore, to emphasise that very few people said that they *wanted* to do many of the things which they thought that seeking to tackle their problems would give them an opportunity to do. Furthermore, to introduce conclusions which will be drawn from data which has yet to be presented, most felt that they would be able to exercise most of these competencies either “well” or “very well”. The main determinant of an individual’s willingness to tackle a problem which he has identified, therefore, emerges as neither the opportunity it appears to provide to enable him to behave in ways in which he wants to behave, nor as subjective ability, but as the importance he attaches to engaging in the behaviours which he thinks are necessary. Put another way, values are the most important determinants of behaviour.

Subjective Abilities

It has been argued (e.g. by Holland 1959) that subjective ability determines behaviour more strongly than does interest. At one point, we asked people to rate their subjective ability to perform all of the types of activity we asked them about. What we found was that most people were reluctant to say that they were *unable* to do anything. Because of this, we finally asked our informants only to rate their subjective abilities to perform activities which they thought they would actually be called on to perform if they sought to tackle the problem they chose to talk about.

Although there was a great deal more variation between our informants when rating their subjective abilities than when assessing the competencies which they would have an opportunity to exercise if they sought to tackle the selected problem, more than half said they could perform more than half of the activities we asked them about either "well" or "very well".

The activity they most frequently said they could do "well" was "use my judgement and initiative in areas in which it is good". Although this is, to a degree, tautological, it nevertheless suggests that most people feel they are good at exercising judgement and taking initiative in relation to at least some of the types of activities they might undertake. The same applies to their feelings about learning new things, helping their workmates to overcome difficulties, planning ahead, leading others, planning and presenting a case to others, and persisting for a long period of time to accomplish something worthwhile.

In line with the general theoretical framework which has guided our research it may be that, if many employees seem to lack these abilities, this may be because they do not value the tasks they are asked to carry out rather than because they lack the competencies which are needed to do so.

At the other end of the scale, most of the activities which more than half said they were not able to perform at least "well" in relation to solving a problem they cared about gave us cause for concern. A few may be singled out for comment.

Approximately two-thirds said that they were not good at encouraging others to monitor their own performance and take corrective action when necessary, that they were not good at widening their colleagues' sights and encouraging them to take wider responsibilities, that they were not good at inventing new ways of thinking about things, that they were not good at studying other people's reactions to their efforts, that they were not good at building up a unique store of specialist information. More than half said that they were not good at doing things which had not been done before, sensing what other people were thinking or feeling, taking the steps needed to ensure that they were successful, being inventive and creative, persuading others to support them, and learning more about the situations they were dealing with from studying the effects of their actions. Many of these competencies would seem to be crucial to effective problem-solving and leadership behaviour, yet many people's perceptions of their abilities in these areas in relation to a task which they had personally said it was important for them to tackle do not seem to be high.

In reviewing this material it became apparent that there was the same failure to connect activities which they felt able to engage in at a *general* level with the components of the behaviour which would seem to be crucial to effective performance which we met when we reviewed the material on *interest* in engaging in managerial and leadership behaviour. Thus, many people appear to be saying that they are able to plan and lead, but that they lack the ability to sense what others are thinking and feeling, do new things which have not been done before, encourage others to be forward-looking and developmental, anticipate and solve previously unforeseen problems, study other peoples' reactions to their efforts, find out about developments in other organisations, widen their colleagues' sights and get them to accept wider responsibilities, encourage others to monitor their performance and take corrective action when necessary, mull over fleeting feelings on the fringe of consciousness and make the basis for them fully explicit, or gain control over others. How effective could they possibly be as leaders and managers if they are not able to do these things?

Perceived Lack of Ability *and* Interest

Nor was that all. Where we have the information, there did not always seem to be a great deal of *interest* in doing these things anyway: for at least the following there is not only much less than universal confidence in *ability* to do them; there is *also* lack of personal interest:

Inventing new ways of thinking about things.

Being inventive and creative.

Doing things which have not been done before.

Sensing what others are thinking and feeling.

Persuading others to support one.

Studying others' reactions to one's efforts.

Encouraging others to monitor their performance and take corrective action when necessary.

Encouraging others to be forward looking and developmental.

Building up a unique store of specialist information.

That substantial numbers of people not only do not feel very competent in these areas, but also lack interest in exercising these competencies in relation to problems which they have personally selected represents a bleak basis on which to build the future of British society.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

So far, in summarising the results of our preliminary survey, we have retained the structure of the *Questionnaires* and dealt separately with a few implications of each data set. It is appropriate now to suggest some more general themes or conclusions which seem to be emerging from the data. In order to set the data in a new context, and thereby highlight its more general implications, it is, unfortunately, necessary to repeat some of the data.

On Management and Participation

The data we have presented are revealing not least for what they tell us about the way in which leadership, management and responsibility were *conceptualised* by our informants. Our informants said that they wanted managerial positions and that they were *able* to lead, manage, take responsibility and supervise, but simultaneously said that they were not able to do a lot of the things which would seem to be crucial to effective leadership. Not only did they not feel able to do many of these things, they were personally not interested in, or motivated to perform, many of these tasks anyway. The competences they *either* said that they did not think it was personally important for them to exercise *or* that they lacked the ability to perform included:

Listening to the unexpressed views which lay behind what people said.

Making other people feel strong, capable and able to achieve their own goals.

Helping people to develop and release their talents.

Inventing new ways of thinking about things.

Initiating developments and getting people to work together.

Taking other people's ideas and translating them into practice.

Creating a climate of enthusiasm, dedication and initiative in which staff innovate and take responsibility for their actions in relation to achieving group goals.

Persuading other people that one's point of view is correct and encouraging them to take appropriate action to support one.

Intervening in society on behalf of the organisation and its members.

Monitoring what is going on in society, and in other organisations, working out the implications for oneself, and taking the necessary initiative.

Studying other people's reactions to one's efforts, and trying to invent better ways of meeting one's clients' or customers' needs.

Encouraging others to monitor their performance and take corrective action where necessary.

Widening their colleagues' sights and trying to get them to accept responsibility.

Monitoring the effects of their organisations on society.

Yet, these were exactly the abilities which Klemp, Munger and Spencer (1977) found differentiated more effective managers from others.

The scope to encourage managers and potential managers to reconsider their values and to have opportunities to develop these abilities would, therefore, seem to be enormous.

What is, perhaps, still more surprising and disturbing is that these beliefs and expectations exist in a context in which there is apparently no perceived lack of *opportunity* to do any of these things. Thus it is not true that simply

providing people with an opportunity to exercise high-level competencies will lead them to do so. The way they go about things may not be particularly effective — but, although aware that they *are* not as effective as they would like to be, they may still not discover why it is that they have not been more successful. This may arise from their failure to monitor their performance to learn more about the nature of the situation with which they were trying to deal and the type of action which would enable them to deal with it more effectively. But that may not be all — for they may well realise that they would *need* to behave differently in order to be effective, but these activities may be at variance with their self-image and their beliefs about the types of activity which they personally would find satisfying.

The results we have obtained and reported are, therefore, of the greatest possible significance. On the one hand, they seem to throw considerable light on the causes of the plight in which Britain currently finds itself. Not only do they illustrate a great need to rethink conceptions of management and leadership, and the role of “participation”, they also illustrate the need to rethink the very role of the employee and the citizen in the socialised society in which we now find ourselves living and the need to provide much more encouragement to innovative activity and active participation in the management of organisations and society.

On the other hand, they illustrate that it is unlikely that simply providing opportunities for participation in running organisations and reducing the tendency to usurp responsibility for taking decisions from those who have most direct contact with the problems which need to be tackled — although of the greatest possible importance — will, on their own, lead to the leap in understanding, ability and motivation which is needed. That leap is most likely to come about most quickly through the provision of carefully developed experiential education programmes. These must be designed to help people to gain insight into a variety of different value systems, motivational dispositions, and patterns of behaviour. They must enable people to clarify their value conflicts, to practise and perfect alternative styles of personal valuing and behaving, and to create more supportive, and personally developmental, climates within their organisations. Part IV of this book will therefore describe the ways in which such activities can best be organised.

In attempting to create climates of enthusiasm, responsibility, and dedication, however, it would appear that managers can take courage from the fact that the data revealed a widespread desire to keep on learning new skills, to turn in high quality work, to feel that one had really created something, and to feel that one was doing something worthwhile. There was also a widespread desire to minimise paperwork and, while there was not a widespread desire to actually do something about muddle and inefficiency, there *was* a dislike of it. The best interpretation of the pattern of responses seemed to be that, by permitting muddle and inefficiency, managers conveyed the message that what was being done was not important and that it was not necessary to do things efficiently. By permitting muddle to occur they demeaned their staff and thereby set up a cycle which led to increasing demoralisation.

The concept of management which emerged from the data was highly individualistic. According to those who completed the Questionnaires, the manager's job was hardly at all concerned with co-ordinating the activities of his subordinates, developing his staff, identifying the tasks which needed to be performed or the blockages to performance, or releasing the goodwill and initiative of his subordinates. It appeared that the manager's job, like the teacher's job, was to tell people what to do.

Such a concept of management may well have been appropriate at the time of the industrial revolution. At that time, organisations were small and such co-ordination as existed between organisations, and the selection and placement of staff, was provided by the economic marketplace. Now that organisations are large, now that they are attempting to tackle much more complex problems, and now that they explicitly try to co-ordinate activities which were previously only co-ordinated by nature and the economic marketplace, that will no longer do. The evolution of organisational goals, the development of ideas and innovations, the co-ordination of previously disparate activities, the identification and resolution of organisational problems, the stimulation of across-the-board innovation, and the release of effective exercise of discretion and responsibility in the quest for organisational effectiveness and a concern with the wider societal implications of what the organisation is doing are all now crucial to the future development of our society.

On Shared Beliefs about the Importance of Innovation, Security and Pay

The many people who do not value innovation, efficiency or development may wish to consider what the long-term consequences for their society and for themselves are likely to be. They may be helped to assess whether the personal consequences they anticipate from innovation — stress, recurrent failure, inter-personal difficulties, and lack of time with their families — are really correct. If they *are* — and they are therefore justifiable deterrents to engaging in innovative activity — they may wish to consider whether they could do more to assist those who are prepared to put up with such frustrations to carry out such essential activities. Another possibility (assuming the perceptions *are* accurate) is that people will, on reflection, discover that innovative activity has a residual appeal for them or feel that it is something which they *should* undertake for the benefit of themselves, their families, or the society in which they live. In this case, it may be possible to arrange to place them in positions in which:

- (a) the frustrations are somewhat less.
- (b) they are, to some extent, cosseted by, for example, being helped to establish a reference group of like-minded people.
- (c) they have an opportunity to experience more of the satisfactions which come from engaging in innovative activity — the feelings of success and delight which come from the successful pursuit of new insights and the effective exercise of skill and discretion.
- (d) they can develop the attitudes and skills which would enable them to handle more effectively some of the problems and frustrations which will inevitably arise.

Many people believe that successful innovators are not too concerned with security and that insecurity stimulates innovation — that necessity is the mother of invention. The overwhelming pre-occupation with pay and security which was revealed in our survey data may, therefore, be felt to be a cause for concern. Review of the relevant facts may, however, suggest that our concern should focus, not on the level of concern with security, but on the low level of interest in innovation.

It is true that, as we have seen, entrepreneurs in our society have often been forced to branch out on their own in order to innovate. But this has not been true in Japan where the provision of security has not stifled step-wise innovation and the exploitation of ideas. Nor is it true that *all* innovation in our society has come from entrepreneurs. Quite the contrary: *most* of the basic developments in science on which our entrepreneurs have been dependent have come from people who both had considerable security and did not have to worry too much about short-term productivity. The same is true of most successful innovators (see Oeser & Emery 1958). They, too, have usually had considerable economic security. Economic necessity does *not* make for innovation, although innovation may make for economic security. Furthermore, innovation has been neither primarily stimulated by a desire to make money, nor adequately rewarded in the marketplace. Most of our important innovators have contributed ideas which have been exploited by others who gave them little or no reward for their efforts. Most innovators go bankrupt, leaving only a legacy of scientific and technological advancement on which others can, and do, build. Furthermore, most of the innovations we most urgently need lie, not in hard technology, but in the soft technology which is required to define and achieve the goals of the post-industrial society, goals which the public service was largely set up to achieve.

In the light of these reflections it would seem unlikely that the innovation we need is likely to be either stimulated by insecurity or inhibited by the provision of security on its own. Furthermore, whatever may have been the case in the past, it is manifestly unjust that the innovative individuals on whom we are so dependent should have to forego basic human rights — like the provision of pensions and an assurance of a decent standard of living — which most of the rest of us now enjoy without question.

The concern with *pay* is perhaps more invidious. It is again the divorce between the concern with pay and other concerns which is most worrying. A concern with pay — with obtaining a good standard of living, or with getting an indication that one's contribution to society is valued — would not be worrying if it were coupled with a concern to innovate, a tendency to examine the benefits of what one was doing for individuals, communities, or society, or a concern with efficiency. But standing, as it does, on its own, this concern with pay suggests an unhealthy pre-occupation with doing *only* those things which will secure pay awards — paid for by a reduction in one's fellow citizens' standard of living — possibly by engaging in such things as Trades Union activity. What would seem to be needed is both some reconsideration of the concept of wealth — which would include recognition of the importance of government activity in generating wealth

— together with some reconsideration of the satisfactions derivable from the types of activity which are, in the long run, likely to enhance the quality of life on a personal, national, and world-wide basis.

Once again, therefore, it is necessary to caution against too simplistic a discussion of the issue. It is clearly iniquitous for certain groups to have less than their fair share of the national cake. Yet, if nearly everyone believes themselves to be getting less than their fair share, serious problems may be anticipated. A widespread desire for more money may well indicate that many people *do* think they are getting less than their fair share of what society has to offer. On the other hand, it may indicate that there is a widespread desire for more of the good things which money can buy. If this is the case, the crucial questions are: "What are the management activities which need to be undertaken to organise the activities which need to be carried out so that we are all better off?" and "Who is to undertake this leadership and management role?". It may also be noted in passing that, if this *is* the interpretation to be placed on the data, it undermines the popular view — encouraged by Toffler (1981) — that "demand has now been satisfied". If this interpretation of the documented concern with pay is correct, our data may be telling us — as our quality of life data do tell us — that there are endless tasks to be done in our society and that people would be prepared to pay for having them done. There *is* endless work for the hands which our current economic and manpower policies have rendered idle and there is, *economically*, no reason to accept that position.

These thoughts suggest, not so much a need for personalised experience-based, programmes of staff-development as for opportunities for groups of people to review the research literature on attitudes, types of people, and institutional structures which make for economic and social development, and for opportunities to experience the satisfactions which come from thinking, feeling and behaving in new ways. They highlight the need for widespread programmes of adult education, programmes of adult *self* education, which are designed to help them think through the long-term personal and social consequences, for themselves and for others, of the values, assumptions and perceptions they hold and, as a result, to change those values and attitudes.

On the Conclusions of Earlier Researches

If the results obtained in the survey are related to the background literature, it emerges that we have shown that most people wish to work in a developmental environment in which they can learn new things, have variety and responsibility, and have support from their colleagues. They wish to feel, and to be, competent and to know that their abilities are recognised and valued by others. They want their abilities to be developed and used. They are prepared to take on more, and more demanding, work in the pursuit of important goals. They do not want to escape from work into leisure. They appear to feel that, if they do not rise to new challenges they will not stand still but regress. In general, they do not want routine work. In these ways the results support Argyris, Herzberg and Maslow. People want

to grow, to be useful, and to have their talents recognised and rewarded. Yet it is clear from the data that many workplaces fail to develop the abilities of those employed in them. They fail to tap the motives, goodwill and commitment which are available. They stifle the desire for growth and the desire to contribute in a responsible way to development. They stifle the desire for improvement and innovation by making it difficult for people to use their knowledge to introduce improvements which they can see to be desirable. Instead of encouraging people to exercise discretion and take responsibility and initiative, they lead people to feel that it would be altogether too difficult to introduce stepwise improvement. If they were to do the things which they can see need to be done, it would demand too much of them. It would take up *too much* of their leisure, *too much* of their energy. It would be too difficult to unlock the necessary time of others and the resources which would be required. Not only would it be necessary to get a vast, rusty, and creaking machine to operate, it is felt that many of those who occupy key positions in that machine are not really interested in helping the organisation to improve, to achieve its goals more effectively, or to embrace new goals. Why else would they tolerate current levels of muddle and inefficiency? Why else would they be so reluctant to respond to suggestions, information, and initiative? Why else do they devote so much time to unnecessary paperwork and routine checking activities?

But while supporting the conclusions drawn by Argyris, Herzberg and Maslow, the results also extend them. They show that people vary a great deal from one to another in the abilities they want to exercise at work. There is, therefore, an urgent need for a much more differentiated and sophisticated set of individual guidance, placement and development procedures to overcome the serious mis-match which currently exists between priorities and satisfactions and the substantial levels of frustration and de-motivation which exist as a result.

Perhaps most important of all, the results suggest that the most pressing problem facing modern society is to make explicit and promote the development of the managerial abilities, understandings and procedures which are required to manage complex organisations which aim to tackle new and difficult problems, and which are staffed by independent, self-actualising, people to whom considerable responsibility and discretion must necessarily be delegated. Clearly, the ability to develop one's staff must have central place in any such concept of management ability.

PART IV

FOSTERING COMPETENCE

CHAPTER 8

HOW CAN CHANGE IN VALUES, ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS BE FACILITATED?

In previous chapters we have seen that there is an urgent need for many adults to re-examine their values and pre-occupations and their assumptions about how society works and their own role in it. But can such values, attitudes and perceptions be changed? If so, how? In this chapter we will answer some of these questions.

As we have seen, the growth of competence is inextricably bound up with values. The identification of personal values, provision of opportunities for people to clarify their values, explore the consequences of alternatives, and resolve value conflicts is, therefore, basic to any programme designed to facilitate the growth of competence. Our first task in this chapter will have to be to show that programmes which have set out to influence motivation and behaviour have failed in part because they did not address these fundamental problems.

The statement that value-clarification is crucial to the development of competence is at variance with most received thinking about education. It is widely asserted that there are many educational goals which are non-controversial and value-free. Put another way, most educators assert that there are many competencies which can be fostered without reference to values.

The goal of promoting cognitive development is widely cited as an educational objective which is “superordinate” and value-free. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. Many parents, for example, do *not* want their children to ask questions and think for themselves. As one mother put it when she was asked how important it was for her child to develop the ability to find information which he himself wanted in books: “Good gracious, no, I wouldn’t want that: goodness knows what he might come across poking about in books”. The fear of original sin (curiosity) — an integral ingredient in cognitive development — is therefore still with us. In practice we found that very many parents are actively opposed to their children developing the spontaneous tendency to ask questions and the ability to follow those questions up effectively.

The goal of promoting cognitive development — curiosity, willingness and ability to use books to find the information one wants, the ability to conceptualise, make plans, anticipate obstacles, and think of ways round them — is therefore, itself heavily value-laden. But, perhaps equally serious, it is psychologically bonded to other goals and competencies which are much more obviously value-laden (Raven, 1981). These other qualities which are, psychologically speaking, closely linked with cognitive qualities include such other characteristics as independence and adventurousness. One cannot foster these qualities unless one promotes cognitive

development and one cannot promote cognitive development unless one also sets out to promote the development of these qualities. That is why Stallings and Kaskowitz (1974), Chan (1981), and the author (1980) have found that democratic child-rearing practices, and "open", "progressive" educational activities, are inextricably bound up with the promotion of cognitive development.

This mutual interdependence may be illustrated by citing some results of an evaluation of an adult education programme which set out to encourage mothers to play a more active role in promoting the cognitive development of their children. What we found was that, contrary to the received views of educators, and contrary to the views of those who implemented the programme, mothers knew perfectly well what the consequences for their children of engaging (or not engaging) in "cognitively stretching" activities with their children would be. The problem was that many did not *want* their children to develop the qualities they knew they would develop if they treated them in the ways the adult educators (Educational Home Visitors) desired. This applied *both* to the *cognitive* activities (such as curiosity and asking questions) *and* to psychologically bonded qualities (like independence, and the tendency to question authority) which those who initiated the programme saw as lying at its heart. But perhaps the most important deterrents to fostering these qualities in their children were the consequences they anticipated *for themselves*, if their children developed such qualities. They felt that, if their children developed them, they would be more likely to grow away from them, become geographically mobile, and, as a result, neglect them in their old age. Furthermore, they knew that they themselves lacked the management skills, and information, which would be required to manage independent, adventurous, curious children who questioned authority. The study therefore not only underlines the value-laden nature of competence, it also underlines the fundamental importance for our society and those within it of helping people to develop the managerial and followership skills and expectations to which we have so often drawn attention in this book. Had these issues — the value-laden nature of the project's goals, the *long-term* consequences for the children, and the consequences for the parents' ability to manage their children — been brought out into the open and addressed by those responsible for the project, there would have been much more hope of its having a major impact.

In actual fact it did have a dramatic effect on the mothers' beliefs and some effect on their attitudes. But it had very little effect on their behaviour. The reasons for its failure to affect their behaviour again underline the importance of addressing values issues in educational programmes. The programme had very little effect on the mothers' behaviour partly because their basic values had not been influenced and partly because the environmental constraints on their behaviour had not been changed. Yet, if those responsible for the programme had openly tried to influence the mothers' values, or the circumstances in which they lived, they would have been in trouble. Before it would have been possible for them to have done so, they would have had to have promoted much more

public discussion of the role of management (in public policy and elsewhere), so that such activities could be seen to be legitimate.

Having used this example to illustrate the way in which well-intentioned educational activities can be defeated by their failure to address values issues we may now move on to consider some of the steps which need to be taken if people are to be able to clarify their values in order to practice the components of competence discussed earlier in relation to them.

Value clarification is not straightforward because people often simultaneously espouse conflicting values — or — as is perhaps clearest in Kohlberg's (1971) work — are plagued by value-laden dilemmas. Thus, any course of action will bring one set of consequences (some of which are desirable and others of which are not) while another course of action will bring another set of consequences. It is commonly very difficult to weigh one of these sets of consequences against the other.

Crucial elements in effective value-clarification exercises are:

- (a) An atmosphere in which people's priorities are openly and honestly accepted as legitimate, in which their positions are treated with the respect which is necessary if the basis for their value position is to be explored in a non-threatening way.
- (b) Initiation of steps to make people's initial values and assumptions explicit. (*The Edinburgh Questionnaires* can be used for this purpose).
- (c) Provision of the words and concepts which people need if they are to more easily discuss their values and their consequences.
- (d) Information on the consequences of alternatives. This can be provided through reports on academic research, or through the personal example of co-workers and others. Alternatively, it can be provided by means of autobiographical material, historical material, fictional accounts, or case studies prepared with the explicit intention of portraying different value systems, patterns of competence, and their effects.
- (e) Group discussions which facilitate focusing attention on the issues, unfreezing of established positions, change of opinion, and the crystallisation of new views.
- (f) Opportunities for participants to take explicit decisions to adopt new positions.
- (g) The establishment of reference groups which meet on a continuing basis once the participants have returned to their workplaces. The main purpose of such follow-through activity is to enable those concerned to be supported in their new priorities and behaviours by others who share their values and concerns.

The most systematic discussion of these components of effective attitudinal and motivational change programmes is to be found in an article published by McClelland in 1965. In it, he draws together, summarises, and builds on, a great deal of previous research. He deals first with the legitimacy of trying to influence values. The objection that explicit value-

clarification activities consist of brainwashing is met by pointing out that such activities enable men to choose between outcomes which previously remained implicit, or were made explicit only in the minds of orators, politicians, or religious leaders. In making such considerations explicit, one is, therefore, freeing people from the possibility of brainwashing. Knowledge of both the personal and social consequences of pursuing alternative values is, therefore, not only central to value-clarification, it is also critical to the legitimation of value-clarification and competence-development activities.

He then notes what we have already mentioned — namely that people often have latent or relatively inarticulate values which they can be helped to articulate. Once brought into full consciousness they can be pursued more effectively. Thus, in the data reported in earlier chapters, we showed that, while there is currently little evidence in Britain of a widespread desire to innovate, those who completed *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* both wanted a better standard of living and were very unhappy about the muddle, waste and inefficiency which they observed in their workplaces. Evidence of this sort can be used to make the issue of support for innovation more salient. McClelland notes that the problem is, therefore, not so much to *change* people's values as to discover, reinforce, strengthen and expand relevant pre-existing thoughtways and associations. Providing people with the vocabulary they need to think about their values, and doing so in such a way that they can see that others who share their values also obtain other satisfactions they would like, can do much to facilitate the process.

McClelland argues — again citing research evidence — that this can best be done in a warm, open, trusting, honest atmosphere which recognises the stresses involved in personal self-examination and which is accepting, without pressure, of personal decisions which go counter to those of the overall group. In the absence of such warmth and acceptance, people feel threatened and retreat into entrenched positions. In the absence of the leisure needed to formulate, and try out, new strategies they fall back on thoughtways and behaviours which have met with at least some success in the past. What has to be done is to feed in information which enables conflicting values beliefs (such as "I am not an achieving type" or "Achievers are nasty, personally motivated, and underhand") to be resolved. This can be facilitated by providing those concerned with the concepts they need to think about their values, the components of competence, the institutional structures in which they live and work, and the consequences of their beliefs and actions. Although consequences are often anticipated but not valued, there is much to be gained from discussing the long-term *social* consequences of alternative courses of action — the moral consequences of the actions. This has the effect of reinforcing and strengthening people's awareness of the ways they feel they *should* behave. As Fishbein has shown, such considerations exert a powerful influence on behaviour. (It may be remarked in parenthesis that one of the objectives of *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* is to provide the concepts and information which are needed to carry out such exercises).

Value change can also be facilitated by emphasising that people *can* and *do* change. Witness the efficacy of McClelland's own programmes (about two-thirds of the participants end up thinking, feeling and behaving in ways which characterised only one-third at the beginning — see McClelland and Winter 1969; Miron & McClelland 1979; and Gorman and Molloy 1972), and the fact that people change their behaviour quite dramatically when they change the role they are enacting. The same person will behave quite differently when he says to himself "I am now being a parent", "I am now being a teacher", "I am now being a manager". The label "I am behaving now as a parent, teacher or official" — or "high achiever" has a marked effect on a whole range of behaviours. Words and ways of thinking about people, things and situations exert a marked influence on behaviour. This is why the pen is mightier than the sword. Hence the importance of introducing new definitions of the role of the worker and the manager, and new understandings of participation, delegation and democracy into our everyday thinking. However, for such role definitions to exert effective control over behaviour it is necessary for those concerned to know a great deal, in considerable detail, about how people who occupy the roles concerned think, feel and behave. Most people have just no idea how people with other motivations and dominant values think, feel and behave. Those who run programmes to help people clarify their values must, therefore, supply the necessary information. This can be done with the aid of research findings and case histories, and it can be reinforced through role-playing. Such activities are particularly likely to be effective if they require the participants to invent the desired thoughtways for themselves rather than only to repeat what they have been told.

The salience of particular concerns can also be enhanced by determined, preferably collective, decisions to talk about such things as achievement issues, innovation etc., throughout the day and to minimise discussions of housekeeping issues, cost-checking, and risk-avoidance. This again results in raised consciousness of certain activities and further prevents the tendency to think about distracting issues in future.

In order to ensure that people have the detailed store of knowledge, feelings and behaviour which is needed if they are to change their behaviour, it is frequently desirable to teach them *in detail* how to *assess* the nature and strength of value-laden competencies in others. This gives them the vocabulary they need to think about their over-riding values and the components of competence they bring to bear in pursuit of them. The beauty of such frameworks is often that they enable people to put into words things they know but have not previously been able to articulate for themselves. In this way, it is possible to reinforce and strengthen existing thoughtways rather than seek to impose new ones. The whole process can then be strengthened by encouraging those concerned to role-play a variety of styles of behaviour (including their cognitive and affective components) so that they can try them for 'fit' and establish what sort of person they would like to be.

Following exercises in which those concerned learn motive scoring systems, apply them to case histories, and role-play the behaviours, they can

practise them “for real” in educational simulations and “games”. This provides them with a *real* opportunity to do such things as scan the environment for opportunities, plan challenging but realistic achievement programmes, monitor the effects of their actions to learn more about that with which they are dealing etc. They are, once again, able to make these processes explicit and *label* them and their components so that they can think more effectively about — and monitor — their own behaviour in the future.

Such role-playing exercises are also important because they allow people to practise and perfect new ways of behaving in a situation in which the consequences of a mistake are not so serious as they would be in real life. To a degree, new habits — new ways of thinking, feeling and behaving — can be practised and perfected in this way so that they can be produced smoothly in appropriate real-life situations.

The fact that we have once more emphasised the centrality of the *person* — his values, patterns of competence, thoughtways and general patterns of behaviour — should again be underlined. This contrasts sharply with the widely held view that the function of vocational training is to foster specific skills. What we have argued is that *general* thoughtways and patterns of feeling and behaving come into play in *every* situation. Specific skills — such as typewriting — are situation-specific. Put another way, the exercise of specific skills is dependent on particular things (such as typewriters) being present in the environment. They are therefore unable to have a very pervasive influence on behaviour. More generic competencies influence the tendency to obtain typewriters, learn to use them, and the ability to use them effectively.

Having thoroughly reviewed a series of potentially enticing new ways of thinking, feeling and behaving the next step taken by those involved in McClelland's programmes is for those concerned to make decisions about how they wish to change, to make explicit and rehearse the reasons for change, and, above all, to commit themselves to change, preferably with a specific action plan describing what goals they are going to have achieved by what dates. Beyond that, the establishment of a review mechanism whereby those concerned get together to monitor progress toward their goals, to see what can be done to overcome obstacles and to provide support for persisting with the desired behaviour — almost certainly in the face of opposition from less enlightened colleagues — is essential.

Much of what has been said relates to off-the-job developmental programmes. But a great deal can also be accomplished on the job. Opportunities can be created to discuss values — on a group or individual basis — in many situations. People can be encouraged to make explicit and discuss their value dilemmas and, when they do, they can be supplied with relevant information on the consequences of alternatives. Opportunities can be taken, not only to correct inappropriate expectations, but also to do something about widely-shared expectations which discourage desired behaviour. Managers can make their own values explicit and make it clear that pursuit of these values leads to satisfactions which others want. They

can involve their colleagues in their own struggles to resolve value dilemmas. They can support and encourage colleagues and subordinates who are pursuing valued goals which they, themselves, believe are important. They can help their subordinates to make contact with a network of other people with similar values. They can move people with crucially important values into environments in which they will be supported, rather than derided, by others. They can influence the *overall* organisational climate of the workplace and the support provided by others for particular types of activity.

All these processes can be greatly facilitated if the group concerned uses *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* to collect data on shared values, perceptions, expectations, and definitions. They can then collectively examine these data — and their own personal contribution to it — with a view to clarifying what the personal, organisational, and social consequences are likely to be. The implications of the data so collected can be highlighted by comparing and contrasting it with that presented in Part VII of this book. In this way, those concerned can be encouraged to evolve *new* perceptions and understandings as well as clarify their own values. The effectiveness of these strategies can be enhanced if a deliberate effort is made to encourage the participants to use these data to develop a picture of how *an outsider* would see the organisation, and its staff, how he would compare it with others, and what he would, on the basis of that, expect the future to hold for the organisation and its staff.

CHAPTER 9

THE LONG TERM CONSEQUENCES OF ALTERNATIVE VALUES, PERCEPTIONS AND PATTERNS OF COMPETENCE

As we have seen in the last chapter, crucial input to group and individual discussion of values and the perceived consequences of behaving in different ways is research data on the actual consequences of the alternatives, both for the individuals concerned and for the societies in which they live. In this chapter, we will briefly summarise some of the data which has proved valuable in value-clarification activities in the past.

The most important work in the area is that by McClelland (1961) on the one hand, and Inkeles & Smith (1974) on the other, although both build on the work of previous authors. Among the latter are Weber (1958) and Kluckhohn (1961) on the one hand and Almond & Verba (1963), and Verba *et al* (1971) on the other.

McClelland (1961) and subsequent work by his colleagues (such as Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969) has shown that people who exhibit a spontaneous tendency to engage in a large number of the components of competence identified earlier in pursuit of achievement goals tend to be more effective in business and in creative and scientific roles. However, by no means all of them are *economically* successful. They contribute innovations which promote the overall economic development of *the society* in which they live and, to a significant, but by no means certain degree, do better out of it themselves.

People who display many of the components of competence in pursuit of *power* goals also tend to do better both as businessmen and scientists, and people who value *both* achievement and power goals tend to do best in both of these roles. This is because the effective performance of both roles tends to demand that one influence others. But the most effective teams of either businessmen or scientists tend to be made up of *some* individuals who have high scores on only *need* Achievement and others who score highly on *both need* Achievement and power. As Taylor, Smith & Ghiselin (1963) have shown, scientific front men need to be supported by high *need* Achievement backroom boys who seek neither fame nor publicity. And the latter need the former.

A value for power on its own tends to make for disruptive levels of conflict.

A tendency to display many of the components of competence we have identified in pursuit of both affiliation and power goals tends to make for the effective performance of integrative roles in management.

Many of these relationships have been documented in studies carried out by people who have not been influenced by McClelland's work. These include studies by Roberts (1968), Oeser and Emery (1958), Hobbs, Beal

and Bohlen (1964), Doob (1967) and, most importantly, Kirton (1980) and his associates using the latter's Adaptation — Innovation Inventory.

When the concern with achievement and innovation — and the tendency to pursue it effectively — is widely shared in society, the consequences are dramatic (Weber, 1958; McClelland, 1961). Societies which are pre-disposed to pursue achievement goals are economically successful, whether they are under alien rule or not. Societies which are pre-occupied with power engage in wars and empire-building, but are often not economically successful. Societies which are dominated by affiliation concerns tend to concentrate on establishing warm, friendly, relationships between people, to the neglect of economic goals.

These concerns are not fixed. Indeed, it can be argued that societies oscillate between three, equally untrue, sets of beliefs (or myths):

1. If you get on, you will be happy.
2. If you have power, you will be happy.
3. If you have friends, you will be happy.

Although societies' dominant values, pre-occupations, beliefs and expectations, are important, the social consequences of manning organisations and societies with people with different balances of dominant concerns and values have yet been little studied. However, in this context, some more recent work by McClelland (1982) and his co-workers is of considerable interest. What he shows is that what happens in a society is not only determined by its dominant values and beliefs, but also by the extent to which one set of dominant values and beliefs is held in check by another. Thus, the American value for individualism and pursuit of self-interest is, in that country, held in check by beliefs about the legitimacy of democratic decision-taking, willingness to abide by majority decisions, and a positive fervour to do what everyone else does. When Americans say that people should make their own decisions they generally fail to add that, by and large and in the main, they should carefully observe how their elders, peers, and particularly, opinion leaders are behaving and choose to do likewise! Problems arise when Americans work abroad, particularly as consultants to under-developed countries, precisely because only the individualistic assumptions are visible to their fellows in their host countries.

Almond and Verba (1963), Verba *et al* (1971), Inkeles (1969) and Torney, Oppenheim and Farnen (1976) have also done a great deal cross-culturally to show that civic attitudes, beliefs and expectations have serious consequences for the type of society which develops and the patterns of satisfaction which those societies are able to offer their members.

Societies in which people expect to be continuously active, in the socio-political sense, in their daily lives, tend to produce structures of government which are open and responsive. When the people of a society *wish* to behave in these ways, but the structures of the society do not encourage open, active and honest participation, marked alienation from government policies develops. This is accompanied by deep criticism of government activity. Societies which are characterised by a belief in authoritarian accountability create structures of government which are hard to influence, and which can only be changed by military means.

Neither set of beliefs and expectations has much to do with economic development. This is much more a product of Modernity and Need achievement.

Concluding Comment

In concluding this chapter, it is important to underline our assertion that different patterns of concern and competence, in different combinations, may have very different consequences for individuals, for organisations, and for society. What makes for success as an individual — such as intense competitiveness — may make for the break-down of the organisations or society. What totally anonymous people do — people such as bureaucrats, citizens, peasants, penniless scientists, or inventors working in garrets (or even the British Museum) — may have a dramatic effect on what happens to the society.

Not only do the consequences vary with the level at which the analysis is carried out (individual, societal, world), they also vary with both the values and competencies of other people in the organisation and society — with the *proportion* of people with different concerns — and also with overall, shared, beliefs, perceptions and expectations in the society or organisation — that is to say, with the organisational climate and organisational structure.

PROMOTING THE GROWTH OF COMPETENCE

This chapter will identify ways in which the growth of competence can be promoted by creating “developmental environments”. In these, people have an opportunity to pursue goals they care about and to develop components of competence in the process. They are exposed to others who portray the patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving which characterise competent people in such a way that they can emulate them, and are supported as they haltingly evolve new competencies. The nature of developmental environments as they have been observed in the home, the school, and the workplace are described, as are some of the barriers which prevent them being established more widely.

In Chapter 8 we have seen what can be done to encourage people to reconsider their basic values — the ways they would like to behave, the behaviours they think appropriate in others, and the ends they think it is important to pursue. We have also seen that value-clarification involves exploring the consequences of alternative styles of behaving — not just intellectually, but experientially as well. This enables one to see and feel the personal satisfactions and social consequences associated with alternative motivational dispositions. And we have seen that value-clarification is inextricably bound up with the growth of competence. This is partly because the most important components of competence — such as the tendency to analyse, bring to bear past experiences, anticipate obstacles in the future, take initiative, lead, and follow — will only be practised and developed in pursuit of valued goals. It is also in part because willingness to engage in such behaviour is influenced by the perceived consequences of the behaviour, by images of the sort of person who does these things and the compatibility of those images with one's self image and by understandings about how society and organisations work and definitions of one's own role, and that of others, within them.

A key organising concept to be introduced in this chapter is that of a *developmental environment*.

In a developmental environment people:

- have an opportunity to consider their values and resolve value conflicts in a respectful, open, supportive and honest atmosphere in which their views are accorded legitimacy, and their concerns, and right to their own views, priorities, and decisions are respected;
- have an opportunity to experience the consequences of behaving in different ways without mistakes bringing ridicule at the time, or incurring serious long-term consequences in the future;
- are encouraged to evolve and practise new styles of behaviour in pursuit of goals they are strongly motivated to achieve;

- . can think about their organisations and their society and come to understand and perceive them (and their operation) in new ways which have marked implications for their own behaviour;
- . are given (or can evolve) new concepts to help them to think about their behaviour, the way they construe the world, and the consequences of alternatives;
- . are exposed to role models — either in real people or in literature — which enable them to see, and share in, other ways of thinking, feeling and behaving, to see and experience the consequences, and to try the behaviours for ‘fit’. (Exposure to others whose behaviour brings satisfactions which one wants oneself is a strong incentive to engage in the behaviour!);
- . are encouraged to set themselves high, but realistic and measurable, goals, to monitor progress toward them, and are helped and supported by others when they are unable to live up to their self-expectations;
- . are provided with support, encouragement and help *when they make mistakes*. Under these circumstances, it is particularly important for colleagues to identify and encourage that which was worthwhile in the activity, and to refrain from threatening inquisitions into the causes of failure, and, in particular, to refrain from implying that they know better than the person concerned what he should have done. After all, the person who undertook the activity knew more about the situation in which he was working, and his own abilities and limitations than did the others;
- . are encouraged by having their accomplishments recognised and commented upon.

This abstract description of some of the defining features of developmental environments will now be fleshed out from programmes of research and action-research which we have carried out with businessmen, teachers, and parents. Thereafter, we will review some of the barriers which prevent wider adoption of these principles.

Developmental Environments in a Business Setting

As we have seen, McClelland (1965) set out, firstly, to identify the features which would characterise a maximally developmental environment for businessmen, and then to create those environments and study their effects. The results are presented in Winter & McClelland (1969). Such developmental environments have been created and studied by many others, including the author. A review of these studies will be found in Miron & McClelland (1979).

In the course of these programmes, which are held with small groups in residential settings, participants are first taught the scoring system for McClelland's *Test of Imagination*. This deals with three dominant values (affiliation, power, achievement) and with ten major components of competence (including anticipating obstacles, enthusiasm for the task,

getting help from others, and monitoring the effects of one's actions). In this way, participants are provided with a vocabulary with which to think about valued styles of behaviour and the components of competence which would be required to reach their valued goals. They analyse their own personal pattern of values and motivation using this conceptual framework and, as a result, become thoroughly familiar with it. They also analyse case history materials. They engage in educational games which are designed to emphasise what it feels like to behave in different ways and to experience the emotional and objective consequences of alternatives. Participants study research and case history materials illustrating the consequences of alternatives. They are encouraged to think about how they would like to change, the effects of others' behaviour on them, and the effects of their behaviour on others. At the end of the programme the groups arrange to continue meeting so that they can support each other when they encounter difficulties.

The effects of these programmes are, generally, that, on average, two-thirds of the participants end up thinking, feeling and behaving in ways which characterise only a third of them at the beginning. A significant proportion of those who participate in such programmes also decide that they do not wish to pursue a business life-style.

Raven and Dolphin (1978) examined naturally-occurring work environments for evidence of the presence or absence of many of these characteristics. Environments which appeared to promote growth seemed to be characterised by such things as an effort being made to identify the motivations and talents of each individual and take steps to recognise, develop and capitalise upon those talents and abilities, an atmosphere in which there was an expectation of high standards and support for innovation, but an absence of pressure for results (which has the effect of stifling the willingness to experiment with new ideas and new ways of thinking). Opportunities to participate in managerial activities, study the goals of the organisations, and influence decisions also seemed to be important. For this to happen it seemed to be necessary for the managers concerned to feel confident that they were in a growth situation in which their subordinates were not vying to do them out of a job. Managers also seemed to need time to develop confidence in their subordinates' goodwill and ability — and especially for deciding which types of developmental experience would prove most productive.

As we have already seen, the data collected with *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* point to the widespread existence of environments which are barely developmental. In these, people are *not* able to go on learning new things; their talents are not recognised, developed and rewarded; they do not have responsibility for their work and an opportunity to influence decisions or innovate; they are not credited with the specialist information which they and only they, have; they are not viewed as people who have useful information to contribute; there is little variety in what they do and little opportunity to identify the types of task which lead them to be optimally motivated or to tap multiple motivations to perform any one task; they are not encouraged to try out new activities and new ways of thinking

and experience the consequences; and their colleagues and managers do not portray, and encourage them to share in, effective innovatory behaviour.

Developmental Environments in the Home

So far, we have focused on features of developmental environments as they have been identified in studies in the workplace, and emphasised some of the features which would need to be present in more workplaces if they are to become more developmental. Further insight into the environmental factors which promote development emerged in our studies of child-rearing and the educational system. The studies also point to other areas which are ripe for the application of what we already know about the creation of developmental environments.

In our research at the pre-school level (Raven, 1980) we found that mothers who valued the development of initiative, independence, self confidence and the ability to make one's own observations, think for oneself, and achieve personal goals effectively, explicitly and systematically set out to foster these qualities in their children. The developmental environments they created permitted their children to practise the qualities which have just been mentioned, and other components of competence identified in Chapter 14, in relation to goals which the children personally cared about. They created opportunities for their children to find out what interested them, and what they were good at, and discussed their children's feelings and behaviour — and the effectiveness of their behaviour — with them. They did not interfere in what their children were doing, but reacted sensitively, with a specific view to promoting their growth, only when they were having difficulties which they could not overcome on their own. They rewarded their children's success by sharing in their feelings of delight at accomplishment and by helping to create more opportunities for them to do the types of things they enjoyed. They encouraged their children to set goals, plan the sequences of activities which would be required to achieve them, and to monitor their own performance. They gave their children a vocabulary for thinking about these processes; they talked to them about planning, experimenting, thinking about what had happened, trying to find out what went wrong and how to do better next time. They encouraged their children to *evolve* goals as they went along and saw what "gave" in their environments and what interested them.

In addition, they set out to demonstrate competent behaviour to their children in such a way that their children could learn from them. They tried to create opportunities for their children to see them behaving competently and they discussed their own behaviour with them. They tried to create opportunities for their children to see them taking responsibility, managing others, making discretionary judgements, and following up those judgements by activities which would keep the programme of activities on target and lead it to reach its goals. They created opportunities for their children to share in *their own*, normally private, thoughts and feelings. Thus, they would talk about what they were doing, why it was important, and about their feelings about it. They would create opportunities for their children to participate in their own attempts to clarify their goals and the

route to be taken to reach them. Their children, therefore, shared in the process of clarifying values, prioritising goals, considering the long-term consequences of their actions, and reconciling value conflicts. They shared in the process of anticipating obstacles to goal achievement, and planning strategies to reach them which involved getting help and co-operation from other people. They learned how to adventure into the unknown on the basis of initial insights and partial understandings, monitor the effects of their initial actions to learn more about the situation and the effectiveness of their strategies, and how to take corrective action where necessary. They shared their parents' feelings of frustration and misery at failure and delight in success.

The parents also set out to *earn* their children's respect instead of, as some other parents did, simply demanding it. In order to achieve this goal, the parents found themselves discussing the long-term social consequences of their activities with their children. To do this they shared with their children their understanding of the world, how it operated, and what they believed to be right and wrong. In order to justify their children's respect, they found it necessary to try to behave in ways which were above reproach. They, therefore, found themselves discussing not only the constraints on their behaviour, but also the whole complex of factors which influenced decisions and the relative weights which have to be placed on alternatives (instead of merely laying down prescriptive moral codes which cannot be simply related to most of the day-to-day decisions which have to be taken).

The effects of attempting to treat children with respect — as people who were entitled to their own views and opinions — were also significant. They discovered how serious-minded and competent their children really were. This reinforced their tendency to rely on their competence rather than believe that children needed to be taught, restricted, confined and disciplined. This created an ascending spiral in which they were able to create demanding opportunities for their children to adventure on their own, exercise discretion and initiative, and take responsibility for their own behaviour. This led to a further advance in their competence. There came to be less and less need for demeaning restrictive rules.

The Backgrounds of Creative and Innovative Individuals

The work we have just summarised dealt with the ways in which the child-rearing strategies of *parents* who wished to foster independence, initiative and adventurousness in their children differed from the child-rearing strategies of others. Many of the same results have been obtained when studies have been made of the backgrounds of highly creative and innovative individuals in our society.

A study by Rosen and d'Andrade (1959) is of particular importance, but many others have been summarised by McClelland (1961, 1969, 1982). There have also been a large number of studies of the background and up-bringing of highly innovative and creative people. These include the studies made by MacKinnon (1962), Taylor (1963), and Barron and Egan (1968). Since the composite picture emerging from the two sets of studies is very similar, they may be run together here.

Highly creative people, and people high in *need* Achievement, tend, firstly, to have been encouraged to be independent at an early age, to go about town on their own, and to choose their own films and friends. Their decisions are not made for them; rather their parents have a great respect for their ability to think and decide for themselves.

Secondly, they are more likely than others to have been encouraged to try hard for things for themselves — as children they are given little assistance in doing things but are given strong approval when they complete them. In contrast, fathers of people low in concern with achievement tend to give explicit directions to their children, to interfere in what they are doing, and to express irritation when their children do not do what they want them to do.

Thirdly, they had been expected to develop their own moral code — none was forced upon them — although their parents did make it clear what their own code was. This code particularly stressed forthrightness; honesty; respect for others; pride, diligence and joy in work; and making the most of one's abilities. In general, the parents seemed to have a remarkable respect for their children and their ability to reason, act and cope on their own.

Fourthly, they had been exposed to models of intelligent, thoughtful, hard working and resourceful behaviour — mostly by their parents, but occasionally by others in their environment. Effective achievement-oriented behaviour, including its thinking, feeling and behavioural components was also often portrayed for them in great detail, and in a context of evident warmth and approval, in the stories which were read to, and told to, them as children. A well-known series of books which exemplify these characteristics are those describing the achievements of Babar the King.

It is important to distinguish between *achievement* training and *independence* training — both of which occur in the backgrounds of highly achievement-oriented individuals.

Independence training consists of training people to cope on their own — to be independent of others. Independence training is often present in situations where it is important that the children learn to look after themselves — such as on public housing estates. Achievement training, on the other hand, involves a great deal of contact between children and parents, expectations of high levels of performance, and parents working with their children, helping them to set challenging but realistic goals and helping them to anticipate obstacles.

Facilitating the Growth of Competence among Primary School Pupils

In our work in schools we have, on the one hand, collected extensive evidence that the great majority of classrooms fail to promote the growth of the components of competence with which we have been concerned in this book. Indeed, the majority of classrooms currently stunt the growth of these qualities. They therefore fail our children and our society. (Raven, 1977; Raven & Varley, 1984; Raven, Johnstone & Varley, 1984).

On the other hand, we have also described a large number of educational procedures which are intended to, and do, enable a limited number of teachers to achieve these goals. These processes include project-based education, discussion lessons, and enquiry-orientated studies. We have described in some detail the work of a number of teachers who achieve these goals effectively. (Raven, 1983; Raven, Johnstone and Varley, 1984). Accounts of the ways in which activities like project work can be used to achieve educational goals will be found in *Education, Values and Society* (Raven, 1977). Here it is more appropriate to summarise some of the results of our attempt to portray the processes used by one teacher to promote the general development of her pupils.

In order to achieve the broader goals of which we have spoken, this teacher organised her entire programme of work around project-based, enquiry-orientated activities, grounded in out-of-school visits. This not only made it possible for her to integrate the traditional primary school subjects, it also permitted her to discover each of her pupils' distinctive interests and patterns of competence. These interests could lie either in the types of behaviours which made them enthusiastic (including, for example, such things as finding better ways of doing things, better ways of thinking about things, or getting a group of people to work together) or they could lie in particular content (such as, for example, in the history of agricultural implements, the varieties of Victorian lace handkerchiefs, or the distribution of butterflies). Not only was the teacher then able to promote the growth of many of the components of competence which have been identified in this book in relation to those interests, she was able to tap different interests and motivations on the part of different pupils to fuel enthusiasm for developmental activity in her classroom. In this way she created an *overall* climate of enthusiasm and dedication which infected other pupils. She was also able to tap multiple motivations to fuel the activities of any one pupil. Thus, a pupil might embark on a task for one reason, but be carried forward to complete it for another — such as because he was able to work with other children whose company he enjoyed. In this way, she was able to tap a wide variety of potential motivations, both within and between pupils, which are generally neglected in schools.

The teacher's own behaviour was itself a striking source of stimulation and growth for the pupils. She shared her thoughts and feelings with her pupils. She shared her planning and her anticipations. She shared her concern with excellence, innovation and effectiveness. She shared her disdain for petty regulations, her anticipation of obstacles and her search for ways round them. She shared her concern with aesthetics. She shared her feeling of being in control of her destiny. She demonstrated how to capitalise upon whatever resources were available — indeed to tailor her purposes to those resources — instead of, as was characteristic of many other teachers, complaining about the lack of resources to do what she wanted to do. In these ways she communicated her values to her pupils and portrayed effective, competent behaviour in such a way that they could emulate, not only the explicit behaviour, but the entire pattern of thinking and feeling which lay behind it. By eschewing the role of expert and

provider of wisdom — by regularly trying to do things which she did *not* know how to do and tackling problems which she did not know how to solve — she *showed* her pupils how to be learners and how to innovate. By accepting pupils' suggestions she showed them that authorities and leaders are not best regarded as sources of information and as organisers, but as people who, at best, help other people to articulate and share what they know, acknowledge what others have contributed, and lead others to feel capable of achieving, and motivated to achieve, their own goals.

In a similar way her pupils learned a great deal from, and came to rely more extensively on, their fellow-pupils. They developed a *partnership* in learning. Aided by a vocabulary supplied by their teacher, they became able to think about, and value, the contributions of others who had not "done as they were told". The teacher herself would enlist the help of her pupils in trying to find ways of tapping the energies of other — perhaps in some ways disruptive — pupils. In this way, she both made explicit the fact that not everyone contributes in the same way to a group process, and also the thought processes which contribute to effective leadership and management. By involving her pupils in this process she helped them to develop leadership and managerial skills.

There can be no doubt that through these processes the pupils learned to value beauty and efficiency. They learned to value other people who had different values, pre-occupations and abilities. They learned to value research, and to link research with improvement in the quality of everyday life. They learned to treat bureaucratic rules as guidelines rather than as requirements. They learned that in order to be effective it is necessary to take calculated risks. They learned to exercise discretion, to lead, to investigate, to build up their own picture of the world from scraps of information. They learned how to work out the implications of that picture for their own behaviour and how to take the initiative required to act on such personal understanding. They learned how to *ask* questions rather than only answer them. And they came to think that it was appropriate for people like themselves to ask questions instead of only to answer them. They learned to discuss, to speak effectively, to learn from others, and to communicate to others through artistic and graphic material, by allusion and presentation, and by gestures. They learned that they themselves were competent to learn on their own. They learned that they were competent to invent, to have opinions, and to contribute ideas. They became less likely than other pupils to develop feelings of "trained incapacity" — feelings of inability to do anything until one had mastered a vast array of material. They learned that they could, relatively easily, become experts in any area they chose. Learning itself was de-mystified.

In classroom activities based on the pupils' out-of-school studies, this teacher encouraged her pupils to set historical material in its social and economic context. Although she might have done more to lead her pupils to develop the habit of studying the workings of social, political and economic systems, she did encourage them to find out about the way of life of peoples who lived at previous times, and, in so doing, encouraged them to focus on certain features of social and economic systems. The pupils read, and were

read to, about the pre-occupations, perceptions, and thoughtways of people of past ages, and heard about the social consequences of those values, pre-occupations, and institutional structures. In this way, they gained at least some insight into other people's values, pre-occupations and thoughtways and their social consequences. They practised thinking in these ways themselves: they made up stories in which they tried to get into the skins of people from a bygone age. They undoubtedly learned a great deal about social and economic processes. As one of them put it in an essay: "The Druids changed sides and became priests in the Roman Temples." (Nevertheless, *what* they learned might benefit from more systematic consideration.) The pupils practised building up a picture of a society and its structure from scraps of information, derived from multiple sources — such as tombstones, archaeological digs, museum artifacts, and discussions with residents — and were thereby discouraged from believing that one's first task is to get an authoritative version of events. In fact, such surveys and studies of geological, geographical, biological, historical, and social phenomena could, with relative ease, have been extended to include studies of social, civic and political perceptions and expectations and their probable personal and social consequences.

Fostering Competence in the University

In the most important study yet published of the ability of the university to promote value change and the development of competence, Winter, McClelland and Stewart (1981) have compared the effects of several different types of college in the United States. Unlike the researchers who conducted many earlier studies (summarised in Jacobs, 1956), they used measures which were both tailored to, and sensitive to, the effects which the educators concerned desired and to those which could be anticipated after examining the programmes. The study showed that the colleges had very different effects on their students. Ivy League colleges (the equivalent of Oxbridge) bred a sense of importance, destiny and leadership which was, in fact, followed through into activities which conferred major benefits on society in later life. They fostered the willingness and the ability to think critically and to handle cognitive complexity — especially the cognitive complexity involved in understanding social problems.

These colleges achieved these goals neither through academic course work nor through dormitory residence ("the enemy . . . of critical thinking is student social life centred in dormitories or other living units") but by:

- exposing students to diverse experiences. These came, in particular, from contact with, and working with, others who had very different backgrounds, values and pre-occupations. These experiences were, however, only effective if the college insisted that the students analyse and integrate their experiences in an effective way instead of merely "accepting" them, chatting about them, and compartmentalising them;
- demanding that their students cope with new, unfamiliar, and, particularly, challenging experiences involving diversity, variety and

challenge to their assumptions and thoughtways. These demands could not, however, be general — they had to be in relation to areas of activity which the students concerned cared about;

- creating a wide variety of opportunities for students to engage in types of activity (leadership, innovation, research, etc.) which were new to them and providing support while they haltingly tried out the activities they selected in relation to goals they cared about;
- establishing with the students new, personally challenging, tasks to be executed to high standards — but simultaneously providing support and encouragement to ensure goal achievement;
- insisting on high standards in *independent* academic work. This involved preparing theses or conducting seminars and participating in original research with faculty members;
- avoiding prescriptive rules which choked students off from particular types of experience or demanding that they cover prescribed content for vocational reasons: time to explore, day-dream, reflect and integrate is a crucial component of any effective educational programme which is too often missing, being precluded by pressure for results.

It will be readily apparent that many current trends in university education are away from, rather than toward, the development of these features.

It would appear that we can again abstract from this study the importance of providing opportunities to explore and clarify values, to practise new styles of behaviour, to engage in independent study, and to develop relevant competencies in the course of independent study. We can also underline the importance of *specialist* information, and the importance of contact with appropriate role models. Once again, however, opportunities to make a personal analysis of the workings of the socio-economic system and explore their implications seem to have been emphasised too lightly.

Barriers to the Creation of Developmental Environments

Having briefly indicated what *can* be done to create developmental environments which promote the growth of competence it may be useful now to summarise some of the insights we have gained into the barriers to doing this.

We may start by reviewing some of the difficulties encountered by teachers who visited mothers with a view to helping them to create more developmental environments for their children.

We have already seen that if the teachers were to do so they would have had to admit, at least to themselves, that two of their primary tasks were to influence the mothers' values and to try to gain control over some of the environmental variables which so much constrained what the mothers could do. Although these are crucial components of effective management behaviour, they were widely thought to be outside their brief both by the home visitors themselves, and by others.

But there were other unanticipated constraints on what the Home Visitors could do within the homes arising from the Home Visitors' own role expectations. They felt that they could not, as they would have done as mothers, *wait* for the child to reveal his interests and then sensitively feed the growth of idiosyncratic competencies in the child. They felt that they were short of time and had to *make* things happen. They also felt that they must ensure that the child was exposed to opportunities which other people thought it was important for him to have, rather than allow the child to indicate where his areas of interest might lie. They felt that *they*, and not the child, were responsible for what the child learned.

Other barriers to the creation of developmental environments included the following:

- They defined "teaching" as "telling", rather than as "facilitating growth". Thus, they felt that unless they were *telling*, or demonstrating, things to the children (or their mothers) they were not doing their jobs. (In a similar way, the notion of "merely" creating the conditions in which things will happen [or encouraging people to make things explicit for themselves], rather than issuing orders, is — despite Klemp's research on organisational effectiveness — regarded by most managers as both inappropriate and a waste of time — and somehow underhand and unethical as well);
- It was not possible for them to demonstrate, either to the children's mothers, or to their own superiors, that the children had developed many of the components of competence we have mentioned. It would therefore have been impossible for them to have justified the activities we have described. (It is equally difficult for employees to get recognition for the interests, strengths, and competencies which they actually possess);
- They themselves could not get credit for having promoted the growth of the various components of competence we have mentioned or even for leading the child to acquire idiosyncratic patterns of knowledge. (It is equally difficult for managers to get credit for having facilitated the development of their subordinates' competence and their idiosyncratic stores of knowledge);
- They had no way of assessing the child's interests and, therefore, what types of activity would be likely to "motivate" him;
- They had no way of monitoring how the children were responding to their inputs in sufficient detail to be able to decide what to do next — particularly in relation to the types of competence with which we have been primarily concerned in this book;
- They were aware of the previously mentioned variance in parental priorities but had not thought through the implications of this for their own — and other people's — beliefs about equality. (In the workplace, again, there is a serious problem involved in reconciling the obvious variance in interests, talents and abilities with the sorts of criteria which are currently acceptable — for *sociological* reasons — when arranging for promotion. The need to provide economic

equity coupled with a flexible placement system has not even been put on the agenda of the issues viewed as problematical by most political parties or by social scientists);

They knew in their hearts that the issues they were trying to tackle were heavily value-laden, yet they had not fully thought out their position in relation to such value-laden issues: *should* they seek to *influence* values, what would be the social consequences, should they respect the variance in values, allow people to pursue valued goals which they did not share, and seek to foster the components of competence in relation to these values?

Barriers to the Creation of Developmental Environments in the Home

As we have seen, many parents do not create maximally developmental environments for their children. We have seen that this is in part because they do not want their children to develop the qualities which this would lead to. However, there are other reasons too. The parents concerned are often under severe financial and emotional stress. This not only deprives them of the time they would require to respond to their children. The emotional drain makes it impossible for them to respond in a sensitive and relaxed way to their children's emergent needs. It also deprives them of an opportunity to portray self-confident, effective, behaviour for their children in such a way that they can learn from it. The parents themselves are often treated in demeaning ways by their employers, and, even more often, by the public servants who control their housing, their income, their holidays, the options open to them, their discretionary spending, and their children's schooling. In this way they are deprived of self respect and the opportunity to take their own decisions, monitor the effects of their actions, act competently, plan for the future, and gain control over their own lives. The parents are also often isolated and depressed. For all these reasons, they are often unable to engage in the self-actualising behaviours which, Maslow has hypothesised, can only be engaged in after more pressing needs have been satisfied. As a result, they are in no position to facilitate the development of self-actualising behaviour on the part of their children.

But there are yet other reasons why some parents do not set out to create developmental environments for their children. If they were to behave in the ways we have described, it would be necessary for them to have the time, the ability, and the motivation to engage in complex, sensitive, responsive behaviour. It would be necessary for them to be able to monitor the effects of their actions, in growth terms, and decide what to do next. It would be necessary for them to be able to answer their children's questions and find the desired information. Above all, it would be necessary for them to be able to manage independent children who questioned authority. It would therefore be necessary for them to ensure that their children fully understood the reasons and rationale which should guide their behaviour. It would also be necessary for the parents to be able to identify, and respond to, children of their own who had value systems and patterns of competence which differed markedly from theirs. Unfortunately, many parents have

had few opportunities to develop such competencies themselves and their value systems often run counter to such behaviour. Furthermore, their everyday experience may well tell them that it would, indeed, be hazardous for children who had not developed internalised codes to guide their behaviour to develop adventurousness and curiosity in the sort of environments in which they are forced to live. There may well, therefore, be good reasons why many parents do not wish to encourage their children to develop the qualities we have mentioned.

There are a number of points which may be particularly drawn out of the previous discussion. On the one hand, many parents who did not create developmental environments for their children, failed to do so, not because they did not know what the consequences would be if they did, but because they did not wish their children to develop these qualities. They feared that their children would create still more stress for them in their own lives. Development of the qualities would place the children in danger. They would not, anyway, be able to facilitate the development of these qualities in their children to a high level. On the other hand, many parents would have liked their children to develop these qualities, but were deterred from helping their children to develop them by constraints embedded in the environments in which they themselves lived. Both of these lines of argument point toward the need to create more developmental environments *for adults* if children are to be encouraged to develop qualities of the type we have mentioned. To do this, the leaders and managers of our society would themselves need to behave differently: they would need to develop more confidence in the ability of others to reason, act responsibly, and cope on their own. They would need to set out to create learning, developmental, and support networks in society, rather than implement demeaning, constricting, rules and regulations reinforced by rule-bound, policy-enforcing, policemen. They would need to supply those charged with running such support networks with the new concepts and tools which they would require if they were to be encouraged to move away from bureaucratic provision for the citizenry toward a concept of the citizen as participant in the bureaucracy.

We have, therefore, come a full circle. If we are to create more developmental environments in the home, we must offer parents the opportunity to develop higher levels of managerial competence, the opportunity to engage in high level behaviour, and the opportunity to develop political and social perceptions and expectations which are required to engage in effective behaviour in modern society. To do this we need new political structures and understandings of ways of running society, and higher levels of managerial competence on the part of our political leaders and the managers of our society. The task of social scientists is to provide both parents and social managers with the concepts, understandings and tools which are needed.

Barriers to Competence-Based Education in Schools

Despite the fact that it has been possible, since the turn of the century, to find individual teachers, often in small schools, who have been able to

implement one form of competence-based education or another, it has also been true both that these teachers have had difficulty implementing their programmes and justifying their activities to others, and that these programmes have not become part of mainstream educational effort.

There are many reasons for this. Many of them parallel those we have mentioned in relation to parents and teachers working in the home. Teachers who have embarked on such activities often find that they cannot demonstrate that they have achieved anything worthwhile to sceptical parents, politicians and Directors of Education. Many teachers who consider embarking on such activities fear that they would be unable to *manage* classes of independent, adventurous children who were disinclined to "do as they were told". Things would get out of control. Many teachers lack confidence in their ability to assess pupils' needs and respond sensitively to them. They lack the words they need to think about children, their values, and how to help them to develop. There are few opportunities to visit, work with, and learn from, teachers who engage in competence-based educational programmes.

The result of all this is that many teachers find themselves in the position of feeling that they have to goad their pupils, in an authoritarian manner, to work toward goals in which they themselves do not believe, and which they know confer few useful benefits on their pupils. (See Raven, 1977, for the evidence). The goal is to get their pupils through examinations, the only benefit of which is to buy entry to a job. The teachers concerned are, therefore, unable to devote time to getting to know their pupils, their interests, and their values. Anyway, they fear that, if they did, they would only discover how damaging are the activities in which they engage. This sets up a cycle in which the progressive use of extrinsic, constrictive, pressurising, activities generates negative reactions on the part of the pupils, and thus demands for further constrictive, directive, rules. This in turn generates further mutual disrespect.

But again, possibly more important than any of these reasons for schools' neglect of activities which would promote the growth of competence is the fact that many parents do not want their children to develop independence, self-confidence, and adventurousness. Unless such parents, and their children, have a right to opt out of "educational" programmes directed toward these goals, all teachers in state schools are under pressure to avoid such activities. Once again, therefore, we find ourselves asserting that one of the key developments which is needed is political activity to legitimise the view that public policy should be diversified and set out to offer multiple options between which citizens have a right to choose. Teachers' ability to behave competently is, therefore, primarily dependent on their ability to think through, and do something about, this set of political beliefs. Yet many teachers believe that it would be inappropriate for them to engage in such activities. Their incompetence is attributable to the same failure to come to terms with the changes which have taken place in society as is the incompetence of the rest of us.

Other reasons why competence-orientated programmes have not been more widely adopted in schools include the fact that little has been done to

make the goals of competence-based education, and the means to be used to reach them, explicit. Still less has been done to find ways of giving the teachers and pupils concerned credit for having achieved these goals. But, perhaps more seriously, no administrative procedures are available to make it possible to chart individual pupils' interests, patterns of motivation and patterns of competence, to plan individualised programmes of growth which build on the personal developments which have taken place in the course of one project when the time comes to start on the next, or to map individual pupils' reactions to their work — so that their teachers can more quickly get the information they need on their pupils' reactions and requirements.

Still other reasons for the neglect of competence-based education may be illustrated by citing another of our case studies. In this school the head teacher was very articulate about the current failures of the educational system. He was also quite clear about the alternative goals to be pursued and the means to be used to reach them. Thus, he had observed that qualities like leadership, ability to work with others, and even the ability to muster an argument, were scarcely, if at all, related to academic ability. He had concluded that such qualities could only be fostered if the pupils were actively pursuing their own interests (Raven, Johnstone and Varley, 1984). He had therefore implemented a school policy in which pupils' education was to be grounded in out-of-school visits. No pupil was to go on any visit in which he was not interested, and no more than 12 pupils were to go on any one visit at the same time. Very frequent out-of-school visits were organised with the aid of a minibus. Parents and other visitors came into the school and accompanied parties of pupils on visits, in order to share their experience and in order to model competent behaviour for the pupils. However, we found that he — like so many other educational administrators — somehow assumed that the provision of physical plant (in this case a minibus, but in other cases things like comprehensive schools) would somehow lead to the desired goals. The *management* activities which are also required were somehow not noticed. In this case, the head did not even share his own conceptual framework with his staff, let alone encourage them to clarify and evolve the necessary concepts ("to learn the vocabulary"), to practise the strategies which might be used to attain them, or to discuss the benefits and barriers — and what could be done about them — with their fellow members of staff. Still less did he systematically set about creating a climate of support for innovation within the school — a climate which might well have involved shared work, shared responsibility, and division of labour — or forge links with teachers in other schools in order to stimulate new thinking and provide encouragement for innovative members of staff. These are, again, all topics which any manager who wished to create a developmental environment in his workplace or promote a climate of support for innovation would have to consider.

Barriers to Competence-Based Education in Higher Education and Student Development

One of the most serious (and depressing) problems we have come across in the course of our work has been the failure of educational theorists and

administrators to think through the processes to be used to facilitate the development of student teachers, and those to be used by headteachers and teachers in schools to promote the development of staff, probationers and students. These problems came very much to the fore in an evaluation of a pilot programme which was intended to enhance schools' ability to promote the growth of teaching competence among student teachers (Raven, 1984). This project, while drawing attention to the need to get the classroom teachers with whom students were placed to articulate and discuss with students the strategies to be used in their teaching, was not very successful. The reasons for this are particularly disturbing coming, as they do, from what one would hope would be the most competent educational academics in the country. They included:

- students' pre-occupation with doing the things which would gain acceptance and high grades, and an unwillingness on the part of those responsible for managing the system to consider how this sociological force could be harnessed to allow them to do what needed to be done;
- a failure to get teachers to articulate their goals, their feelings, their anticipations;
- a failure to inject a vocabulary to help students to think about their goals and how they were to reach them into the training environment;
- a failure to surface the values questions which permeate education and decide what ought to be done about them: questions like what schools are for or who is to decide which courses particular pupils will be offered;
- a failure to surface the questions which need to be asked about the administration of the public service — how does the service work? What options should it provide? How is choice to be administered? What rights have citizens and teachers to influence the goals of the system?
- a failure to allow an action-research project to tackle unexpected barriers to its effectiveness because "these were outside its terms of reference" although they were, in fact, central to its effective implementation and even more central to its continued operation. (This actually reveals a dismal failure on the part of those concerned to understand both action-research and innovation. A basic tenet of action-research is that difficulties are bound to be encountered but that these are to be interpreted as signposts to defects in the original understanding of the problem and what is to be done about it rather than as indications of "personality defects" in colleagues. Secondly, it is the case that all effective innovators need to monitor the effects of their actions and be willing to change their original beliefs, assumptions and diagnoses on the basis of what they learn — and do something different as a result);
- defective management ability on the part of those responsible for the project — an inability to listen to what lay behind the fears which people expressed, an inability to get people to work together, an

inability to create a climate conducive to innovation, and an inability to analyse and take steps to gain control over the wider social forces which were deflecting the programme from its goals;

a failure to consider the competencies required by teachers — competencies which included the ability to develop an understanding of, and a self-image of their own role which allowed them to influence, the wider sociological forces which so much constrain what schools can do.

All of these defects are particularly important in that it is apparent that the educational system is communicating to the next generation a concept of management, a concept of the importance and mechanism of innovation, and a concept of how society works and the role of the professional and the citizen within it, and that all of these are far from appropriate.

Barriers to the Creation of Developmental Environments in the Workplace

The establishment of more developmental environments in the workplace does not only require the development and availability of the concepts and tools which are required to think about personal qualities, and how they are to be developed and utilised. It is, as we have seen, also dependent on the creation of more participatory and delegatory climates. We have already explored many of the reasons why the creation of such environments is resisted. These may be summarised here as follows:

- fear that, if one shares one's knowledge with subordinates and acts in such a way as to promote their development, they will usurp one's position;
- fear that competent subordinates will move away and get better jobs in other organisations;
- suspicion that one lacks the abilities which are required to manage independent people;
- a lack of the concepts and tools which are required to give managers who have engaged in such developmental activities credit for what they have done;
- the inability of the organisations which make up our society to select managers who are *able* to perform these roles and hold them accountable for performing such activities, coupled with the fact that much promotion is not, in any case, primarily a mechanism of moving the best people into important jobs, but a means of rewarding the good and the faithful;
- lack of awareness that, if they encourage their subordinates to grow into their jobs, managers themselves would be able to move on to far more important things — which have often to do with trying to understand and influence the wider social constraints which so much determine what their organisations can do.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

We have seen that many of the barriers to the creation of more developmental environments are common across settings. These included:

- pressure to get things done (actually ineffective, because more actually gets done as a result of releasing the energy, know-how, commitment, enthusiasm, initiative and leadership of others in pursuit of a joint task);
- lack of faith in one's ability to manage independent, creative people;
- concern to do what is necessary to achieve promotion, or certification, coupled with an inability to get credit for having facilitated the growth of others or even released their energies in pursuit of an important goal;
- lack of understanding — based largely on not having had an opportunity to work with others who already possess these skills — of how to identify the talents of others and how to develop and release them;
- absence of a set of tools to identify the talents, developmental needs, and contributions of others;
- underestimation of the legitimacy of seeking to influence the workings of the wider society, coupled with a lack of the understandings and competencies which are required to do it.

As far as the workplace is concerned, the most important step which needs to be taken is to make explicit the fact that an unavoidable — indeed crucial — component in management is that of facilitating the development of others and implementing mechanisms whereby managers can be held accountable for staff development.

In this context it would seem that *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* have a crucial role in:

- making it possible to identify individuals' interests — in task or content terms — which can be tapped to fuel motivated activity in the workplace;
- identifying individuals' patterns of competence, and the expectations which inhibit them from performing crucial activities;
- identifying the organisational climate — or environmental — constraints to effective activity;
- providing means of holding managers accountable for making their workplaces hum and releasing the know-how, goodwill, creativity and enthusiasm of their subordinates;
- helping everyone concerned to think through their understandings of how their organisations work, how society works, their place in it, and their understandings of such topics as participation, delegation, management and accountability.

ORGANISATIONAL CLIMATE, ITS EFFECTS AND HOW TO INFLUENCE IT

In this chapter, we will explore what managers can do, using *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*, to take stock of, and influence, organisational climate in order to promote the growth of competence and motivated behaviour. Because it is the other side of the same coin we will, at the same time, explore ways in which *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* can be used to assess managers' ability to release the energies of their subordinates and to identify steps which they may need to take to do that more effectively.

As we have seen, motivated, competent, behaviour is not only determined by people's values, by their patterns of competence, by their understandings of how society works and how the organisations in which they live and work operate, by their own role in those institutions, and by the way in which they think about such things as the delegation of responsibility, participation and management. It is also determined by the social pressures which are brought to bear on them and by shared beliefs about how things should be done and who should relate to whom about what. If most people feel that certain people should not speak to others, make suggestions, or take initiative, it makes it very difficult for those concerned to do many things, whatever their own beliefs. Widely held beliefs of this sort also have a marked influence on people, what people will think about, and the satisfactions they will get from their work. We may refer to this shared set of beliefs, assumptions and perceptions as *organisational climate*.

Just as values, components of competence, and understandings of appropriate behaviour within organisations, while remaining useful analytic categories, shade into each other, so, too, does the concept of organisational or community climate. Indeed, it is, to a considerable extent, operationally defined by cumulating individual values and expectations. Similarly, the steps which are to be taken to influence it in many ways parallel those which have to be taken to influence individual values, patterns of competence, and understandings. Despite these parallels, it remains useful to distinguish between *individual* values and understandings, and *shared* values and understandings, especially in the context of organisational development and staff guidance, placement and development. In organisational development the objective is to influence *general* organisational climate. In staff guidance, placement and development, on the other hand, one may need to think about how best to place and develop an individual who has particular values, a particular pattern of competence, and works in an organisation or section in which the general climate is not supportive of his own values and the exercise of his particular pattern of competence even though these may well be crucial to the future well-being of the organisation as a whole. The consequences

which he can anticipate should he undertake crucial courses of action will vary markedly, depending on the shared assumptions and climate in which he lives and works. Even if, therefore, it is not possible to do something about the organisational climate as a whole, it may well be essential to move that particular individual into a situation in which he is more supported in his crucial activities.

What, then, are some of the key dimensions of organisational climate? How can they be assessed? What are their effects? And how can they be influenced?

What Organisational Climates have What Effects?

Litwin & Stringer (1968) found that behaviour was markedly affected by the sorts of behaviour which the individual believed would be encouraged and rewarded, by the extent to which he believed that other members of his firm would openly discuss differences of opinion, by the standards which he believed that other people in the organisation set for themselves and each other, by the degree to which he believed that others would help and support him and play their part in achieving joint goals, by the extent to which he believed that his judgement and discretion was trusted, the extent to which he was expected to try out new ideas on his own initiative and given responsibility for taking his own decisions, and by the extent to which he believed that the value of his work would be recognised and appreciated by his fellows.

As we have already reported, Porter & Lawler (1968) also found that managers' behaviour was markedly affected by their perceptions of their organisations' reactions to their undertaking various types of activity.

The various researches carried out by the author and his colleagues (Raven, 1973; Litton, 1977, 1982; Raven & Whelan, 1976) showed that most people in Ireland expected to receive scant support for taking responsibility and initiative, especially if they were going to exercise this leadership for the good of the wider community. Nor did they expect others to cooperate with them — and, given that the cooperation of others would be an essential pre-requisite to attainment of their goals, it would seem to follow that they are unlikely to seek to take on themselves important leadership roles. Instead of expecting to receive the support and cooperation of others, they expected to be ridiculed and derided by their fellow citizens. Worse still, they thought that those fellow citizens would actually intervene to try to ensure that any activity they initiated would misfire. These perceptions and expectations contributed to an overall picture which would be expected to be highly de-motivating from the point of view of undertaking communal activity. Among the other predictors was the fact that most people did not think it was *their* role to seek to initiate anything. They thought that they should not go out of their way to make their views known to their superiors, and that their superiors should (and did) know best. They did not expect to monitor the behaviour of their leaders, who should be good, strong, and able to get things done. They themselves should do what they they were told, seek to get ahead *as*

individuals, and not have to waste time drawing issues to the attention of their superiors or discussing things with them. The superiors should do this on their own.

A large number of researches summarised by McClelland (1961) and Rogers (1962) have demonstrated the importance of the expectations of innovators' reference groups as a source of motivation to persist in the face of difficulty and local derision. By the same token, these studies underline the need to ascertain the importance the individual attaches to conforming to the expectations of the various groups and individuals from whom he might take his standards.

In a fascinating study, Triandis (1975) found that Greeks and Americans regularly got into situations in which they expected the members of the other race to behave in particular respects (which they construed in ways which were totally different from the ways in which the other race construed them) and therefore treated the other race in what they believed to be an 'appropriate' fashion. This behaviour confirmed the other's expectations of them, thereby setting up a cycle of reactions which led the relationship to deteriorate at an ever accelerating speed. By feeding the others' expectations and interpretations to both sides, Triandis was able to halt the escalation of conflict.

Bray, Campbell and Grant (1974), in an extremely interesting study of Bell Telephone, showed that the environment in which a new recruit was placed determined his future career more powerfully than did his personal characteristics.

THE DIMENSIONS OF ORGANISATIONAL CLIMATE

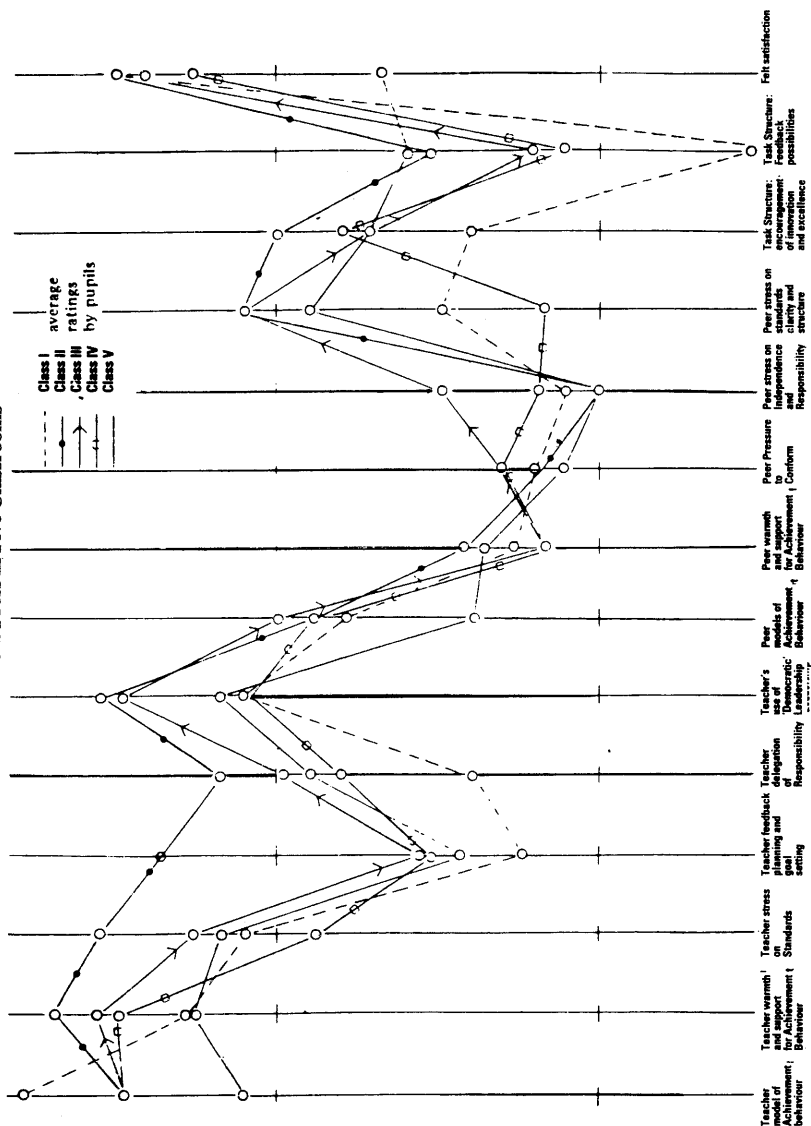
The studies which have been summarised indicate that the concept of organisational climate merits more detailed consideration and analysis. The remainder of this chapter, therefore, consists of a summary statement of the dimensions which need to be assessed and considered. Nevertheless it presents the material at a level of detail which those who are not going to be directly involved in using the conceptual framework presented here to implement organisational change may wish to skip over. The following chart, based on previous work, may also help the reader to form a useful preliminary impression of the structure of the field. It would be noted that the classrooms diverged most strongly in the feedback available to pupils from their teachers and elsewhere and in the extent to which their teachers delegated responsibility to pupils. On the other hand, there was, in all the classrooms, a problem arising from strong peer pressure to conform to peer expectations.

The important dimensions of organisational climate include the following:

The opportunities which those concerned have to engage in the components of effective behaviour and explore the consequences for themselves

If people never have an opportunity to explore the consequences of behaving in innovative ways they will never have an opportunity to

Chart I
Profile of Achievement Press in Five Classrooms



experience the satisfactions which follow; they will never learn that the anxieties of doing a new task pass; they will never learn that they can take effective corrective action if they decide to do something about a problem, but, after considering all the information they can reasonably obtain, they set out in the wrong direction; they will never learn that their fears of dire consequences on engaging in certain sorts of behaviour are unwarranted; they will never learn to tune in to their feelings and develop self-reliance; they will never learn how many different ways of perceiving situations there are; they will never learn how to enlist the help of others to achieve their goals; they will never learn that they can master tasks which at first appeared too difficult; they will never learn to take responsibility themselves; they will never learn effective strategies for relating to others; they will never learn not to usurp responsibilities that can confidently be left to others; they will never learn the importance of paying attention to, and taking effective steps to influence, social processes outside the limits of their immediate job; they will never learn that they do not have to be certain of an outcome of an activity before embarking upon it; they will never learn that if they want to reach a goal the sooner they embark on relevant activities the better — otherwise the march of external events is likely to make it impossible to reach it.

The degree to which the manager provides a good role model of effective behaviour

We conceive of a manager's ability to model effective behaviour as being made up of: the extent to which he appears to enjoy his work; the energy he appears to put into it; the pride he takes in it; the amount of planning he displays; the extent to which he appears to try to make the most of his skills and abilities; the extent to which he initiates action on the basis of the best judgements he can make, but then studies the effects of the action in order to learn more about the problem he is tackling and the ways in which it is to be most effectively tackled; the extent to which he brings to bear additional resources to achieve worthwhile goals; his willingness to analyse, and find more effective ways of thinking about, the constraints on his effectiveness and take steps to get control over the wider social forces which so much determine it; his willingness to accept responsibility for discretionary judgements and handle the consequences; the opportunities he creates to permit others to share in his thinking as he resolves conflicting values and priorities and as he prioritises his goals; the opportunities he creates for others to share in his thoughts and feelings as he makes discretionary judgements, monitors the effects of his actions and takes corrective action; the respect he has for others; the degree to which he trusts his subordinates as a consequence of having led them to do things they are good at doing; the degree to which he emphasises trustworthiness as a goal for himself; the stress he places on standards for himself; the openness and forthrightness of his behaviour; his interest in new ideas and innovation; his persistence; and the extent to which he seeks feedback on his own performance.

The degree to which the manager provides warmth and support for effective behaviour on the part of subordinates

To what extent does the manager encourage subordinates who attempt to do new things well, to what extent does he react negatively to those who have tried and failed, and to what extent does he try to help people who help themselves? How good is he at finding that which is important and worthwhile in what others do? How prepared is he to allow people to do the things which the logic of the situation in which they are placed dictates that they should do, rather than things which he thinks they should do, and then commend them for that which is worthwhile within what they have done?

The rewards the manager uses to encourage effective achievement of his subordinates' own goals

To what extent does the manager provide rewards for excellence, innovation, creativity, and critical thinking in relation to his subordinates' achievement of their own goals? These rewards may be in terms of allowing those concerned to continue to pursue their own goals and seek and use their own judgement, providing prizes or other symbols, or demonstrating that he approves of this type of behaviour by, for example, drawing others' attention to it. But, more particularly, they will be in terms of structuring situations such that reaching achievement goals generally reaps its own rewards. It would also be relevant to know to what extent the manager varies the rewards he uses with what he takes to be the main motivation of each subordinate with whom he is dealing. He may have to structure situations in which some people receive rewards in terms of affiliation for performing an achievement task. And vice versa.

Manager stress on standards

How highly, in a relative sense, does the manager value extremely good work in comparison with passable work? Does he expect subordinates to set high, but realistic, goals in relation to their abilities and commend them for achieving them? How wide a range of different types of quality is the manager willing to acknowledge?

Manager feedback, planning and goalsetting

To what extent does the manager try to help subordinates to become sensitive towards what is going wrong and why, how hard does he try to find out what his subordinates want to do and help them to set about doing it effectively, how often does he encourage his subordinates to set challenging but realistic goals for themselves, to monitor progress toward those goals, and to be sensitive to the reasons why they have not been more effectively achieved, make these fully explicit, think about them, and find ways of surmounting them?

Manager delegation of responsibility

To what extent does the manager provide opportunities for his subordinates to try out and assess for themselves new methods of doing things and new things to do? To what extent does he encourage them to follow their own interests? How many rules does he have to constrain and organise his workforce? What confidence does he have in their ability to do what is best for the organisation on their own, without direction from him, and how often does he provide them with opportunities to evaluate and test their own decisions? To what extent does he avoid the temptation to usurp responsibility in order to avoid the possibility of a mistake and avoid being held responsible for the mistake? To what extent does he delegate to his subordinates opportunities to make discretionary judgements, without having to justify them to him beforehand, and then hold them accountable for taking the necessary steps to ensure that the decisions which they have taken were good decisions?

Task Structure: Opportunities to grow

How much scope is there for employees to learn to do new things, to move into new roles, to influence the definition of the task which needs to be done, to seek to understand and influence the activities which are required to gain control over impediments to behaviour? How clearly do subordinates understand that they will not be doing their manager out of a job if they do part of his task — that the manager has other things to do, which he can only do if they do some of his work “for him”? To what extent does the manager encourage others to join him when analysing task problems and human relations problems and coming to decisions by monitoring the effects of his actions?

Tasks Set

What sort of tasks need to be performed? Does the worker have opportunities to engage in all the components of competence which have been mentioned? Does he have an opportunity to notice problems, to collect relevant information, to make judgements as to what should be done, to initiate action, to monitor the effects of that action and take corrective action when necessary? Does the way the task is identified provide scope for the workers to redefine it, to evolve new goals, to generate action, to gain control over barriers to effective work, acknowledging that those barriers often come from outside the organisation, possibly in the form of beliefs, assumptions and attitudes which are shared by very many members of their society? Does he have an opportunity to work with others to achieve goals which are important to him and to experience, and think about, the sorts of behaviours which result in effective, group, goal achievement? Does he have opportunities to work out better ways of doing things, to experience the frustrations and anxieties of doing so, and to experience the satisfactions which follow? Does he have opportunities to work with others in situations in which conflicts of goals are

inevitable and to develop leadership skills and the ability to arrive at good compromises and, perhaps more importantly, to arrive at reformulations of positions which previously seemed to be incompatible? Does he have an opportunity to practise communication skills and be expected to have something worthwhile to say and a right to say it? Does he have opportunities to recognise the importance of, and learn to take steps to try to understand and deal with, the institutions responsible for the management of the society in which he lives?

Task Structure: Its organisation and clarity

How easily can people find out how well they are doing? How well do they know what to do next? How much time is wasted? To what extent do employees feel that they understand what the organisation is trying to do? How easily can they work out what they need to do to achieve the overall goals of the organisation more effectively?

Task Structure: Feedback possibilities

To what extent do the tasks to be carried out encourage those concerned to be sensitive to the indications which tell them they have made mistakes? To what extent do managers enable their subordinates to set individual targets concerning what they should accomplish in the future, to progress as fast as they are able to go, to analyse the reasons for lack of progress, and to initiate the actions needed to overcome these problems?

Task Structure: The extent to which it encourages innovativeness and excellence

To what extent do people spend their time doing that which has been done before and to what extent can they choose their own *area* of work and mark it off as something different from that which others do?

Behaviour model presented by peers

To what extent are colleagues felt to be people who try to have good new ideas, try to be original, try to improve things, want to work for the good of the community, want to work at things that they like doing, want to work energetically, enjoy their work, take a pride in their work, are always on the look-out for new ideas, think that trustworthiness is important, value outspokenness in dealing with others, try to plan their activities carefully, seek feedback on how well they are doing and seek the help of others to achieve their goals, etc?

Peer warmth and support for effective behaviour

How strongly do employees approve of those who help each other with their work, of those who find new and better ways of doing things, who have high standards and who help each other to do better, and how proud are they of those who do well?

Peer pressure to conform

How strongly does the workforce derogate people who are different, approve of people who do not stand out, and approve of people who always seem to do the same things as everyone else is doing?

Peer stress on independence and responsibility

How much respect is there for those who try to solve their own problems on their own, how strongly do they admire their peers who are always on the look-out for new things to do?

Peer stress on standards

How strongly does the workforce derogate people who are different, approve of people who do not stand out, and approve of people who always seem to do the same things as everyone else is doing?

Peer concern with clarity

How much importance is attached to having things clearly and well organised? How important is it to know exactly what they are going to do, etc.?

* * *

Although the set of variables we have described here has been entirely concerned with the variables which would be expected to result in achievement behaviour or in the development of achievement motivation, it is clear that equally valid questions could be generated to assess press toward power behaviours, affiliation behaviours, or any specifiable outcome.

The Edinburgh Questionnaires, while not directly tailored to the framework which has just been outlined, were nevertheless developed with it very much in mind. They enable one to assess priorities and levels of satisfaction with relevant aspects of their organisational climate for both individuals and groups.

We have refrained from merging the *Questionnaire* items into groups in order to encourage users to consider the implications of particular statements by both individuals and groups.

It will be obvious that use of the data yielded by the *Questionnaires* in the light of the framework summarised above will demand:

1. A familiarity on the part of all concerned with the framework which has been outlined.
2. Changes in the perceptions and expectations of *management*, followed through into changes in the way work is organised with a view to both enhancing levels of motivation and promoting the growth of competence.

3. Changes in the workforce's perceptions and expectations.
4. Changes in individual attitudes and, in particular, changes in the competencies of management.
5. The implementation of staff guidance and placement programmes so that people can move into positions in which the organisational climate and task demands are such that their motivations will be tapped in an optimal way to produce goal achievement.

Following an organisational survey it is, therefore, necessary for managers to:

1. Examine the data for what it tells them about the ways in which their own behaviours are, and could be, affecting the motivation of their subordinates.
2. Ask themselves to what extent they can change their own behaviour, move themselves into more congenial positions, change the tasks which are set, or recruit personnel with different priorities.
3. Initiate group discussion of the results with a view to facilitating organisation-wide change in attitudes and perceptions. One of the big problems revealed by our work is the urgent need to move from a societal concern with asking questions like "Who is *responsible* for innovation?" to asking "What can *I* do to stimulate and support innovation?" Neither innovation nor management are the prerogative of one person or group; they are activities in which everyone has to share in the context of appropriate assumptions about the exercise of judgement and the possibility of people growing *in* their jobs rather than leaping into *new ones*.
4. Facilitate the development of changed perceptions and expectations on the part of individuals or their movement into positions in which their concerns are more appreciated.

One task to which managers should, given the wealth of data available from the use of *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*, devote careful attention is that of establishing teams made up of people with very different concerns and priorities. Such teams are essential, yet it is generally very difficult both to identify the values and competencies of individuals *and* to handle the tensions and conflicts which inevitably arise when people with different priorities and competencies are expected to work together — and to work together precisely because of the different talents and motivations they have (Revens, 1975; Kirton, 1980). The problem is to bring together, in the right proportions, some people who are able to exert effective influence both inside and outside the organisation, some people who are able to generate new ideas, new things to do, and better ways of doing things, some who are able to co-ordinate people with such different priorities, and some who are able to provide such teams with effective support. Not only to bring them together but also to ensure that the resulting organisational climate hums to achieve new goals and retain the effective achievement of old ones. It is with a view to assisting in this complex and difficult process that *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* have been developed.

MANAGING MOTIVATION

We have seen that managers may make better use of the human resources available to them by:

- (1) Initiating schemes designed, on the one hand, to help people, as individuals, to clarify their values and develop their personal competence, and, on the other hand, to help their organisations to place, develop and capitalise upon these talents.
- (2) Initiating schemes to help members of the organisation *as a whole* to clarify shared values, assumptions about how things should be done, and definitions of the role of management, participation, responsibility etc., and, in the process, both to release higher levels of energy, enthusiasm and dedication, and to create more developmental environments in the workplace.
- (3) Trying to influence organisational climate — the way things are done, the assumptions embedded in definitions of tasks and the behaviours approved by colleagues, subordinates and superiors.

The Edinburgh Questionnaires can be used for all these purposes and for monitoring the effectiveness of man-management, personal-development, and organisational-development policies.

For *personal placement and development* purposes, data on people's values can be used, by them, or in consultation with others (such as their managers):

- (1) To help them to review the type of job and life situations they would find personally satisfying;
- (2) As a basis for considering the long-term personal and social consequences of pursuing the values they are attached to at the time, and as a basis for identifying and reconciling value conflicts which may be inhibiting their work;
- (3) As a basis on which to plan individualised programmes of placement and development in the workplace.

For this purpose, data on the consequences which people anticipate if they were to undertake activities which are important to them, which they can see are necessary, or which are necessary to the organisation, can be used to help them gain the experience they need to develop necessary abilities or changed expectations. Alternatively it can be used to place them in positions in which they are not called on to undertake tasks which they find uncongenial.

For *organisational development purposes*, group data can be used as a basis for general discussions about the long-term consequences, for individuals and for the group, of shared values, perceptions and expectations. It can, in particular, be used to analyse such topics as the climate of support provided for crucial activities such as innovation or

effective management. The same applies to data collected on priorities in, and perceptions of, organisational climate and to information collected using the *Consequences Questionnaire*. Group data can be used by managers to help them to identify problems which need to be tackled on a group basis if they are to be able to motivate those under them more effectively. The data can be shared with the group as a basis for unfreezing, changing and re-freezing relevant attitudes, perceptions and expectations. And it can be used as a means of identifying organisational constraints (whether arising within or outside the organisation) which prevent people working effectively and which they, in their managerial role, can set about tackling.

Used in an atmosphere of openness and trust, group data can also be used to move toward *holding managers accountable against more appropriate criteria* than have been applied in the past — it can be used to find out whether they have been able to make their sections hum and whether they have been able to release the know-how, creativity, initiative and enthusiasm of their subordinates.

There is one final way in which *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* can be used to facilitate development. If, after they have completed the Questionnaires to indicate how important it is to them to carry out the range of activities covered by the Questionnaire, the manager fills them up again, this time to indicate how important it is *for someone who is doing his job* to engage in each of the activities mentioned, the resulting discrepancies between personal preferences and role requirements can be extremely informative.

Despite the emphasis which has, in the last two paragraphs, been placed on the use of *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*, it is also hoped that ideas developed in this book will be of use independently of them. It is hoped that these ideas will help managers and their subordinates to think through a crucial set of issues which bear on organisational growth and development, but which have been sadly neglected in the past. These issues are not only of concern to the manager — for the criteria against which both his subordinates and his superiors hold him accountable will centrally affect his effectiveness and the effectiveness of the organisation he manages. The manager's job has centrally to do with releasing the energy and competence of his subordinates, with making them feel, and be, strong and capable, with initiating new, joint, actions and taking the subsequent steps necessary to ensure that they reach worthwhile goals, with getting people to work together effectively, with surfacing and handling unexpressed fears and objections, and gaining control over external and internal social forces which inhibit the effectiveness of his organisation. It is for performing these activities that managers need to be held accountable, and *not* for having made no mistakes or having fully justified a proposed course of action to a committee.

Some specific ways in which managers can use the theory of motivation developed in this book to achieve their goals may now be summarised. Once again, readers who do not intend to apply the material presented here in practical situations may skip the rest of the chapter.

Depending on his objectives and freedom of movement, a manager can:

- (a) Restructure existing tasks so that they arouse and satisfy a wider range of motives. Such changes could include restructuring the tasks in such a way as to provide greater opportunities for those concerned to work toward goals which are important to them, to measure their performance against targets which are realistic and challenging in relation to their own valued goals and their own previous performance (and not against the performance of others at a task in which they are uninterested), and to engage in the important, and to many people satisfying, activity of diagnosing real barriers to improving performance and focusing on these problem areas rather than blindly striving to exert themselves to achieve an unacceptable extrinsic goal with no attention to the real barriers to achieving it. They could also be restructured to tap and engage springs of motivation and enthusiasm which are currently neglected in many workplaces. These might involve restructuring the tasks in such a way as to permit those who enjoy friendly inter-action to work with others to achieve goals, to permit those who are interested in exercising socialised power to take responsibility for ensuring that groups achieve joint goals, or to permit those who enjoy an audience to have that audience in relation to the task that is to be accomplished. Thought of in this way there seems to be ample opportunity to restructure existing tasks to tap and engage a wider range of motivational dispositions.
- (b) Restructure existing tasks in such a way that working at them leads to the development of a different range of personality and motivational characteristics. Examples here would include the possibility of restructuring traditional tasks in such a way as to encourage those involved to practise planning and goal-setting skills and to develop the habit of searching for feedback showing how effectively they are achieving their goals and the habit of examining, and finding ways of surmounting, obstacles to improved performance. Many tasks could also be restructured so that those concerned could more easily turn their emotions (both positive and negative) into their work. All these things would be expected to lead them to develop the competencies needed to achieve valued goals effectively, quite apart from the fact that they would be expected to enhance performance at the particular task.
- (c) Rethink the nature of the tasks so that they explicitly encourage those concerned to develop changed self-images, and new ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving, through, for example, carefully structured experiences designed to encourage them to think about their values and about the consequences of adopting different value systems, and to explore the consequences of different ways of behaving.
- (d) Restructure the tasks to be done, and the general environment, in order to activate a wider range of motives in the hope that arousal

and engagement of these motives will enable those concerned to go about their tasks more enthusiastically and develop a wider range of motivational dispositions. We spoke earlier about the possibility of redesigning the workplace in such a way that it became possible for people with a wider variety of motivational dispositions to become enthusiastic about their work. The point here is rather different. We have seen that different types of task arouse different motives. Thus some tasks more or less force those who engage in them to take a delight in doing new things well; they lead people to engage in this type of activity and to experience the satisfactions which follow. As such they both arouse and satisfy this motive. The enthusiasm so generated can be used to lead them to carry out tasks which they would not otherwise have performed and, as a result of undertaking those tasks, to develop new motivational dispositions. Their motivation, in the sense of general levels of enthusiasm and commitment has, in this case, been increased by redesigning the motive arousal potential of individual tasks. The inputs one might use to increase levels of arousal of achievement motivation might consist of changing tasks in order to permit those concerned to experience the enjoyment which comes from successfully completing a new task, the satisfaction (and frustration) of assuming personal responsibility, or the satisfaction (and frustration) which comes from having something worthwhile to communicate. Once again the provision of appropriate role models might serve to arouse latent motives. Latent achievement motivation might be aroused by exposing those concerned to people who seek feedback, are creative and resourceful, who enjoy their work, who work energetically, who anticipate obstacles and search for ways of dealing with them, who enlist the help of others to achieve their goals, and who set themselves realistic but challenging goals. Latent motives having been aroused, they may also have been strengthened in the sense that those concerned will be more likely to seek to satisfy them in many situations. Merely arousing the motive will often lead people to seek out situations in which it will again be aroused and used.

- (e) Increase the environmental press toward achievement by, for example, making it clear that it is unthinkable to do anything other than turn in a first-rate performance and give of one's best. There are a number of strategies for doing this. It could be done by approving of, and rewarding, creativity, resourcefulness and inventiveness. It could be done by providing support and encouragement for those who attempt to display initiative and break with tradition. It could be done by making it clear that only the highest standards of work are acceptable. It could be done by avoiding disorganisation. It could be done by providing frequent opportunities for those concerned to find out how well they are doing and to isolate the precise reasons why they are not achieving their goals more effectively. It could be done by creating an atmosphere of hard work, dedication, resourcefulness and enjoyment of work. And it could be done by

providing structures which make it easier to engage in achievement behaviour and more difficult to engage in other behaviours by, for example, deciding to contribute in important ways to wider community activities which have genuine and immovable deadlines before which any worthwhile work must be done, by removing red tape and administrative blocks to genuine achievement activity (including expectations that certain types of activity are 'not appropriate'), and by making it more difficult to engage in social actions unrelated to the accomplishment of achievement tasks, such as working up resentment and unrest through a series of private person-to-person conversations. Both of these last two goals may be achieved by adopting an appropriate form of open planning which forces such behaviour out into the open, and, as a result, makes it more difficult for individuals to engage in it. Once again it should be emphasised that the effect of these changes should be, not merely to get more 'work' done more effectively, not merely to lead those concerned to develop the habit of setting realistic but challenging goals, seeking feedback, and so on, but also to strengthen the motive, and lead people to seek out situations in which it is possible to experience the satisfactions which arise from engaging in such behaviour.

- (f) Encourage managers to think about the types of behaviours they reward, the types of reward they use, and the effects of different sorts of reward. Managers may be encouraged to reward one person for being reliable and conscientious, another for initiative, another for co-operativeness, another for leadership, another for ability to express himself well, another for ability to make wise decisions, another for planning, and another for attempting to forecast what will happen in the future, and so on.

Cutting across this emphasis on the appropriateness of encouraging diversity and different types of outcome, managers may be encouraged to reward people, not only for their absolute levels of performance, but also for making an attempt to increase their levels of performance in these areas (low though these may be), to reward them for willingness to recognise the need for improvements, to reward them for striving to diagnose barriers to improved performance, and for striving to find ways of surmounting them, and so on.

Managers may also be encouraged to reward different people in different ways — to reward one person with promotion, another with warmth and approval and another by encouraging him to continue with a creative task. The aim is to ensure that the reward is appropriate to the motives and the needs of the individual.

Most important of all, managers may be encouraged to think of their role, not as being one of meting out rewards to employees, but as being one of structuring situations in which people can experience the personal consequences of behaving in different ways and experiencing the intrinsic satisfactions which come from engaging in various types of effective activity. Extrinsic rewards do

not seem to be as effective as the self-administered rewards which come from intrinsic satisfactions experienced whilst performing behaviour. Extrinsic rewards tend to lead those concerned to become dependent on their manager for guidance, and insensitive to their own feelings — insensitive to their own problems — (which they need to seek and find appropriate ways of mastering), and insensitive to their own feelings of delight on having mastered something which was difficult and distasteful.

A more basic problem has to do with the status which has been accorded to extrinsic rewards in behaviour modification throughout modern psychology. Whatever may be the situation when the recipient does not know that his behaviour is of concern to another, the fact that people *know* that their managers have it in their power to dispense or to withhold coveted rewards, and to make these rewards contingent on certain behaviours of their own, complicates the issue immensely.

As every parent knows, the statement 'If you are a good boy I'll give you a sweetie' may be met, not by a desired behaviour, but by 'If you don't give me a sweetie I'll give you hell'. Likewise the attempt to reinforce spontaneous contributions to keeping the house tidy by proffering pocket money may serve to eliminate any contribution which has not been specifically contracted for. Similarly it is common for managers to find that their subordinates stop doing precisely those things which they are praised for.

The reaction 'If he wants me to do that I won't do it' is hard to understand. Following a number of demonstrations of the reality of a widespread tendency for rewards to weaken the *spontaneous* tendency to engage in desired behaviour (e.g. Deci, 1971, and Lepper, 1973) — that is to convert 'play' into 'work' — DeCharms (1969) suggested that human beings have a strong predisposition to wish to feel in control of their own lives — to be origins rather than pawns. He goes on to suggest that the attempt by a third party to use rewards to manipulate a person's behaviour results in the individual concerned feeling that he is a pawn in someone else's game and an equally strong inclination to do whatever is necessary to escape from such a status. The emotion and annoyance engendered by manipulation may have effects which run directly counter to those intended. Depending on a number of other variables, such as the strength of the individual's desire for autonomy, the strength of his desire for the long-term rewards controlled by his manager, and the options open to him, the person concerned may do exactly the opposite of what was desired, develop a capacity to obtain the rewards by devious means, learn to be deceitful, come to despise authority, and develop an enduring disrespect for regulatory mechanisms which facilitate social functioning or turn the tables on the person in authority by dispensing rewards valued by the authority in return for behaviour desired by the subordinate: if you give me a sweetie, I'll give you a kiss!

If more attention were paid to such questions it might result in more people thinking not only about the rewards they use and what they reward, but also about restructuring tasks so that subordinates can seek their own feedback and different types of reward, and so that they can set, and plan to reach, their own goals.

- (g) Restructure their own jobs so that more people can join them in analysing and trying to gain control over the external and internal forces which inhibit the effectiveness of the organisation, in evolving an understanding of organisational processes, including the linkages between different aspects and components of policy, and learn that there are endless tasks to be accomplished if more and more people share in the high level activities which are needed to maintain and develop the organisation and that there is, therefore, ample scope for their own growth and development. It is not the case that, if the manager gains, they lose. Everyone can end up better off.
- (h) Restructure their own jobs such that more people can see and share in the thoughts, feelings and behaviours which go to make up effective behaviour, and experience the satisfactions which follow, and thereby learn to do these things for themselves and be motivated to do so.
- (i) Explicitly set out to establish teams of people who have complementary (if not necessarily compatible) values and patterns of competence, complete with personnel who are able to get people with such different patterns of values and competence to work together effectively.

PART V

A NEW CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THINKING ABOUT COMPETENCE AND ITS ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER 13

A MODEL OF COMPETENCE, MOTIVATION AND BEHAVIOUR AND ITS ASSESSMENT

We have seen (in Chapter 6) that it is inappropriate to try to assess either motivation or ability to engage in competent behaviour except in relation to valued goals. In Chapter 3 we saw that there are a large number of components of competence, that many of these are relatively independent of each other, that some are more cognitive, while others are more affective, and that, to a considerable degree, these components of competence can be substituted for each other as contributors to effective behaviour. The *more* of them an individual engages in spontaneously in pursuit of his valued goals, the more likely he is to achieve them.

This way of thinking about competence may be made more concrete by reference to Grid 1.

On it, some of the types of behaviour which an individual may value have been listed across the top. These behaviours have been grouped into three categories defined by McClelland in 1958 and confirmed empirically in the author's previous work (1972, 1977). These groups are: Achievement, Affiliation and Power. Down the side are listed a number of components of effective behaviour which, if present, are likely to result in the overall activity being successful. These components of competence include cognitive activities like making plans and thinking about obstacles to goal achievement, affective activities like turning one's emotions (both positive and negative) into the task, and habitual behaviour, like the habit of working hard. However, also listed are a number of other contributory factors like having the support of others and believing that one's behaviour is consistent with both one's own and others' views of what it is appropriate for someone in one's position to do.

The importance of separating these value and efficiency components in assessment can be re-emphasised by taking an example. An individual who values success at football may show a great deal of initiative in relation to football, be very sensitive to feedback from his environment, seek the help of others to improve his performance, seek out new techniques and ideas, be sensitive to minor cues which suggest ways in which he might improve, and be sensitive to the approval or disapproval of his peers. Nevertheless, if the ability of this same person to engage in these complex, cognitive, affective, and social activities is assessed in relation to performance at mathematics — a goal which, for the sake of argument, we may assume he does not value — then one might erroneously conclude that he is unable (and not just unmotivated) to engage in the activities we have mentioned. Teachers, psychologists, and managers have, in the past, too frequently been guilty of drawing such erroneous conclusions.

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Achievement

Power

Doing things which have not been done before.

Inventing things.

Doing things more efficiently than they have been done before.

**Finding better ways of thinking
about things.**

Providing support and facilitation for someone concerned with achievement.

Ensuring that a group works together without conflict.

Establishing warm, convivial relationships with others.

Establishing effective group-discussion procedures.

Ensuring that group members share their knowledge so that good decisions can be taken.

Articulating group goals and releasing the energies of others in pursuit of them.

Ensuring effective compliance with one's demands.

Cognitive

Anticipating obstacles to achievement and taking steps to avoid them.

Monitoring the effects of one's actions to discover what they have to tell one about the nature of the situation with which one is dealing.

Making one's value conflicts explicit and trying to solve them.

Believing that one's actions are consistent with one's role.

Believing that one's actions are consistent with one's self-image.

Turning one's emotions into the task.

Selecting tasks one enjoys and not trying to pretend that one does not enjoy some of the things which have to be done.

Anticipating the delights of success and the misery of failure.

Putting in extra effort to reduce the amount of risk involved in the activity.

Obtaining necessary resources.

Redefining previously overlooked people and objects as resources which can be used.

(Obtaining the co-operation of others.

Releasing the energies of others in pursuit of the goal.

Persisting in the face of difficulty

The list of efficacy characteristics given above and shown down the side on Grid 1 must be extended to include at least the following:

A. Self-confidence which would appear to involve:

- *Knowledge, based on experience, that one can work with others, that one can take a leadership role, that one can enlist others' help and support.* We may note in passing that if people are to develop confidence that they can do these things, they will need to undertake a number of activities which lead them to develop a *variety of different types* of leadership ability.
- *Knowledge, based on experience, that one can take effective corrective action* if activities one has initiated do not turn out as one expected or if one finds one has set out in the wrong direction.
- *Knowledge, based on experience, that one's decision-taking ability and judgement is good:* awareness that one can subjectively weight component factors to arrive at a good decision, knowledge that one does not have to have complete information on every aspect of a situation before one takes a decision, knowledge that one does not tend to become preoccupied with one or two considerations to the neglect of other, perhaps more important, considerations.
- *Knowledge, based on experience, that one can cope with new situations and new people.*

B. Decision taking ability:

The spontaneous tendency to recognise, and take into account, many factors subjectively, rather than become preoccupied with only one or two things.

C. The tendency and the ability to lead effectively:

The tendency and the ability to effectively enlist the help of others when necessary to achieve one's own and joint goals. The spontaneous tendency to do the things which it is necessary to do if others are to turn their energies into goal attainment, the spontaneous tendency to notice, and take steps to do something about, psychological barriers to effective action on the part of individuals; sensitivity to organisational problems which prevent individuals functioning effectively, and the ability and willingness to recognise and reward those who do attend to such problems to the detriment of their 'work'.

D. The tendency and the ability to follow effectively:

The tendency to try to understand an overall programme of activity and take the initiative needed to work out one's own part in the whole, and do what needs to be done, without having to be told in detail what to do — and the ability to do this effectively.

E. The tendency to seek feedback, the ability to recognise it, and the tendency to utilise it:

- *Sensitivity:* knowledge that it is important to pay attention to slight feelings of unease on the fringe of consciousness, sensitivity to

these feelings, and a tendency to mull them over, bring them into full consciousness, and act on their implications.

- *The tendency to systematically review progress* toward the goal, ask why it has not been more effectively achieved, and make explicit the implications for one's future behaviour.
- *Ability to learn without instruction*: the tendency and the ability to make one's own observations, to seek out one's own information, to make contact with others working on related problems.
- *Creativity*: the tendency to mull over glimmerings of understanding, to toy with ideas, the tendency to turn things over to the unconscious when all the preparation that can be done has been done, and then to engage in activities which permit new ideas to come to the surface whilst remaining sensitive to good ideas on the fringe of consciousness, being willing to spring on them, and shut off one's busy-work, when they occur.
- *Tendency to engage in integrated thought-action-feedback strategies* in order to generate effective action, rather than distinguish sharply between practical and intellectual activity and believe that one is more satisfying than the other.
- *Willingness to tolerate the anxieties* which arise when one is not sure if one is doing the right thing or going about it in the right way, Knowledge that these anxieties pass and that things tend to turn out all right in the end.

Although the model of competent, motivated, behaviour presented here does help us to think more clearly about important complex behaviours which have eluded the grasp of psychologists in the past, no conceptual framework ever fits perfectly that which it intended to simplify, structure and describe. In the present case, it is apparent that several types of activity are listed both as valued styles of behaviour (across the top of the grid) and as potential components of effective behaviour (down the side of the grid). No means of solving this problem has yet been found.

Attention should be drawn to the fact that, while this model is readily comprehended as a model designed to help us to understand and assess motivation — the styles of behaviour an individual values and his ability to pursue those goals effectively because he tends spontaneously to do many of the things which he needs to do to achieve his goals — it has, in reality, a great deal more to offer than this. It is a model of competence.

As we have seen, effective behaviour demands qualities like initiative, the ability to make one's own observations and learn without instruction, leadership and followership. None of these qualities is adequately described as an "ability". Each is an inseparable complex of abilities and motivations, defined as a spontaneous tendency to engage in the type of behaviour which would be likely to lead to goal attainment.

For certain purposes, it is possible to use the term *competencies* to refer to the motivated abilities — the entire package of motivated cognitive, affective, and conative behaviours — which are conjured up by such terms as "initiative", and to use the term "components of efficacy" or

“components of competence” to refer to the narrower behavioural tendencies which make up the competencies — such as the tendency to bring to bear past experiences or to obtain the co-operation of others in the pursuit of the goal.

A MODEL OF MOTIVATION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

The two-stage model of competence and motivation summarised in Grid 1 can easily be extended to yield a model of motivated behaviour.

By extending the list on the left-hand side of the grid downwards it is possible to include environmental constraints on behaviour — the expectations and reactions of others, and the organisational structures available to an individual.

In this field, two broad, but overlapping, classes of such variables may be distinguished: those which interact with an individual's pattern of motivation to produce consequences for the individual concerned, the organisations with which he is associated, and the society in which he lives, and, secondly, those which more directly influence the competencies, expectations, and motivational dispositions which the individual himself develops.

Some of the variables which influence the abilities and expectations of the individual include the following:

1. The extent to which the organisation resists the temptation to usurp decisions which could well be left to the individual concerned and, instead, provides him with opportunities to see the implications and ramifications of his decisions. The more an organisation does the latter, the more likely it is to foster decision-taking ability in its staff, to lead them to develop wide horizons, discretion, flexibility, initiative, and the ability to share leadership and responsibility.
2. The extent to which the organisation provides its staff with the security needed to take the risks involved in innovation, discourages the introduction of system-wide changes without adequate pilot work, and takes up even timidly expressed, and not fully thought out, suggestions from its staff. These variables can be expected to influence the work-force's willingness, and its ability, to co-operate with, and share information with, others as well as its ability and willingness to innovate.

More general variables which influence the effects of staffing an organisation with particular sorts of people include:

1. The institutional structures — the established channels of communication — which facilitate certain sorts of behaviour and make other sorts of behaviour very difficult. Expectations about who should communicate what to whom make it easy to gain the help and support of others to achieve some goals, and very difficult to enlist their help and support to achieve others. They also determine which tasks and problems can be tackled through the organisation as it exists and which require new structures or organisations to be set up for their solution.

2. The structure of authority and the extent of delegation of responsibility: to what extent is one expected to have all one's judgements checked, instead of being expected to censor the quality of one's ideas, and then take responsibility for going ahead with them oneself? Under this heading may be mentioned the importance of providing opportunities for members of staff to discuss their work with others so that they can *develop* the ability to assess the quality of their own suggestions. Also important is the extent to which individuals are believed to be competent to deal with people outside the organisation. The degree to which people are able to discuss problems with others within their organisations and the opportunity they have to give up their current work in order to tackle general organisational problems which affect many people, but which are either not defined as any one person's responsibility, or are beyond any one person's ability, also has a marked effect on what people within the organisation will do, and hence on the overall success of the organisation.
3. The degree to which people are able to get together to solve problems rather than assume that it is the responsibility of some higher authority first to notice those problems, and then to do something about them.
4. The degree to which the internal structure of the institution creates a conflict between an individual doing what is best for him and what is best for the organisation: it may be best for him to play a power game and to secure promotion; but it may be the best thing for the organisation for him to spend the time thinking about basic organisational problems. Will spending time doing what is best for the organisation also be in his own interests?
5. The types of task it is possible to carry out easily, the sorts of problems it is possible to solve easily, the sorts of things one can obtain assistance with. The sorts of task which any institution, whether it is a friendship or kinship network, a family, a work organisation, or a society must carry out include: the ability to operationalise suggestions for better ways of doing a task which is already being done (suggestions which might involve setting up new institutions outside the existing framework); the ability to adjust services to the needs of an unusual situation (a major problem for many organisations); the ability to handle conflicting points of view regarding policy, whether these arise from within or from outside the organisation; the ability to enlist the enthusiasm of those involved and encourage them to behave responsibly; and the ability to unleash creative activity to solve new problems.

Implications for the Assessment of Motivated Behaviour

We have now seen that behaviour and motivation is a product of three sets of reciprocally interacting variables: values, components of competence, and institutional frameworks. To assess the strength of an individual's motivation to engage in a particular activity, that is to say, to assess the likelihood that he will strive hard and relatively effectively to engage in particular behaviours, one must assess all three components: one

must find out whether he values the behaviour, whether he tends to display the components of competence we have identified in pursuit of the goal, and whether he thinks that such behaviour is appropriate to someone like himself and will attract the support of other people whose opinions are important to him. If the institutions in which he lives and works create opportunities for him to practise such behaviour he will, if he values it, have learned to exercise the components of competence in pursuit of it and anticipate the support of others. Assessment of people's perceptions of the institutional context of their behaviour is therefore crucial to the assessment of their motivation and competence.

Relationship Between Descriptive Statements and Profiles

Grid 1 can be used to identify the behaviours people value and the components of competence they tend to display in pursuit of them. For any one person this can be done by entering ticks in the appropriate cells under the behaviours the person values. By adding up the ticks in any one column one can obtain an index of how likely it is that the person concerned will achieve that goal. By summing the scores obtained in adjacent columns, under one of the overall headings, scores for achievement, affiliation and power motivation can be obtained. This yields a profile which is directly comparable with those published by McClelland.

It is important to note, however, that, because, as has been indicated, the grid should be considerably extended, the procedure would become cumbersome if it were applied whole-heartedly. A way round this problem will be presented shortly.

Contrast with the Abilities Model in Psychology

Before moving on, attention must be drawn to just how fundamentally this model of competence differs from the factorial model of abilities which is most commonly encountered in the psychological literature. The two-stage, value-competence-expectancy, model asserts that abilities cannot be meaningfully assessed *except* in relation to values.

Heterogeneous Indices or Internally Consistent Factor Scores?

Not only must values necessarily be assessed as an integral part of the assessment of competence, the components of competence we have identified cannot be meaningfully analysed or identified in factorial or dimensional terms. Indeed, the attempt to examine the internal consistency of motivational dispositions using classic factor analytic concepts has made for a great deal of unproductive argument, and for invalid criticism of the work of McClelland and his colleagues. The scores obtained by summing down the columns in our grid are, quite obviously, not uni-dimensional. Indeed, the more independent and heterogeneous the competencies over which we sum the better. Factor analysts argue that such heterogeneity shows that the scores which are obtained are not uni-dimensional. Quite right. But they then go on to argue that they are not meaningful. Quite wrong. No one would argue that multiple regression co-efficients are meaningless simply because they are derived from summing weights over a large number of independent variables.

Overall Indices vs Detailed Descriptive Statements

In practice, a description of the types of behaviour an individual values and the competencies he shows a spontaneous tendency to display in relation to them gives much more useful information than a total score. Such a description is radically different from a profile of scores across a series of factorially independent dimensions. The assumptions behind the factorial profile are that behaviour is best to be described and understood in terms of people's relative scores on a small number of dimensions. The assumption behind the model developed here is that behaviour is best to be understood by identifying people's values, perceptions and expectations, and the components of competence they tend to display spontaneously in pursuit of their valued goals.

"Atomic" vs "Variable" Models

The difference between the two models can be illustrated by taking examples from physics and chemistry.

Physicists have shown that the behaviour of a projectile is best described in terms of some such equation as:

$$s = ut + \frac{1}{2}ft^2$$

(the distance travelled can be calculated from the initial velocity multiplied by the time elapsed plus half the acceleration multiplied by the square of the elapsed time).

The factor analysts' model is analogous. It asserts that the degree of leadership an individual will display is a function of his scores on a number of other variables, such as extroversion and intelligence.

Unlike physicists, chemists have found a quite different type of equation to be most useful in their work. They argue that substances are best to be described by listing the elements of which they are composed and the relationship between them. The elements present are drawn from a large set, which is known to every chemist. The elements which are not present do not need to be listed. The equations which are written permit of transformation (rather than monotonic combination) when the substance is placed in a particular environment.



(Copper plus sulphuric acid yields copper sulphate, water and sulphur dioxide.)

It is here being argued that human beings might best be described and understood by adopting a model which has more in common with that used by chemists than that used by physicists. Such a model would enable us to indicate an individual's values and the components of competence he showed a spontaneous tendency to display, and the features which characterise his environment, without restricting us to the small number of variables which characterise factor models.

It is not, in fact, difficult to reconcile some such model with the facts to which factor analysts point as a justification for their model. They point out that most human traits are correlated with each other. They go on to argue

that it is unnecessary to retain a large number of independent dimensions, or categories. However, many of the correlations are of the order of .2 and most are of the order of .5. Even the latter leave some 75% of the variance on one trait "unexplained" by the variance on the other. There is, therefore, a *good* chance that someone who is not good at one thing will be good at another. Even factor analysts point out that this is because the second ability has probably caught the interests of the person concerned and, therefore, been practised and developed. While the factor-analyst's model does, in fact, provide for such possibilities (by including provision for specific factors) these are generally neglected in practice. If we were forced to state our case in factor analytic terms, we would find ourselves arguing that the important things to record about an individual are his specifics not his generalities.

We may now attempt to push our chemical analogy a little further, taking account of what we have seen in earlier chapters. Following this model we might find ourselves writing a *summary* description of an individual and the environment in which he lives and works. This might take the following form. (The symbols which are used are exemplary only, and should in no way be taken to suggest that we have developed even a preliminary version of a more complete table of "human elements").

Ach4Pow3; Auth4 Part Citz; NuP4 HostP3; DP(T)1

Such a statement might be interpreted to mean that the individual showed a spontaneous tendency to display four components of competence in pursuit of achievement goals, three in pursuit of power goals. He endorsed four items contributing to the set dealing with authoritarian perceptions of society and only two of the set dealing with participatory citizenship. Four components of his environment were supportive of his goals: his manager modelled achievement behaviour but did not delegate, encourage participation, or create developmental tasks for his subordinates. There was hostile press from other people in the individual's environment. Concern with efficiency and effective leadership were scorned. The task which the individual was set had little developmental potential: it was a routine task which prevented the person concerned developing perceptions and expectations appropriate to innovation.

If the equation were written in some way which permitted of movement, one would conclude that the individual would be likely to become frustrated and lose his motivation to engage in achievement and leadership behaviours.

In fact, of course, such summary statements could be filled out in a great deal more detail, and very usefully too. One could identify exactly what type of achievement or power behaviour the individual thought it was important to engage in; one could identify exactly what competencies he brought to bear in pursuit of each; one could identify the particular perceptions and expectations which encouraged and prevented him from engaging in such behaviour; one could say more about the role models to whom he was exposed by managers, colleagues and subordinates; and one could say more about the tasks set and their probable effects on his future development and motivation. It is to providing exactly such detail that *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* are directed.

Technical Feasibility

As will be shown, ample evidence of both the feasibility of implementing a model of this sort and the validity of the data so obtained has now been obtained in the course of evaluating a large number of social, educational and staff-development programmes. When the procedures are applied to *individual* assessment, on the other hand, the procedures become unduly cumbersome and off-putting. This problem can, however, be easily solved by computerising the administration of the procedures which have been developed. In this way it will be possible to draw the questions which any one individual is asked to answer from a very large item-bank, but to tailor those questions to his emergent patterns of values and competencies.

THEORETICAL ROOTS AND LINKAGES

In the remainder of this chapter the previous research on which the model outlined above was based will be summarised. Those who are not interested in such background information should proceed to the next chapter.

The model owes most to the work of McClelland (1958), and Fishbein (1967), although the detailed empirical work which has been carried out has been greatly influenced by such writers as Adorno *et al* (1950), Almond and Verba (1963), Kohn (1969), and Flanagan and Russ-Eft (1975).

McClelland's Work

McClelland (1958) developed a scoring system for a projective test known as the "Test of Imagination". This scoring system was experimentally based in that items were retained only if they reflected the effects of experimental manipulations. This is important because it explains why it is that the scores were not subjected to internal-consistency analysis along the lines decreed by the dominant factor analytic school.

In fact, the scoring system can be seen, in retrospect, to break radically with traditional psychometric conceptions in three ways:

1. Attention is focused on the tendency of the individual being assessed to engage in particular *styles of behaviour*, (e.g. affiliation behaviour, achievement behaviour, or power behaviour) rather than on the way he behaves toward a given object or class of objects (e.g. the Jews, the church, or the educational system). Most "attitude" research falls into the latter category. In a sense, McClelland's focus is on "attitudes toward the behaviour" rather than on "attitudes toward the object of the behaviour". As a result it yields a measure of the strength of the individual's motivation to engage in the behaviour.
2. The model asserts that the success or otherwise of the behaviour is determined by whether or not the individual concerned does a number of independent but complementary things. These include whether he anticipates obstacles to the achievement of his goals and thinks of ways of circumventing them, turns his feelings and his emotions into goal achievement, and gets help from other people. Thus the model

seeks, as does a multiple regression equation, to predict the strength of the motivation to engage in the behaviour by summing across a number of *independent* types of behaviour. McClelland's scoring system is therefore to be distinguished sharply from the factor-analytic, internal-consistency, models which have dominated psychometric thinking in the past. It asserts, as we have asserted here, that behaviour is determined by multiple, and substitutable, causes and is therefore best predicted from measures which are maximally internally *heterogeneous*, rather than internally consistent and homogeneous.

3. The model asserts that it is only meaningful to try to find out whether a person *can* behave in a competent way — for example bring to bear past experiences and engage in leadership activity — if he values the goal toward which he is expected to work. As an assessment system it is therefore to be distinguished sharply from much previous educational and occupational assessment in which people are diagnosed as incompetent if they do not display desired competencies in pursuit of a goal which is important *to the assessor*, but which the person being assessed does *not* care about. Such a person's unwillingness to devote energy to the task is to be attributed to his lack of *value* for the goal, rather than to his incompetence.

McClelland's model of *need* assessment is operationalised in the context of a model of *press* assessment (Murray, 1938; Litwin & Stringer, 1968). Relevant *press* variables include the values espoused by colleagues and workmates, the degree to which there is a climate of initiative, dedication, enthusiasm and support for particular types of activity, and such things as delegation of responsibility.

Fishbein's Model

Fishbein's (1967) model of "attitude measurement", like McClelland's, focuses on the individual's perceptions of, feelings about, and anticipated consequences from, engaging in particular types of behaviour (e.g. *buying* or *eating* biscuits) rather than on his perceptions of, and feelings toward, the object of the behaviour (biscuits). Fishbein's model likewise enjoins us to assess the multiple and substitutable causes of behaviour rather than to develop internally-consistent "scales". Whereas McClelland's scoring system makes *implicit* use of a multiple regression model in which each of the independent variables have unit weights, Fishbein's model makes explicit use of multiple regression weights. In computing the overall probability of an individual engaging in a particular behaviour Fishbein asks, among other things, whether the behaviour in question is seen by the person concerned as being consistent with his self-image and his ideal self. He asks whether the behaviour is perceived by the respondent as being likely to have long term consequences, for himself and for others, which he values. Thus he implicitly asks that we assess the individual's view of the way his society works and how he perceives his part in that society.

Fishbein's model, like McClelland's, obviously builds heavily on a great deal of previous work. Unlike most psychological thinking, it incorporates an assessment of role expectations (so much stressed by sociologists) and it incorporates assessments of the expected reactions from significant others — and in this way acknowledges the importance of other people's expectations and environmental press. And it incorporates assessment of the moral beliefs and self expectations (ideal selves) so much stressed by such writers as Kohlberg and psychoanalytic thinkers.

In the occupational area, value-expectancy-instrumentality models have been subject to empirical tests by such researchers as Vroom (1964), and Porter and Lawler (1968), and shown to have considerable validity. The models used by these authors were, however, a great deal more limited than those developed by Fishbein. In his own work, Fishbein has demonstrated that assessments made according to these principles predict specific behaviours very well indeed. He has not, however, attempted to assess the more generic behaviours with which McClelland and the author have been concerned.

Social and Civic Attitudes

When we began to enquire into the relationship between such qualities as *need Achievement* and leadership on the one hand and economic and social development on the other, we found that people kept telling us that it was not up to them to tackle their problems: it was up to the government to do so, and they should not even try to influence the government! This led us into a series of studies of adults' and pupils' civic and social attitudes. These studies were very much influenced by the work of Adorno *et al* (1950), Almond and Verba (1963), Kohn (1969), and Torney, Oppenheim and Farnen (1976).

It is important to make one or two comments on the work of Adorno *et al* because it, like McClelland's work, has been subjected to a great deal of criticism, much of which can, from our point of view, be seen to be unjustified. Much of the criticism stems from the fact that, just as it has not been possible to establish *factors* of N.ach, so it has not been possible to establish the existence of internally-consistent dimensions of authoritarianism.

In the original research, however, Adorno *et al* made use of *Likert* scaling procedures. These allow a number of independent "dimensions" to be combined within a single scale — just as we have indicated McClelland and Fishbein have done. What is clear is that the more of these *independent* items an individual endorses, the more likely it is that he will engage in extreme authoritarian behaviour in many situations. Likewise, the more of these items which the members of a society endorse, the more likely it is that the society will move in the direction of becoming an authoritarian-fascist society. In these ways, the work of Adorno *et al* is entirely compatible with the model developed here.

Kelly's Work

Although the model developed here has not been directly influenced by Kelly's (1955) work, it is appropriate to mention that many of the constructs built into our studies were elicited using Kelly's procedures. It is also appropriate to draw attention to the similarity between the category-based model we have developed and Kelly's assertion that behaviour is largely determined by the dominant considerations which come to mind in any particular situation.

The Author's Previous Research

As has been indicated, the model developed here builds on a great deal of empirical research carried out by the author and his colleagues over the past 20 years. It may be useful to summarise some of this here, so that interested readers can trace the earlier reports.

Raven, Molloy and Corcoran (1972) reported a factor analysis of valued styles of behaviour and showed that they did indeed fall into the clusters identified by McClelland and shown across the top of Grid 1. In the same research it was also shown that conflicts between personal values and the expected consequences of behaviour resulted in serious de-motivation. Morton-Williams, Raven and Ritchie (1971), showed that pupils choosing different careers differed primarily in their self-images and not in their basic personalities.

Raven (1976) showed both that schools were not capitalising on the springs of motivation and enthusiasm available in most pupils, and that different groups of pupils, with different priorities in life, not only wanted different satisfactions from their jobs, but reacted differently to their education and expected to enter different types of occupation. The neglected satisfactions included the desire to work together, create something of one's own, turn out high quality work, and take responsibility for others.

Many people are deterred from courses of action which they would otherwise like to undertake as a result of anticipating consequences they do not desire: they would have less time for their family and friends, they would have to be devious, underhand and ruthless, and others would react negatively to their behaviour (Raven, 1972, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1982). Likewise many people are deterred by the belief that the operation of our society does not call on them to behave in the ways in which they would need to behave to solve their problems, the belief that it would not be appropriate for them to do these things, and the belief that the long-term consequences for our society as a whole would not be desirable (Raven, 1977, 1978, 1980).

The educational system *as a whole* does not help pupils to clarify their values, interests, and patterns of motivation; it does not enhance their feelings of confidence and competence; and it does not lead them to think about and modify their perceptions of how their society works and should work, and their own role in it. Nor does it promote the growth of

competence in most pupils (Raven, 1976, 1977, Raven & Litton, 1976, 1982). None of the variables which differentiate one school from another and are widely thought to affect such outcomes (such as the extent to which pupils are involved in the running of the schools) differentially affect such "outcomes". Nevertheless, certain *experiences* do affect them: being a prefect; participating in special programmes; participation in special types of adult educational activity (Raven, 1977, 1980, Winter & McClelland, 1981, Flanagan, 1978, 1983). The results show that the attitudes, values and feelings of competence of pupils emerging from schools present a bleak prospect for the future of the nation (Flanagan, 1978, Johnston & Bachman, 1976, Raven, 1977), and that the overall attitudes expressed by employees in the workplace are equally bleak (Raven and Dolphin, 1978).

The first test of the two-stage model — assessing values (or "priorities") first and only thereafter motivation to achieve these valued goals — (which had formed the basis of McClelland's projective methodology) was carried out in the research reported by Raven and Dolphin in 1978, and later, statistically, in studies reported by Raven, 1980. In the latter, it was possible to show both that a programme of adult education *had* markedly affected the perceived satisfactions which would come from engaging in a course of activity (and hence motivation to engage in the desired activities) and that there were specific and serious defects in the educational programme. That programme had not, for example, enhanced the participants' subjective feelings of ability to solve the problems which plagued them. Simultaneously, the research showed that formal "teaching" tended to make the participants feel more incompetent and more guilty about not doing the things which they "knew" they "should" do, while co-counselling resulted in enhanced feelings of motivation, but not in improved confidence and competence.

More recently, Raven & Varley (1984) have shown that, if one studies, carefully and in detail, pupils' values, expectations, and their perceptions of the consequences of undertaking different sorts of activity, one finds that, despite the widespread assertion that "schools have no effect", there *are* such effects and that these are congruent with the demands of the classroom environments to which they have been exposed. Striking recent evidence along the same lines, but comparing and contrasting the effects of different colleges in America, is to be found in Winter & McClelland (1981).

Extensive research on the importance, as a determinant of motivation and behaviour, of an individual's perceptions of the way the organisations in which he lives and works operate, and should operate, his perceptions of his role in those organisations, and his expectations of others' reactions to various types of behaviour on his part, has been published in Raven and Litton (1978/82), Raven, Whelan, Pfreztschner and Borock (1976), and Raven (1980).

VALUES AND COMPETENCIES: A DETAILED LIST

In an effort to assist in a move toward the taxonomy of values and competencies the need for which was indicated in the last chapter, we present below a detailed list of values and the components of competence.

By way of introduction it may be noted that, while the goals which people may wish to attain seem to be legion, the competencies required to reach them seem to be more limited in number and seem to be similar from valued goal to valued goal.

Before we move on it is important to note that values are not necessarily stable enduring dispositions. One advantage of McClelland's term 'motive' is that one can speak of a motive either being aroused or not being aroused by the situation in which an individual is placed. Here we are not simply saying that if a motive is to be displayed, the situation in which an individual is placed must allow him to engage in relevant behaviour. We are also saying that the cues in the situation can arouse and trigger off *latent* motives. Even more importantly, the continuing presence of certain situational cues will arouse general motivational dispositions such that, over a period of time, the strength of a given motive in an individual will increase. Over time the person concerned will become more likely to engage spontaneously in the behaviour associated with the effective achievement of the valued goal, not just in the situation which originally triggered off the motive, but in a wide variety of other situations.

It is much more difficult to speak of values or competencies being aroused, strengthened, or weakened in this way. Yet there is a very real sense in which leaders can articulate values and thereby arouse people to display the components of competence needed to achieve the valued goals. The same would no doubt also be true of other situational cues if one could only isolate them. Therefore, it seems that there is no reason why one should not expect the values and competencies a person displays to vary with the cues provided by the situation in which he is placed.

It is important to note that the environmental pressures which can be brought to bear on an individual can be manipulated in such a way that, in order to achieve goals he currently values, he must work toward goals he does not value. The nature of the cues in the situation can also be manipulated to arouse or activate different motives, values and competencies with the result that one can strengthen enduring predispositions to strive to reach certain goals.

The motives aroused by performing a task may only persist for the duration of that task. On the other hand, engaging in the activities required to reach a certain goal may bring unanticipated satisfactions, which may act as a reward to the activity and strengthen the tendency to display the

behaviour in the future. These intrinsic satisfactions and rewards may be much more important, as a means of strengthening the tendency to engage in a behaviour, than external rewards or punishments, which may therefore have little effect on the behaviour. It is this self-reinforcing nature of certain behaviour, coupled with its resistance to extrinsic rewards and punishments, which Heckhausen (1974) maintains has led us to coin the term 'motive' in the first place.

How are we to detect a person's values?

Valued goals are things which people pay more attention to, and achieve more or less effectively. Verbal assertion that a goal is important is only one of the possible indices of whether an end state or an activity is valued. Much more convincing is evidence that the individual exhibits many components of competence in pursuit of the goal.

Values are not always well integrated and supportive. One often meets people who are unable to attain their goals effectively because, whenever they set out to attain one of them, they find that they cannot devote their energies wholeheartedly to it because it conflicts with other goals. To index values one must therefore assess the number of competencies an individual displays in pursuit of a goal which he values, and the degree to which his values are supportive.

EXAMPLES OF LIFE-GOALS, OR VALUES

In an effort to move toward a taxonomy of values, we present below a fairly comprehensive list of possible values, although no claim is made that it is in any sense complete. Some less reputable goals are included in the list. We do not yet have data on the proportion of the population which values each of these goals, although such data are urgently needed.

Getting people to work together well: being an 'integrator'.

Setting up social institutions through which people can devote their energies to activities which will benefit the whole organisation or community, rather than just themselves.

Personal advancement defined as gaining increasing control over others and the ability to determine what happens in their lives.

Personal advancement defined as performing work valuable to society: getting important projects financed, implemented and staffed.

Personal advancement defined as having more scope to achieve one's goals with less interference from others.

Achievement defined as professional advancement (including both money and status) achieved by conforming to extrinsic rules with the minimum of effort — for example, in the academic world, producing numerous publications most of which don't tell one very much.

Achievement defined as gains in knowledge and understanding without concern for gains in status.

Getting on well with others.

Not being thought immodest by others.

Not being 'different' to others.

Getting people to work in their own best interests.

Being able to impress one's views on others.

Helping others to pursue their own goals.

Making contact with the supernatural.

Getting a wide range of sensory (mystical) experiences.

Sexual conquest.

Being carefree.

Attaining peace of mind.

Establishing an appropriate balance of excitement and tranquillity.

Developing a new product.

Fostering an enquiring mind in others.

Making others knowledgeable.

Inflicting punishment efficiently: torturing people.

Maximising or minimising familial or social conflict.

Maximising familial obedience.

Improving the comfort and liveability of one's home, place of work and general social and physical environments.

Improving the efficiency (i.e. comfort and convenience) with which one performs various tasks.

Improving social systems, to improve liveability, to save money, and to ensure smooth social functioning.

Improving physical planning to ensure beauty, economy, sociability, an appearance of austerity or liveability.

Conserving resources, including the natural environment.

Eliminating pollution.

Making sure that people do not get what they are not entitled to, by devising elaborate systems of formal rules, procedures for checking upon people and accounting.

- Maximising the number of new ideas developed by a society.
- Maximising the predictability of a society or an organisation.
- Beating examination and other evaluation systems in order to get degrees and status with the minimum of effort.
- Getting subordinates to do what their superiors want them to do.
- Getting superiors to do what their subordinates want them to do.
- Making sure that others treat one with respect.
- Winning affection.
- Being feared and treated with deference.
- Being able to destroy the reputation of others and diminish them in other people's eyes.
- Getting the complexity and status of one's job over-rated.
- Being able to fool others and tell lies effectively.
- Maintaining one's job in existence when it isn't really necessary.
- Minimising the disturbance of one's idleness.
- Avoiding innovations in society, one's life and work.
- Being able to help others without causing resentment.
- Being able to intimidate those with power.
- Getting others to turn their wealth over to another.
- Being able to increase one's share of the national cake.
- Amusing children.
- Entertaining and joking.
- Being able to obstruct others effectively.
- Being able to annoy people.
- Being able to manipulate opinions of oneself and of others.
- Being able to vary the impression one gives, so that one is always well regarded.
- Being honest and upright without needing supervision.
- Respecting other people.
- Thinking independently.
- Thinking about the social consequences of one's actions.

Outwitting the makers of legislation.

Eliminating 'evil' people (such as Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Communists, witches, anarchists, or authoritarians) from the world.

Getting everything one is 'entitled' to.

Winning arguments rather than finding the truth.

Preventing others getting more than their 'share' at all costs (c.f. labour relations).

Avoiding being thought a fool or a 'sucker'.

'Milking' others.

Being heroic.

Being stoical.

Not letting the side down.

Ensuring that people obey regulations.

Playing intellectual games.

Pursuing truth.

Being part of the 'stream of consciousness'.

Concluding Comment on Values Section

Most of the valued goals we have listed represent specific instances of a concern with achievement, power or affiliation. We may note that the more situations an individual defines as those in which it is appropriate to engage in achievement, power or affiliation behaviour, the more correct it is to say that he shows a general concern for that particular goal. In relation to McClelland's work on power, it may in fact be desirable to separate concern with money, status and esteem, from concern to have direct control over other people, particularly over their minds. And it may be necessary to draw a distinction between a concern of this latter sort as an end in itself, or as a means in the service of some other goal such as achievement or status.

Consequences of pursuit of different values for the individual and for society

Pursuit of a goal often brings unintended consequences both for the pursuer and for the society in which he lives. Thus the pursuit of new and better ways of doing things coupled with a tendency to work long and hard to achieve these goals, and with a relative lack of concern for money and what it will buy, may bring economic development to the society in which one lives. Pursuit of money and material possessions may lead to riches for one or two individuals but, more generally, to conflict in order to increase an individual's share of the global or national cake without doing anything to increase the *size* of that cake.

In the light of this, documentation of the consequences of pursuing different goals seems to be a pre-requisite for the informed discussion of such goals. In the long run, such information is likely to result in a re-conceptualisation and reformulation of the nature of the goals themselves.

COMPONENTS OF COMPETENCE

By the phrase “components of competence” we refer to the characteristics and abilities which enable people to reach their valued goals — whatever these goals may be, and whatever the social structure in which the people work and live. Competencies involve much more than intelligence, and many of them have not received much attention in secondary or tertiary education for the last 25 years. It is the difference between the components of effective behaviour (as conceived of here) and intellectual ability which accounts for the apparent paradox that while most jobs do not tax intellectual ability to any great extent, very many people appear to be only barely competent at their jobs.

It must again be stressed that these competencies involve much more than *abilities*. They imply a self-motivated spontaneity which is entirely missing from the notion of an ‘ability’ *per se*. In the past, this motivational component, even more than the ability component, has been neglected by both educationalists and researchers. Yet it is on this that we must focus when we attempt to assess or index competencies.

It is worth once more emphasising that competencies are likely to be generalisable from one value area to another. If they have been developed in relation to one valued goal, the individual will be able to release them in pursuit of another valued goal. However, when assessing the competencies displayed by an individual it does not make sense to state that he is *unable* to display them simply because they are not displayed in relation to a goal which he does not value, or even one which he *does* value at a cognitive and affective level but which he can see no way of achieving in his present circumstances.

It seems highly probable that everyone displays some of the competencies we list when they are in pursuit of a goal they value. Thus, in a sense, everyone already knows how to behave effectively. As a result, people who can articulate latent goals successfully tend to be effective leaders simply because, when the goals have been made explicit, other people are able to engage in relatively effective action to attain them without needing much more specific direction or help to acquire these basic skills. However, although competencies *are* likely to be displayed in relation to valued goals, they are often present in very rudimentary forms. To help people achieve their goals more effectively, we must help them to develop the competencies we list — but in relation to the goals which *they* value.

Although we make a distinction between ‘values’ and ‘competencies’, a number of the competencies listed below, such as ‘being able to control others’, can be pursued as ends in themselves — that is, as valued goals in their own right — as well as being means to achieving other valued goals.

An extensive list of competencies is presented below. Sometimes a large number of ways in which the competency can be displayed are described. These various manifestations of the characteristic are usually strongly inter-dependent. Sometimes the nature of a competency can be vividly illuminated by describing the consequences of *not* displaying it.

Some Components of Competence

Tendency to clarify values and attitudes to the goal

This involves thinking about such questions as whether the goal is personally important: Are there some ways in which its attainment might be undesirable? If so, can the problem be resolved? Is the individual left with a highly positive anticipation of the feelings he will have on reaching the goal? Does he anticipate strongly negative feelings if he fails to do so? Does he really care about his goals and turn his emotions into achieving them?

Tendency to monitor performance

Does the individual habitually monitor his progress toward his goals? Does he examine his performance for clues to ways of improving it? Does he habitually set himself challenging but realisable targets in pursuit of his goals and check to see if he has reached them, and if not, why not? Without a target he cannot know whether he is reaching his goals. In setting subsidiary targets, does he utilise his previous experience or does he assume that his past contains no information relevant to his future?

Tendency to turn one's emotions into what one is doing

Is the individual prepared to seek out something he enjoys doing and then admit to himself that there are distasteful tasks he will have to perform in order to reach his goals? Does he then get on with these tasks as soon as possible?

Willingness and ability to learn without instruction

Perhaps one of the most neglected competencies is the ability to learn without instruction: the ability to build up one's private, idiosyncratic, pool of knowledge. Our educational system has made people so dependent on formal knowledge, from teachers or books, that many people find it extremely difficult to observe and learn for themselves. First they fail to pay attention to the feelings of unease which are usually the first things to indicate that one has a problem. Even if they notice that they have a problem, they often fail to notice and to think about the glimmerings of insight which, if attended to, would suggest ways to a better understanding of the problem. Attention has been distracted from the importance of fostering this competency and the sensitivities needed to practise it, because educationalists have defined 'learning to learn' as 'learning to absorb formal courses'. The student's mind is bombarded with facts and his attention is directed to particular problems, thus destroying precisely the sorts of sensi-

tivities needed. Furthermore, the student is not encouraged to read selectively what is relevant to his own problem. Rather he must read diffusely, absorbing things which *might* one day be useful. To foster this competence, attempts could be made to help people to develop a strategy suited to observing and learning on their own. This would be dependent on making use of insights and minor feelings, on making playful use of ideas of unconscious processes and fantasy, and on delaying the evaluation of ideas produced by one's unconscious.

The tendency to seek and utilise feedback

This means more than the tendency to monitor progress towards one's goals. The performance of any task inevitably provides a wide range of information which, if utilised, helps the individual concerned to perform the task more effectively in the future. This information is not usually fully utilised. Firstly, people tend not to engage in any *systematic* search for such feedback. Secondly, the ability to recognise such information and its relevance is dependent on a willingness to pay attention to fleeting ideas and feelings of unease, bring them up to full consciousness, and ponder on their meanings and implications. This sensitivity is not something which most people have cultivated, and which schools have certainly not encouraged them to cultivate. Thirdly, most people have learned that a mistake is a 'bad thing', not to be recognised and learnt from, but forgotten. Finally, most people have been taught to rely not on their own observations but on 'authorities' and that they should seek courses of instruction in which they will be *taught* how to improve their performance.

Self confidence

Are people confident that they will master set-backs? Are they afraid that strangers will get the better of them (so that they are unwilling to seek the help of others in achieving their goals)? Or, if they do ask for help, do they feel that they will be able to assess the way in which a situation is developing, and apply corrective action if necessary? Do they feel that they can get to know new people or do they feel constrained to rely on old contacts? Do they feel that they can locate information, master new techniques, overcome difficulties, invent methods of bridging gaps in their knowledge, invent ways of coping with problems new to them, and make efficient decisions about whether to go to an 'expert' for advice or to think things out for themselves. Self confidence may be generalised or limited to the attainment of one or two important goals.

Self confidence of these various sorts is obviously based on having had appropriate educational experiences; of having worked with strangers and having been able to cope with them; of having brought a project to a successful conclusion; of having been able to master unexpected problems, and of having worked with experts and having discovered that one's own views may be as good as theirs.

A lack of self confidence probably has consequences beyond those of personal failure, for it leads to a lack of confidence in the ability of others to

work without supervision, to demands for rigid rules to constrain others' behaviour and to the creation of institutions with numerous positions staffed by people whose sole job it is to make sure that other people get on with their work.

Ability to exercise self-control

Holding back on an impulse to say or do something, and then replacing the impulsive behaviour with more appropriate behaviour. Avoiding feelings of anger or upset when one's ideas or one's performance is under criticism or attack. Avoiding making snap decisions based on incomplete evidence.

Adaptability: absence of feelings of trained incapacity

Do people feel that they can master new tasks in order to achieve their goals, or do they feel that each new task requires extensive training and skills which they are not able to acquire? Do they feel stuck in a rut, resentful, unable to move? Absence of feelings of adaptability often arise because people have not learned that they can master new situations without extensive formal training. It may also be because the institutional structures present in the society do not facilitate such behaviour, and may often intentionally obstruct it. At this point it becomes necessary for the individual to take personal responsibility for taking steps to get these structures changed.

Willingness to think ahead: tolerance for abstract thought

Do people spend time anticipating the consequences of various courses of action so that they can take prior corrective action? Do they systematically think about problems that will arise either in their own lives, or more generally that affect the community and nation in which they live? Do they think of ways of tackling these problems? Have they learnt by experience that it pays to anticipate difficulties?

Tendency to pay attention to problems of goal achievement

Willingness to notice social, personal, physical, organisational, theoretical, technical or communications problems which impede progress towards a goal, and willingness to try to do something about them. Sensitivity to fleeting impressions, and the ability to make use of them, is again called for.

Willingness to think for oneself, to be original

Do people value innovativeness, improvement, development and originality? Do they feel, instead, that they must adopt the views of others? Although originality and innovativeness may be valued in its own right, it should be stressed that it is possible to search for better ways of being in touch with tradition, or with the flow of life or stream of consciousness, if

these are the valued goals. The more general value component is probably concerned with the extent to which someone values individuation, individuality and distinctiveness, rather than being part of a group. This competency also involves the willingness to tolerate the scorn which is heaped on any innovator, even those concerned with being better in touch with tradition. Will the individual strive to get his or her ideas accepted? It seems that some people habitually *think* more than others about the issues which are important to them. Others may not notice a problem, or may not bother to think about it.

Critical thinking

Are people prepared to give uncritical acceptance to what others say, to their 'advice', to rumour and to authority? Or do they question these things, and make deductions from such advice as can be validated or invalidated from their own experience? Do they habitually relate what they are told (in print as well as words) to what they already know? In other words, do they take very little on trust from others?

Tolerance of cognitive complexity

Instead of being prepared to try to understand the complex factors which usually determine anything which happens in society, many people prefer to fasten on one factor, vague and probably not crucial, such as 'the system', 'the Gnomes of Zurich', or the 'lack of ability' of managers or employees. By doing this they avoid the need to examine the issue thoroughly. Still more importantly, if this factor is defined as being beyond their control, they avoid having to do anything other than talk and complain about it. The ability to tolerate cognitive complexity involves a willingness to consider many factors, weighing them subjectively one against the other, and such consideration will rarely lead to a single, simple solution to the problem.

Willingness to work at something which is disturbing and challenging

This may be contrasted with a preference for work which is comfortable and trivial. The ability to do challenging work may have to be built up through a series of experiences in which one learns that difficulties can be overcome, worries pass and satisfactions are experienced when a worthwhile outcome is achieved.

Ability to research the environment for opportunities and resources (physical or human), help, know-how, materials, insights and ideas to help one achieve one's goals. A willingness to do this presupposes a positive regard for the capability of other people, and a willingness to regard specialised knowledge as a resource from which relevant concepts and information can be abstracted, rather than as a body of knowledge which must be mastered before any use can be made of it.

Willingness to rely on subjective judgements and take moderate risks

This is only likely to pay off if the individual is able to monitor the effects of his actions, and utilise the information so gained to take corrective action and to deal with problems when necessary. When this is done, despite the hazards, such risk-taking is likely to be much more productive than is seeking to be certain that a projected course of action will be successful before embarking upon it. This quest for prior certainty stifles initiative and action, particularly if those concerned believe that it is more of a disgrace to try and fail than not to try at all — an attitude which seems to be very common.

Absence of fatalism

Absence of the belief that it is wrong, or impossible, to interfere with the course of fate. Fatalism itself may seem unlikely to lead to any desirable consequences, but such attitudes do not necessarily lead to lack of hard work or initiative — it may be one's fate to fulfil the role of a hard-working, under-paid innovator. The Calvinists, who did so much to contribute to the development of modern society, believed that their fate was already sealed, and that all they could do was to work hard to assure themselves that it was not what they feared it might be.

Willingness to utilise new ideas and innovations to achieve the goal

Previous literature has mostly discussed the desire to innovate and use new ideas in relation to economic goals. However, new ways of achieving any goal can be found, and some people are more willing to adopt them than others. This general tendency to adopt innovations — regardless of the goal to be attained — leads one to suspect that innovation is often valued as an end in itself. At the opposite end of the scale from people who seem (somewhat uncritically) to adopt all innovations, are those who have a great deal of respect for tradition, or who dismiss new developments as 'fashions' or 'irrelevancies'. Spread through society as a whole, the number of people who incline to the 'traditionalist' pole determine how much of a crusade, usually involving 'fifth column' activity, is necessary if new ideas (good or bad) are to be adopted. It is important to note that research by Roberts (1969) and Revens (1975) shows that devious action *is* necessary to get good new ideas adopted: they are *not* adopted primarily because of their merit. It is therefore very important that those people who wish to see development come about should do all they can to support innovators, eccentric and devious as they often are.

Knowledge of how to use innovations

If innovations are to lead to successful development rather than disaster, those who adopt them must understand, from experience, that it is important to pilot proposed new ways of reaching one's goals, instead of introducing system-wide changes immediately. Successful innovators know that new methods require extensive testing; people who are unused to

innovating tend to introduce full-scale changes without taking time to iron out the practical problems.

Confidence in the supportive nature of society

Willingness to focus on innovation or on the effective attainment of a goal is dependent on other needs having been satisfied. People are unlikely to concentrate on other goals until they have first secured their own living and future income. This illustrates the fact that, contrary to the widely accepted view, security rather than insecurity is the mother of invention. Lack of security leads to cutting back and hoarding, lack of mobility (in ideas as much as in occupation), lack of open criticism of current methods, failure to utilise the financial system to develop resources (because no return can be anticipated), lack of creativity, and the absence of risk taking.

The supportiveness of society extends beyond the merely financial. An individual is unlikely to develop a skill or competency if he believes that the society (or the classroom) in which he finds himself would be unreceptive, uncaring or hostile towards his efforts. Mutually positive expectations are again vitally important in establishing this component of competence.

Win-win attitudes and width of perspective

'Win-win' expectations may be contrasted with the more common 'win-lose' expectations. In many situations people assume that resources are limited and that, if one person gains, another must lose. Competition is the only course available. However, in many situations, the *total* which might be achieved can be increased by co-operation. The educational task is to bring people to recognise that if one lets others gain, one will probably gain oneself. Conversely, if one tries to maximise one's own gains on a narrow front, then nobody will gain, least of all oneself in the long run. This principle can be generalised to a wide range of situations, including means of obtaining useful advice. Advice is rarely a one-way commodity: ideas don't flow in unless one encourages people to talk about *their* projects and concerns as well as one's own.

Persistence

Is the individual willing to tolerate the routine toil and frustrations that occur when doing a piece of work? Does he give up easily? Has he had educational experiences which teach him, at affective and behavioural levels, the value of sticking at such tasks? Conversely, is he so indifferent to his feelings that he is willing to work at a boring routine task, the end product of which is not valued?

Willingness to utilise resources; making the most of what one *has* got, rather than waiting for someone else (e.g. the government) to make things available (preferably freely so!) and organise things for one.

Trustworthiness

It may seem strange to find trustworthiness listed as a component of competence rather than as a value. Clearly people who value trustworthiness in relation to economic activity are likely in many, though not all, circumstances to achieve economic goals more effectively. But that is in relation to one goal only. Trustworthiness in relation to the provision of emotional support, assistance and the communication of feelings may necessitate untrustworthy behaviour in relation to a regard for keeping rules or economic activity. Therefore the very meaning of the terms varies in relation to the goals one values. Yet, in relation to any particular goal, trustworthiness is likely to be very important.

Tendency to treat rules as guides to desirable ways of behaving rather than feeling absolutely bound by the letter of the law. The propensity to try to understand, and act in accordance with, the purpose behind rules and regulations presupposes an opportunity to find out why the rules were made, and would be expected to lead to identification with the rules and thus to responsibility and discretion.

The ability to make good decisions

This presupposes a somewhat uncommon willingness to take several factors into account subjectively, rather than being pre-occupied with only one or two of the variables which will determine what will happen. The individual must anticipate a wide variety of consequences of alternative courses of action, rather than concentrate on one or two of them. It implies a willingness to think through *all* the consequences of one's actions, and this in turn must involve an understanding of organisations and the way they work and of the psychology of individuals, so that one can assess how they will react and therefore take the necessary steps to enable them to turn their energies into their task. Therefore this ability involves being able to work with others, respecting the abilities of others, and having positive expectations of the capabilities of others to make a worthwhile contribution to the pursuit of the goal.

Willingness to take personal responsibility

Once again we must first caution that if someone appears to be unwilling to take personal responsibility for some activity, one of the reasons may be that he does not value the goal towards which the activity is directed. Nevertheless, there are many situations in which people *do* wish to achieve a goal, but are still unwilling to assume personal responsibility for doing so. This may be due to lack of self-confidence, to feelings that it is the job of some higher authority to intervene on one's behalf, to a feeling that people whose approval one needs will regard such behaviour as presumptuous, or to a lack of confidence in one's ability to get others to work together to achieve the goal. In other situations, unwillingness to take responsibility may be due to a disinclination to recognise and deal with the many factors

involved — to a tendency to use oversimplified explanations of events. Such understandings make it very difficult to see ways in which one could do anything to improve the situation, and thereby absolve one from any responsibility for dealing with it — or even for thinking about it.

Lack of confidence in one's ability to take responsibility, lack of ability to develop a sufficiently complex understanding of the issues and lack of the necessary managerial skills may arise from a lack of experience of working in situations in which it is necessary to combine thought and behaviour in effective action strategies. It is extremely likely, given the current tendency to distinguish sharply between academic and practical activity, that people will not have had this sort of experience. As a result, they will not have developed these abilities, nor will they have developed understanding of social-psychological processes. In order to counter this problem, one of the objectives of project work in schools is to encourage students to develop the habit of participating in problem-solving activity in which thought and action are integrated and in which particular stress is laid on utilising the effects of action as one of the main ways of improving one's understanding of the situations one is dealing with. Such experiences are intended to impress upon the individual the value of such analytic-action strategies as a result of seeing them working effectively to achieve goals which he values. The satisfactions which arise from such activities will strengthen the individual's confidence and his tendency to engage in such behaviour in the future. This is particularly likely to be true if the work is directed to accomplishing some societal goals, the attainment of which involves working with others and dealing with the institutional management structures of society. Pupils would then be expected to develop a willingness to take personal responsibility for introducing changes into society as a whole.

Other, more mundane, activities require willingness on the part of the individual to accept responsibility. Yet these activities may be no less important, for they are likely to cumulate to produce major consequences for the society in which the individual lives. If people seek to pass on their responsibility to higher authority — such as to bureaucrats or God — they are, by the same token, likely to avoid taking responsibility for dealing with people who engage in acts of vandalism — including those activities which are normally so described and a much wider range of acts of vandalism which occur in groups and organisations. People who delight in dragging red herrings through discussions, in competing for the role of chairman, in undermining the credibility of other members of the group, or in creating a furore for its own sake or for the sake of discrediting individuals within the group, are as correctly described as vandals as those who damage transport systems and social amenities. They distract the group from the attainment of group goals. And, in the long run, the only way to deal with either type of vandal is for every citizen to be prepared to play his part in curbing their activities. They can only be dealt with if all other members of the group take personal responsibility for refusing to co-operate with them. If an individual is to be able to achieve goals which can only be realised through group action it is necessary for everyone in the group to be willing to take on this sort of responsibility.

Ability to work with others to achieve a goal

Are people able to work effectively with others? Do they possess the social skills necessary to perceive what lies behind what others are saying, and are they willing to do so? Do they take steps to understand other people's 'frames of reference' — perceiving how other people's situations will affect their behaviour or orientation towards the goal — and use this understanding to facilitate progress towards the goal? Can they establish a rapport with their colleagues, by articulating shared experiences, and by sharing their own feelings? Can they sense the mood of a group, perhaps picking up non-verbal cues? Do they have positive expectations of their colleagues? Are they willing to tolerate differences of opinion about how things should be done? Do they possess the breadth of vision needed to recognise that what may not be in their own short-term interests may be in the long-term interests of the group? Can they play different roles within the group — ideas man, co-ordinator, someone who takes responsibility for dealing with conspirators who try to distract the group into trying to achieve tangential goals or those who know, instantly, exactly what should be done? Are they prepared to take personal responsibility not to distract the group themselves? Have they learned to tolerate compromisers and compromises in order to deal with differences of interest? Have they learned to work with others who in many ways wish to pursue different goals in order to achieve their *mutual* goals? Have they learnt to recognise, and to set about tackling, general organisational problems which must be solved if individuals are to be able to achieve their goals?

Such characteristics are only likely to be displayed if the individual values the group goal. It would be unjustified to conclude that someone lacks these skills and attitudes if he fails to display them in relation to some task he does not value. On the other hand, low levels of these competencies *are* often displayed even when the person concerned *does* value the goal. Still more often, they are *not* displayed in situations in which the individual has not realised that achievement of his own goals is dependent on communal action to tackle a shared problem.

Ability to get others to work together effectively to achieve the goal

Is the individual able to take a leadership (or managerial) role so as to be able to get others to work with him to reach the goal? Is he able to articulate group goals, set up the social mechanisms and institutions which are needed to attain them, and is he able to generate that enthusiasm which will enable others to unleash their own energies — competencies — in pursuit of the goal? The leader must be humble enough to recognise that most people have practised at least rudimentary levels of the necessary skills in pursuit of their own goals in the past. Then, his task becomes that of getting his 'followers' to engage in these actions in pursuit of a goal which they did not previously value, or which remained latent because they thought it too difficult to achieve. Having done this, he must create situations in which people can perfect their competencies. Getting people to change their value priorities in this way may not be too difficult. It may only be necessary to

arouse latent values and clarify the fact that through joint activity in a new, appropriate, institutional framework and climate of support, the new goals can be reached. The 'leader' may need to create an organisational structure which permits people to achieve their individual and joint goals effectively. This involves the leader in developing an understanding of the concerns and capabilities of each of his 'followers' and matching these to the resources available and the requirements of the task. He may also need to help them to deal with the psychological problems which often inhibit effective goal achievement. For example, people may feel that, although they would *like* to undertake a particular task, they would not be able to do so effectively: they may feel obliged to turn in a *perfect* performance, at a time when *some* performance would be better than none. The leader must make it clear that the less-than-perfect actions are in fact stepping-stones to an improved performance, and his ability to provide constructive feedback, and to get his 'followers' to do so amongst themselves, will increase the effectiveness of the group's performance.

Ability to listen to others and to take what they say into account

This involves the ability to put one's preconceptions on one side, and instead to listen to what is being said — and, particularly, to what lies behind it. To hear what lies behind an expressed position, the individual must be able to recognise key phrases, and must have a knowledge of the other beliefs and understandings which often are associated with such patterns of thought and expression. If the individual suspects that a phrase conceals unexpressed fears and attitudes, he must elicit further information to find out whether his hypothesis is correct. The ability to engage in this sort of listening is partly dependent on the willingness to recognise that even if a particular objection to a course of action is unfounded, the objection may still be useful because it may reveal unexpressed fears which may have to be dealt with before any progress towards the goal can be made. Such fears will often involve a perceived conflict between the goal being pursued and some other goal, and it will then be necessary to see if the two can be reconciled.

Willingness to rely on subjective impressions of the human potential of co-workers under good management, rather than seeking hard (and therefore usually irrelevant), formal criteria of status and past performance in selecting co-workers. This is obviously linked, once more, to the individual's confidence in his ability to manage others. These characteristics can only be fostered if he has experience of engaging in such activities in situations which provide feedback as to the quality of his judgement and management. If feedback is lacking, the individual may continue to make judgements *feeling* that they are good without ever making the basis for the judgements explicit. An obsession with status, representing as it does a quest for simple indices of complex interactive characteristics, may well be associated with an intolerance of cognitive complexity, an unwillingness to examine complex issues and a disrespect for juniors and their ability to make worthwhile contributions to a discussion. The unwillingness to discuss

issues may be due to a fear of not finding an answer if one dared to admit that one's current preconceptions might be wrong. It may be due to a preoccupation with rules in order to maximise predictability, or to the use of money as an index of status.

Willingness to permit others to take their own decisions — that is, confidence in the competence of others. If one is to have this confidence it is probably necessary to know that the others share one's values and priorities, or at least to believe that one might bring them to do so. If one suspects that others do not share one's values, one would have to spend a great deal of time checking up on them, wasting their time as well as one's own. Even worse, it prevents them developing many of the competencies needed for effective goal attainment, especially their own self-confidence and their ability to handle progressively more difficult situations. In particular, they are prevented from developing the ability to assess their own judgement.

Ability to handle conflict and differences of opinion

This involves a sensitivity to unexpressed fears and to differences in priorities. It presupposes the ability to encourage others to explore the consequences of their own position and that of others, and respect for those who hold different priorities. It requires a belief that it is important to find a mutually acceptable position rather than belief that the other group should be put down, and knowledge, based on experience, that such positions can be found if the consequences of alternatives are explored. It involves a greater respect for compromisers than for those who are able to push through their own point of view.

Ability to follow effectively

This ability involves, firstly, the willingness to seek to understand the general principles of a programme of activity, based on the ability to put together an overall picture of what is going on from scraps of information instead of waiting for someone to explain the whole programme. This is, in itself, no more than the neglected ability to learn without instruction. But the willingness to act on that understanding, to take on the responsibility for deciding to play one's part in the whole, is something very distinctive. From this discussion it should be clear that the ability to follow effectively implies a commitment to the overall goals of an exercise and a tendency to display most of the components of competence in relation to that goal.

Tolerance for ways of life other than one's own

Recognition of the relative, rather than the absolute, merit of one's own moral position; recognition that other people and groups do play an important role in the development of society and have an important part to play in helping one to achieve one's goals. If people look upon other ways of life as incomprehensible they have difficulty working with those who follow them even when their activity is directed toward shared goals. In these

circumstances a great deal of energy is wasted in fruitless conflict instead of being channelled into more productive goals.

Understanding of pluralistic politics

Are people familiar with the sorts of constraints and circumstances which lead leaders and representatives to change their opinions and policies when confronted with points of view which are different from those they set out with? Do people recognise that one of the problems to be taken into account when trying to achieve their own goals is that other people wish to lead their lives in very different ways, and that this means having overall policies which are very different from those which would be ideal from their own point of view? Are they prepared to continue to work with, and to support, colleagues who start out by sharing their views but then change their minds as they become familiar with other points of view? Or would they regard this as a sign of weakness and untrustworthiness?

Willingness to put time and effort into organisational and community planning rather than leaving it to others and complaining if events move in a direction one does not like. Is the individual willing to take active steps to bring the course of development of society into line with his own wishes? Does he realise that he *must* take steps to influence society if he wishes to lead his own life in his own way? Although closely related to the willingness to take personal responsibility, these activities involve a marked orientation towards the future, and particularly the recognition of the social, national and international source of many of one's problems and of the importance of setting up social institutions to perform necessary functions.

Inter-relations of competencies

Many of these competencies are not entirely independent. For example, willingness to learn without instruction is obviously linked to self-reliance, self-confidence and the ability to think for oneself and to think critically. The competencies listed above are treated separately, but research is needed to discover the links between them.

In practical pursuit of a goal, competencies must sometimes be linked sequentially — one group of competencies is used to achieve a subsidiary goal, when another group can be brought into play. Schneider *et al* (1981) studied the competencies required by teachers in adult further education programmes. They found that those teachers who were judged by their peers and by their students to be most effective all used a battery of competencies to achieve the goal of establishing a supportive, mutually regarding and interactive context in which they could work with their students. In this atmosphere they were then able to make effective use of a further battery of competencies which were directed at the goal of enabling the students to link their own concerns into the requirements of the course; the students were thus able to develop new skills, learning and competencies in relation to goals which meant something to them.

Summary

The personal components of motivation (as distinct from the environmental press components) break down into two sub-components — a values component and a number of components of competence. To assess human resource characteristics or motivational dispositions, the individual's values must be determined first. These can be discovered by finding out what he tends spontaneously to work toward and think about. To discover how effectively he will be able to achieve his valued goals one can then assess *how many* of the components of competence he tends to display in relation to the goal.

The fact that most important human resource characteristics, like initiative, include a values component as well as a number of the competencies we have discussed, makes it difficult for teachers to agree to participate in educational programmes designed to foster them, because of their reluctance to explicitly strive to influence their pupils' values. This is despite the facts that everyone connected with education believes that these qualities *should* be fostered, and that schools *do*, willy nilly, influence their pupils' values. This concern is justified. The consequences for a pupil who has developed initiative might be very unfortunate if he happened to live or work in certain types of organisation or society. We need to know more about the consequences, for the individual and for society, of developing or failing to develop these characteristics.

Until such data are available, we must judge, on the best available evidence, which characteristics seem to be most important, and take steps to foster them. Whenever we are inhibited by the thought that we may be doing the wrong thing, we should immediately ask ourselves what we would expect the consequences of the *present* educational system would be, in terms of creativity, initiative, and problem-tackling. In the light of our answers to these questions we may return to our task with renewed vigour.

PART VI

THE EDINBURGH QUESTIONNAIRES

THE EDINBURGH QUESTIONNAIRES

The data to be reported in Part VI are drawn from a preliminary survey undertaken with *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*. The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the nature and objectives of these Questionnaires. However, since the aim of the survey was to refine *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*, the published Questionnaires, which will be described in this chapter, differ in detail from those which were used to collect the data presented later.

INTRODUCTION TO THE EDINBURGH QUESTIONNAIRES

The Edinburgh Questionnaires are designed for use in staff guidance, placement and development and in organisational development.

Use in Staff Guidance, Placement and Development

Analysed at an *individual level* data collected with *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* make it possible to assess:

- the individual's priorities in his working environment;
- the satisfactions which he wants from his job;
- the types of behaviour he wishes to undertake, his level of satisfaction with his opportunity to behave in each of these ways, and the barriers he perceives to doing the things he wants to do;
- the individual's motivation to undertake selected tasks.

These data can be used to assist those who are responsible for staff placement and development to help to ensure that staff are placed in positions in which they are optimally motivated, to help to ensure that the organisation and individual are able to capitalise on the talents and motivations which are available, and to assist in the process of placing people in positions in which they can develop necessary competencies, motivations and expectations. They can also be used to contribute to the process of giving recognition to the qualities which people have developed in the course of work experience, thereby contributing to the process of breaking the stranglehold which formal educational institutions, through their control of certification (and therefore job placement), currently have over human development.

Use in Organisational Development

Analysed at a *group level*, data collected with *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* can be used to assess what the organisation will need to do to release the creativity, know-how, leadership and goodwill which is available to it. Survey data collected with the *Questionnaires* can be used as a basis for

discussions which are designed to lead to reconsideration, and change, in perceptions, understandings, expectations, and definitions. The data can also form one component in schemes of social accounting because they make it possible to find out whether the organisation has been able to develop the talents of its staff and whether managers have been able to release the know-how, goodwill and initiative available to them.

Theoretical Basis of The Edinburgh Questionnaires

As we have seen, it is inappropriate to try to assess motivation to engage in competent behaviour except in relation to a task which the individual concerned cares about. Use of *The Edinburgh Questionnaires* enables one to identify a task the individual cares about in one of two ways. The first involves locating some behaviour which the individual concerned wants to engage in, but which he is unable to undertake at present. The second method consists of identifying a problem which the individual has in his environment by examining his priorities and satisfactions and finding an item which he rates both important and unsatisfactory.

Having identified a "problem" which the individual cares about, the *Questionnaires* are then used to map both the consequences which the respondent anticipates if he were to tackle the problem, and the value he attaches to each of those consequences. The consequences he anticipates and the value he attaches to them yield a measure of his motivation to engage in the behaviour. This measure is not factorially pure, in the psychological sense. Rather it is a *summary index* derived from an exploration of the multiple causes of behaviour.

Although this summary index is a unique feature of *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*, each of the Questionnaires in the cluster is of value in its own right — particularly in surveying the ability of the workplace to release the creativity, know-how, and initiative of those concerned.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE EDINBURGH QUESTIONNAIRES

The Edinburgh Questionnaires comprise a cluster of three questionnaires or sections. Each section deals with different aspects of a central issue. These sections comprise: *The Quality of Working Life Questionnaire*, *The Important Activities Questionnaire*, and *The Consequences Questionnaire*.

Section 1: The Quality of Working Life Questionnaire

This Section is designed to assess individual priorities in the working environment, and the individual's perception of the quality of the environment in which he works. The *Questionnaire* is divided into four groups of questions. In the first three groups of questions (A to C), respondents are asked to rate the importance to them of each of a number of potentially important factors in their work, and to say how satisfied they are on each count. The final group (D) contains a number of more negative aspects of working life, and respondents are asked to rate the importance to them of avoiding each one. The four groups of questions are:

- Group A: Working Conditions — What Herzberg (1966) would describe as “hygiene” variables — surroundings, pay, privileges, job security, variety of work, etc.
- Group B: Type of Work Wanted — (as opposed to the competencies the individual wishes to exercise) — teamwork, helping people, operating machinery, paperwork, etc.
- Group C: Relationships — factors contributing to various types of relationships with superiors, subordinates and colleagues.
- Group D: General negative aspects of work — which the respondent may wish to avoid, e.g. worry, unpopularity, organisational constraints.

The ratings of “importance” and “satisfaction” obtained from any one individual on the items in groups A to C permit one to think where best to place him so that he does not waste time grousing about hygiene matters and is optimally motivated in relation to his own concerns. As we will see, people vary greatly from one to another in the satisfactions they want from their work both in the hygiene and in the other areas — described by Herzberg as “satisfiers”.

By cumulating the data over all members of a whole workforce (or section of it) one can easily identify areas of dissatisfaction which are thought to be important by a significant number of people. This enables one to find out whether a group of employees are, for example, more committed to creating a friendly and relaxed atmosphere in which they are unlikely to get *blamed* for anything than to creating a climate characterised by dedication, high standards, enthusiasm and innovation. Although the *Questionnaire* does not, in itself, yield a description of the organisational climate which permeates the workplace, one can, by looking at the workforce’s level of satisfaction with its current working environment alongside its priorities, get a clear idea of the general atmosphere in the workplace, and therefore the steps which would need to be taken to improve it to achieve both management and employees’ goals. By examining the responses of individuals — to both the importance and satisfaction questions — in relation to the qualities which are thought important by most people in the organisation or section one can anticipate the problems which someone concerned with, say, innovation or efficiency is likely to encounter if he tries to pursue such goals in that particular environment. On this basis one might make detailed plans to influence the general climate of opinion in the organisation or to place innovative individuals in more encouraging settings.

Section 2: The Important Activities Questionnaire

This Section assesses the ways in which the respondent wants to behave at work, the competencies he wishes to exercise and the goals he wishes to achieve. A comprehensive list of tasks and activities is provided, the respondent rating the importance to him of having a job in which he can do each thing. The competencies which he wishes to exercise are not only

assessed *directly*, but also by inference from the goals he wishes to achieve. These goals include establishing an extremely efficient department, or a climate of support for innovative activity.

The list is divided for convenience into two sets (1 and 2), each set containing a representative selection of items. The items in each Set are divided into two groups, A and B. Group B of each Set contains items to be completed only by those respondents who want responsibility for others in the workplace.

It must be emphasised that this *Questionnaire* cannot be used on its own to assess the strength of an individual's motivation, or his ability, to do the things he wants to do. The strength of his motivation to do these things will not only be influenced by his *interest* in carrying them out but also by such things as the reactions he expects from others and by his subjective ability to do them. These are assessed in other sections of the *Questionnaires*.

By cumulating the data over all the members of a department or organisation one obtains important insights into organisational climate. By using the *Questionnaires* one obtains clear data on the types of behaviour which members of a workforce value for themselves and are therefore likely to esteem in others. Thus, if most members of a workforce value a quiet life, little by way of developmental activity can be expected from them and anyone concerned with development is likely to be discouraged. Low levels of commitment to carrying out activities which management considers important should be a particular source of unease.

Section 3: The Consequences Questionnaire

As will be appreciated from what was said earlier, this is the most important, and most distinctive, Section of *The Edinburgh Questionnaires*. It deals with the consequences which a person anticipates if he were to set out on any specifiable course of action at work, including tackling the problem identified in the way described earlier. At the outset, the respondent must select a task which is important to him. He is then asked to indicate, firstly, which consequences he feels would result from his efforts and, secondly, which competencies he would be able to bring to bear to carry out the task.

Section 3 is divided into six Parts: the first five contain lists of possible consequences. These are grouped as follows:

Part A: compatibility of the task with the respondent's self image;

Part B: perceptions of the task and personal reactions;

Part C: the expected reactions of superiors;

Part D: the anticipated reactions of colleagues and workmates;

Part E: perceived benefits and dis-benefits to others.

Part F: competencies engaged. This contains a list of competencies which the respondent may be able to use to solve his chosen problem. The respondent is asked how well he could do each thing and can indicate those competencies which he feels he would have no opportunity to practise.

As will be apparent, the *Consequences Questionnaire* covers most of the variables which determine behaviour. If the ratings made on the *Consequences Questionnaire* were weighted by the individual's own assessment of the *importance to him* of exercising certain competencies or gaining particular satisfactions at work, there can be no doubt that it would be possible to derive a satisfactory overall index of the strength of his motivation to engage in the behaviours. Nevertheless, it seems to us that the detailed information which it is possible to collect by adopting this procedure is much more important than an overall index — because it enables one to pinpoint the difficulties which an individual is likely to encounter if he embarks on a particular course of activity, and it, therefore, enables one to plan an individualised programme of placement and development with and for him.

Cumulated over all members of a workforce or department the data yield clear insights into the levels of support for problem-noticing and problem-solving activity. They thus provide the most direct index available from the *Questionnaire* of dimensions of organisational climate relevant to achievement and innovation. The cumulated data also provide information on the workforce's subjective feelings of competence to tackle problems which are important to them, and the compatibility of such behaviour with their own role definitions and the role definitions which they believe others hold of them.

Important Tasks in Organisations

The Technical Manual for the *Questionnaires* contains a prompt list from which managers can select tasks to ask their colleagues or subordinates about in order to ascertain the perceptions of the consequences of undertaking each of the tasks. The list of important tasks in organisations is based on the literature review in Chapter 3.

USES AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

The uses to which the data collected using the *Questionnaires* can be put has been outlined in the preceding sections and will become clearer as we outline the results obtained in our pilot study and explore their implications. Nevertheless, it is important to draw attention to a number of points:

1. The *Questionnaires* were developed primarily for use in planning individual programmes of placement and development. The main use they have been put to here is a survey application which would, if carried out on a within-company basis, yield important data for internal Organisational Development programmes. In these the staff concerned could discuss the probable implications of the data and contribute ways in which it would be desirable to change their priorities, beliefs and expectations.
2. In relation to *individual* guidance, placement and development, it is important to note that the *Questionnaires* do not yield a score, or even a profile, for each individual: they yield a set of item statistics which it is necessary to explore with the individual concerned in order to:

- (i) Enable him to reconsider his beliefs and expectations as appropriate.
- (ii) Identify concerns, interests and strengths which could be tapped for his own benefit and that of his employer.
- (iii) Plan personalised programmes of development which would either enable him to learn that undesired anticipated consequences do not arise or to develop the competencies which are needed to *ensure* that they do not arise.

PART VII

THE RESULTS OF A PRELIMINARY SURVEY CARRIED OUT USING THE EDINBURGH QUESTIONNAIRES

SAMPLE AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE FOR THE PRELIMINARY SURVEY

Most of the observations presented earlier were based on a programme of open-ended, exploratory, interviewing, carried out in the Republic of Ireland and Scotland. As time went on, these interviews became increasingly structured. Finally, a number of employees, from a wide range of levels in about 20 organisations ranging from public service offices to manufacturing and construction industry, making use of old and new technologies, in Scotland completed the questionnaires. Although over 300 people took part in this work, the questionnaires were divided up so that no individual was asked to spend more than about half-an-hour on the task. As a result, the numbers responding to some of the sets of items dropped to about 40. The data which will be presented below are therefore indicative rather than, in any sense, conclusive. In any future work it would obviously be desirable both to refine the questionnaires on the basis of the work already carried out and to section the data, for normative purposes, by the type of organisations in which the individual worked and his level in the organisation.

Although the interpretation placed on the data which follow are the interpretations which would be appropriate in a report on a survey, the data, suitably extended, analysed, and presented, would form important background data against which any one person's responses could be set. The data should, therefore, be viewed not *primarily* as survey data, but as preliminary normative data.

It is hoped that these data, and the reflections based upon them, will indicate what can be achieved by using the questionnaires, and thereby encourage others to use the questionnaires and share the results with the author so that the questionnaires themselves, and the associated technical Manual, can be improved.

For the reasons given earlier, the data are presented as item statistics and not as factor scores. While there is no doubt that correlational studies would enable us to have more confidence when interpreting the data, and help us to reduce the length of the *Questionnaires*, our basic quarrel with factorial models should not be forgotten.

CHAPTER 17

THE QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE

In this chapter the data collected using the *Quality of Working Life* Questionnaire will be presented. As has been indicated, this material falls into two parts — that dealing with “Hygiene” variables (broadly, features of the environment which tend to create dissatisfaction if they are not right) and “Motivating” activities (behaviours in which the individual can be encouraged to engage and which may make him feel very enthusiastic and “motivated”). The terms are drawn from Herzberg (1959), although the way they are operationalised here is not.

Hygiene factors*Importance*

For the group studied, as for many others for whom results have been published, security emerged as by far the most important feature which was desired in the working environment. It was followed by work which offered variety and good pay (Table 1). Least frequently desired were payment by results, privileges and flexitime.

Apart from “security”, however, people varied a great deal in what they wanted from their working environment.

Two conclusions seem to emerge from these data. Firstly, not everyone wants canteen facilities and pleasant surroundings — let alone perks like free samples. What a firm will provide must, therefore, be tailored to the particular priorities of its own workforce and, indeed, to the priorities of each individual in that workforce. Secondly, any employer who does not provide security by maximising employment opportunities is asking for trouble.

TABLE 1
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 1: WORKING CONDITIONS
(HYGIENE FACTORS)
IMPORTANCE

	Very Important %
1. To have security of employment	76
2. To have variety in your work	52
3. To have work which is well paid	42
4. To work in pleasant surroundings	29
5. To have good canteen and other facilities	28
6. To have regular hours	21
7. To be able to choose your own hours (flexi-time)	16
8. To be paid by results (e.g. Bonus)	16
9. To have good teabreaks (+ Lunch)	14
10. To have privileges (discounts, free samples, car, etc.)	7

Base (= 100%) variable, around 70

Satisfaction

Turning to levels of satisfaction (Table 2), people were least often satisfied with their perks. Perhaps they felt that these created divisiveness, jealousy, and ill feeling. Next came their pay and surroundings. Although their surroundings were often not particularly important to them, many people would have liked them to have been improved. We will see later that people were also often dissatisfied with the amount of paperwork they had to do. "Maximise pay and minimise paperwork" would therefore seem to be a good general maxim. It would, however, be interesting to ask what people would *do* with their pay. If one found that they would strive to avoid living in dilapidated urban areas one might find oneself suggesting that one's informants would be better advised to press, not for more pay, but for the governmental activity which is required to eradicate urban blight.

Pay is, however, the only item among those rated "very important" with which a significant proportion of our informants were less than satisfied. Readers may be surprised to discover how many of those who completed our questionnaires were satisfied with the amount of variety they had in their work.

Given these data it would seem that any employer who made use of these questionnaires and found significant levels of dissatisfaction might consider it worthwhile to re-examine his firm's policies.

TABLE 2
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 1: WORKING CONDITIONS
(HYGIENE FACTORS)
SATISFACTION

	Very Satisfied or Satisfied %
1. To have good teabreaks (+ Lunch)	84
2. To have regular hours	83
3. To have variety in your work	73
4. To have security of employment	71
5. To be able to choose your own hours (flexi-time)	58
6. To work in pleasant surroundings	57
7. To be paid by results (e.g. Bonus)	55
8. To have good canteen and other facilities	50
9. To have work which is well paid	48
10. To have privileges (discounts, free samples, car, etc.)	42

Base (= 100%) variable, around 70

Type of Work Wanted*Importance*

Most frequently wanted (by all but 6% of those who completed the questionnaires) was an opportunity to go on learning new skills (Table 3). The notion that people "fear change" would therefore seem to be, at best, questionable. Perhaps it is sudden changes which are introduced without consultation and in such a way that people have little opportunity to adjust to their implications which present a real problem. Treating people as pawns in someone else's game makes them resistant.

The vast majority of our informants also said that it was important to have work in which they were kept on their toes mentally. These results parallel those of Flanagan (1978) from the other side of the Atlantic. Taken together with the previously documented emphasis on "variety", the results point to the conclusion that a desire for routine work is relatively rare. Likewise, few people seemed to wish to turn out shoddy work — and requiring them to do so might de-motivate them. The high proportion who wanted to feel that they had created something may also surprise some readers and it would seem to be a source of motivation which is too infrequently tapped in workplaces and, particularly, educational institutions.

More generally, these data may be taken to support the claim that people need to grow and that, in order to do so, they require developmental environments. The data may be interpreted to mean that many people know that, if they do not continue growing, they don't stand still but become obsolescent.

TABLE 3
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 2: TYPE OF WORK WANTED
IMPORTANCE

How important is it to you to have work in which you can:	Very Important %
1. Keep on learning new skills	56
2. Be kept on your toes mentally	48
3. Turn out high quality work	48
4. Work as part of a team	46
5. Be able to feel you have really created something	41
6. Work at your own speed rather than the speed of others	37
7. Help other people directly — through such things as social work or teaching	35
8. Find better ways of thinking about things	32
9. Deal with people	30
10. Be physically active and on the go most of the time	29
11. Do what you feel is right rather than what will please other people	28
12. Have ample free time	21
13. Be told in detail exactly what to do	20
14. Operate machinery and equipment	17
15. Deal with figures	14
16. Make things	11
17. Deal with paper work	10
18. Invent things	7

Base (= 100%) variable, around 45

Most people wanted to work as part of a team, although some did not. Nevertheless more than half wanted to be able to work at their own speed, rather than at the speed of others. It is of interest that only 21% said that it was very important to them to have ample free time. The notion that people want *leisure* would therefore seem to be open to serious question.

On most of the other items there was considerable variation between people. The qualities of work which people *least* often wanted were to invent things, to make

things, paperwork, to deal with figures, and to operate machinery and equipment. Fortunately, some people said that they did want to do all of these things.

From these results it would seem important for employers to create developmental environments which offer most of their employees a greater opportunity to gain a sense of accomplishment from their work. It would also seem important to seek out, and to some degree to cosset, those who wish to find better ways of thinking about and doing things, those who want to deal with figures and paper, and in particular, those who want to invent things.

Satisfaction

Perhaps because people had, by and large, been able to find jobs which suited them, between 60 and 80% of our informants were satisfied with their opportunity to do each of the things we asked them about. The only exception was the amount of paperwork they had to do (Table 4). The highest levels of satisfaction were expressed in relation to the amount of physical activity involved and the extent to which they were able to deal with people, deal with figures, and operate plant and machinery. Following the amount of paperwork they had to do (which emerges as one of the blights on our society), there was least satisfaction with the extent to which people felt that they could do what they thought was good and right rather than what would please other people, and the extent to which they were given detailed instructions about what to do (although it is not clear whether it was those who *wanted* detailed instructions or the others who complained on this score).

TABLE 4
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 2: TYPE OF WORK WANTED
SATISFACTION

How satisfied are you with the extent to which you are able:	Very Satisfied or Satisfied %
1. To be physically active and on the go most of the time	81
2. To deal with people	80
3. To deal with figures	80
4. To operate machinery and equipment	80
5. To work at your own speed rather than the speed of others	75
6. To be kept on your toes mentally	74
7. To work as part of a team	73
8. To find better ways of thinking about things	71
9. To help other people directly — through such things as social work or teaching	71
10. To make things	69
11. To turn out high quality work	67
12. To keep on learning new skills	66
13. To have ample free time	64
14. To invent things	62
15. To do what you feel is right rather than what will please other people	61
16. To be told in detail exactly what to do	61
17. To be able to feel you have really created something	60
18. To deal with paper work	50

Base (= 100%) variable, around 45

It is, perhaps, worth commenting that, although a satisfaction level of 60-odd per cent may seem acceptable, the fact is that, on most of these counts, one-third of those who completed the questionnaires were less than satisfied. This amounts to a not insignificant minority.

Organisational Climate

The *Quality of Working Life Questionnaire* deals separately with people's assessments of their relationships with others and their expectations from, and assessments of, the attitudes of their colleagues.

Relationships with Others: Importance

In our preliminary survey, top priority, as far as relationships with others was concerned, was that everyone should be treated fairly (Table 5) and that the workplace should be well organised and run. People should be friendly and work well together. Superiors should be helpful, listen to one and tell one the reasons for their decisions. One's workmates should be good at their jobs and one's abilities should be recognised and valued.

TABLE 5
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 3: RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS
IMPORTANCE

	Very Important %
1. To have a workplace where everyone is treated fairly	74
2. To have a workplace which is well organised and run	65
3. To have a workplace where people work well together	62
4. To have friendly people to work with	57
5. To have a boss/superior who is helpful	56
6. To have colleagues and workmates who are good at their job	55
7. To have your abilities recognised and valued	53
8. To have a boss/employer who tells you reasons for decisions	50
9. To have a boss/employer who is willing to let you take responsibility for making your own decisions	48
10. To have a workplace where differences of opinion are discussed openly	45
11. To be consulted and have your views taken into account	44
12. For your boss/superior to think you are of real value to the organisation	40
13. To have subordinates or juniors who use their initiative	36
14. To have work in which you would personally benefit from any extra effort you make	30
15. To be able to influence decisions which are made	30
16. To work in a place where everyone is expected to reach high standards	20
17. To be thought of as someone who has the well-being of the organisation at heart	11

Base (= 100%) variable, around 50

However, rather less than half said that it was *very* important that their employer should let them take responsibility for making their own decisions, that differences of opinion should be discussed openly, or that they should be consulted and have their views taken into account.

Least often wanted was to be thought of as someone who had the well-being of the organisation at heart, to be expected to reach high standards, to be able to *influence* decisions, and work in which one would benefit personally from any extra effort one made. Some readers may share the author's fear that some of these values may inhibit economic and social development in the United Kingdom.

Relationships with Others: Satisfaction

Levels of satisfaction for the items dealing with relationships with others were, on the whole, considerably lower than those obtained for the working environment and type of work wanted items (Table 6 compared with Table 4). There was only one item in relation to which more than 80% expressed themselves satisfied — and this had to do with the priorities of their colleagues. Also highly rated was the ability of one's workmates to work well together. Our informants had a much lower opinion of their colleagues' competence. Although they generally felt that their boss felt that they

TABLE 6
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 3: RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS
SATISFACTION

	Very Satisfied or Satisfied %
1. To have friendly people to work with	84
2. To be thought of as someone who has the well-being of the organisation at heart	71
3. To have a boss/superior who is helpful	71
4. For your boss/superior to think you are of real value to the organisation	69
5. To have a workplace where people work well together	66
6. To have a workplace where differences of opinion are discussed openly	63
7. To have subordinates or juniors who use their initiative	60
8. To have work in which you would personally benefit from any extra effort you make	57
9. To have a workplace where everyone is treated fairly	56
10. To have colleagues and workmates who are good at their job	54
11. To have a boss/employer who tells you reasons for decisions	54
12. To be consulted and have your views taken into account	53
13. To work in a place where everyone is expected to reach high standards	51
14. To have a boss/employer who is willing to let you take responsibility for making your own decisions	50
15. To be able to influence decisions which are made	45
16. To have a workplace which is well organised and run	41

Base (= 100%) variable, around 50

themselves were of real value to the organisation, they also felt that their own abilities were not recognised or utilised. This combination of a high regard for their own unutilised abilities, a low regard for their colleagues' competence, and a feeling that their boss thought highly of them as individuals may explain the widespread opposition to peer ratings as part of manpower assessment processes.

Our informants were *least* likely to be satisfied with the way the organisation in which they worked was run, the ability of the organisation to tap their abilities, their ability to influence decisions, and the ability of the organisation to delegate to them responsibility for taking their own decisions about what should be done. These results presumably imply that the organisation was not able to tap their knowledge in taking decisions. The fact that there was so much dissatisfaction with standards of work would appear to reinforce their view that their colleagues were not competent.

It would appear from these results that there is widespread dissatisfaction with those aspects of organisational climate which Litwin & Stringer (1968) have shown to be so important for the success of organisations — and which our own informants rated as so important. The results would seem to indicate that there is considerable scope for action programmes designed to improve the quality of organisational climate. In this connection it would seem that the questionnaires which have been developed would provide managers with a means of finding out whether they are being successful in altering the organisational climates concerned in the way they would like.

TABLE 7
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 4: ATTITUDES OF WORKMATES AND COLLEAGUES
IMPORTANCE

	Very Important %
How important is it to you that your workmates:	
1. Help you when you have difficulties or problems	59
2. Try to avoid muddle and inefficiency	51
3. Have confidence in other people's ability to take effective corrective action if necessary	46
4. Try to make the most of their abilities	45
5. Do not waste time fussing about trivialities	34
6. Think it is important to create a support system to ensure that new ideas work rather than to try to be absolutely certain that they will work before they start	33
7. Welcome your assistance rather than think you are criticising them or invading their territory if you make suggestions	29
8. Think it is important to keep trying to do new things	29
9. Do not keep checking up on their colleagues	25
10. Try to find ways of getting important things done	24
11. Try to find out how well they are doing and improve their performance	20
12. Think it is important to let people do their work in their own way	19
13. Expect people to learn what they need to know as they go along	17
14. Are more concerned with improving the performance of the overall organisation than with what they personally can get out of any particular activity	11

Base (= 100%) variable, around 40

Attitudes of Workmates and Colleagues

Importance

According to our informants, the most important quality to have in one's colleagues is a willingness to help one when one has difficulties or problems. There is nearly universal agreement about this. Likewise, one's colleagues should avoid muddle and inefficiency, have confidence in one's ability to tackle one's problems on one's own, and try to make the most of their abilities (Table 7).

Least important for this sample was having colleagues who were more concerned with improving the overall performance of the organisation than with what they could personally get out of it, who expected people to learn what they needed to know as they went along, who let people do their own work in their own way, and who tried to find out how well they were doing and then strove to improve their performance on the basis of the insights so gained (although a fifth did think that this last was very important).

Although falling in the middle of our list, well under half felt that it was very important for their colleagues not to waste time fussing about trivialities, to support new ideas, to welcome suggestions, or to keep trying to do new things. There would therefore seem to be scope to lead many employees to reconsider their views on these topics. In any discussion of the implications of such views it might be useful to note that, not only did so few not think it was important for their colleagues to be more concerned with the overall organisation than with what they personally could get out of it (which might be interpreted as seeking just reward for effort) but that, as Table 5 shows, few also thought it was important to have work in which they personally would benefit from extra effort. If one is *neither* concerned to get personal reward for effort, *nor* to work toward the benefit of the overall organisation, then just what *is* one supposed to do? Do these views reflect a wider alienation from the workplace than the other data presented here would lead one to suspect? Do they imply that it is widely felt that one should not work for the benefit of the wider organisation because that organisation is corrupt, geared only to generating private profits regardless of the benefit to the society, or unnecessary and geared only to providing jobs for its employees (and, in particular, its senior employees) rather than to conferring important benefits on society?

Satisfaction

As we have already seen, satisfaction with the attitudes and behaviour of colleagues and the overall effectiveness of the organisation lag some way behind satisfaction with the physical environment. This is confirmed in the present data (Table 8). Our informants were most dissatisfied with their colleagues' tendency to expect people to learn what they needed to know as they went along, their concern to avoid wasting time fussing about trivialities, their colleagues' tendency to be concerned with what they could get out of the organisation rather than with its overall performance, with their colleagues' confidence in their workmates' ability to take corrective action when necessary, with their colleagues' tendency to keep trying to do new things — which was not really considered very important anyway (!), with the level of support for innovation, with their concern to avoid muddle and inefficiency, and with their level of commitment to finding ways of getting important things done.

Although most were satisfied with their colleagues' commitment to helping them if they had problems, the results, both in terms of the importance attached to features making for innovation and development, and levels of satisfaction in these respects

represent a bleak picture for the U.K. Any firm which confirmed the results we have obtained here in a self-survey would do well to create an opportunity for its employees to examine ways in which the organisation might be improved to reduce fuss about trivialities, and increase levels of support for innovation.

TABLE 8
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 4: ATTITUDES OF WORKMATES AND COLLEAGUES
SATISFACTION

	Very Satisfied or Satisfied %
1. Help you when you have difficulties or problems	73
2. Try to make the most of their abilities	64
3. Welcome your assistance rather than think you are criticising them or invading their territory if you make suggestions	58
4. Have confidence in other people's ability to take effective corrective action if necessary	55
5. Try to avoid muddle and inefficiency	53
6. Do not keep checking up on their colleagues	52
7. Try to find ways of getting important things done	50
8. Try to find out how well they are doing and improve their performance	50
9. Think it is important to let people do their work in their own way	45
10. Think it is important to create a support system to ensure new ideas work rather than to try to be absolutely certain that they will work before they start	45
11. Think it is important to keep trying to do new things	45
12. Are more concerned with improving the performance of the overall organisation than with what they personally can get out of any particular activity	45
13. Do not waste time fussing about trivialities	37
14. Expect people to learn what they need to know as they go along	33

Base (= 100%) variable, around 40

Quality of Working Life: General

Importance

Among the general quality of working life items, most often rated "very important" was enjoyable work — although, even here, one-third did not think that this was *very* important (Table 9). Two-thirds felt it was very important to feel that they were doing something worthwhile, although, again, one-third did not say that this was *very* important to them. A majority also thought that it was very important to have work which was personally satisfying, although some felt that this was of little importance. Next came contributing to the improvement of the quality of decision-

taking, reducing dissatisfaction, and improving the efficiency of the organisation — although only one-third thought these were very important — and the proportions saying that they thought it was important to contribute to efficiency and good decision-taking (33% and 28% respectively) may be considered rather alarming.

A third thought it was very important to get credit for what they had done, to be respected by their workmates and to be respected by their subordinates.

Rather less than a third thought it was very important to be able to go on working for their present firm and to be able to stay in their present job — although half said that it was either important or very important to be able to do so.

Only 1 in 10 felt that it was important to do things which other people felt to be important, but which they were not prepared to do themselves.

TABLE 9
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 5: GENERAL
IMPORTANCE

	Very Important %
1. To have work you enjoy doing	67
2. To feel you are doing something worthwhile	66
3. To have work which is personally satisfying	55
4. To be respected by your superiors or bosses	36
5. To improve the quality of decisions in the organisation	33
6. To help reduce dissatisfaction in the organisation	33
7. To get credit and recognition for what you have done	33
8. To be respected by your workmates	31
9. To be respected by your subordinates	30
10. To have a job in which there are good prospects of promotion	30
11. To help your firm/organisation run more efficiently	28
12. To feel that your boss/superior thinks that what you are doing is important	27
13. To be able to go on working for your present firm or organisation	24
14. To be able to stay in your particular job	23
15. To feel that what you are doing will benefit your colleagues/workmates	19
16. To do things which other people think are important but which they would not be prepared to do themselves	13

Base (= 100%) variable, around 40

Satisfaction

As can be seen from Table 10, our informants were least satisfied with their ability to contribute to good decision-taking in the organisation and with their opportunity to reduce dissatisfaction. Rather more were satisfied with their opportunity to contribute to the efficiency of the organisation. Only half were satisfied with their prospects for promotion.

TABLE 10
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 5: GENERAL
SATISFACTION

	Very Satisfied or Satisfied %
1. To be respected by your workmates	93
2. To be respected by your subordinates	81
3. To be able to stay in your particular job	65
4. To feel that your boss/superior thinks that what you are doing is important	64
5. To have work which is personally satisfying	63
6. To be respected by your superiors or bosses	63
7. To get credit and recognition for what you have done	61
8. To feel you are doing something worthwhile	59
9. To feel that what you are doing will benefit your colleagues/ workmates	59
10. To have work you enjoy doing	58
11. To be able to go on working for your present firm or organisation	57
12. To do things which other people think are important but which they would not be prepared to do themselves	56
13. To have a job in which there are good prospects of promotion	52
14. To help your firm/organisation run more efficiently	52
15. To help reduce dissatisfaction in the organisation	39
16. To improve the quality of decisions in the organisation	37

Base (= 100%) variable, around 40

Things it was Important to Avoid

The situation which most of our informants said it was very important to avoid was being unable to introduce their ideas through lack of resources (Table 11). In our earlier open-ended interviews inability to do anything with one's ideas was a widespread source of frustration.

Our informants also frequently wished to avoid having other people think that they couldn't do their job properly. However, given that many people had suspicions about their colleagues' competence, it would seem to follow that, in reality, most people are unable to avoid this fate, although the data presented earlier suggest that most people are not aware of this fact.

About a third said that it was important to avoid stirring up discontent, being labelled as a troublemaker, making extra work for others, making changes which might threaten the jobs of others, and being unpopular.

Fewest said that it was very important to avoid other people not recognising the value of what they had done, having difficulties to overcome, and being blamed if things went wrong. Few said it was very important to avoid extra work or work they worried about.

From these data it would seem that there is a considerable pool of willingness to take on demanding work and extra work, provided it does not involve one in being a troublemaker, unpopular, or making extra work for others.

Nevertheless, the variation between people in the importance they attached to avoiding these potentially distressing activities is striking.

TABLE 11
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE
PART 6: GENERAL
THINGS IT IS IMPORTANT TO AVOID

How important is it to avoid:	Very Important %
1. Being prevented from introducing your ideas by lack of resources	43
2. Other people thinking you cannot do your job properly	38
3. Stirring up discontent	36
4. Being labelled as a troublemaker	34
5. Risking dismissal	32
6. Making extra work for others	31
7. Making changes which might threaten the jobs of others	30
8. Being unpopular with your colleagues	28
9. Causing conflicts or arguments	28
10. Being unpopular with your subordinates	27
11. Other people trying to discredit what you are doing by looking for hidden motives	26
12. Other people obstructing what you are trying to do	24
13. Being thought of as someone who tends to interfere with others' business	21
14. Being unpopular with your bosses	21
15. Work which you worry about	17
16. Extra work (not paid overtime)	17
17. Doing things which stop you getting on with your usual work	15
18. Being blamed if things go wrong	15
19. Having a lot of difficulties to overcome	11
20. Other people not recognising the value of what you are doing	8

Base (= 100%) variable, around 45

CONCLUDING COMMENT ON THE RESULTS OBTAINED USING THE QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE QUESTIONNAIRES

In this chapter we have seen that there appears to be an overwhelming concern with security and pay and little interest in making things, inventing things, finding better ways of thinking about things, finding better ways of doing things, influencing decisions in organisations, or reaching high standards. There is considerable dissatisfaction with the amount of paperwork to be done, the amount of time spent fussing about trivialities, and the way organisations were run. The prospects for Great Britain Limited therefore appear to be bleak. However, there appear to be considerable untapped energies: many people want opportunities to go on learning new skills, to have variety, to perform high quality work, and the opportunity to feel that they have really created something. More than half thought it was very important to them to feel that they were doing something worthwhile.

These data may well carry some more basic messages, too. Many have argued that people do not want interesting work and are only interested in money and leisure. The data presented here simply do not support that argument: most people want enjoyable, satisfying, worthwhile work, and leisure is of much less importance. However, the data suggest that such work is varied, creative and permits people to work together. People want to be able to exercise discretion and see the results and effects of their work and the products of exercising discretion. There would therefore seem to be a general need for much better feedback systems. The data also suggest that the varied, satisfying, work they want demands the exercise of multiple talents in any one individual, and, at the same point in time, the option of avoiding doing things which he cannot do and does not like doing. It also demands the provision of opportunities to grow and recognition for what one has accomplished.

Despite their own lack of interest in innovative activity and a general feeling that it was not very important to support such activity, there was a fairly widespread feeling of unease about the general level of support for such activity, and activities designed to improve efficiency and effectiveness, at the present time. There was also little concern to avoid blame or avoid doing things for which one would not get personal recognition.

One outstanding question is the extent to which one should seek to change rather than pander to widespread attitudes. If one is not going to influence the general level of innovation, it would seem to be of the greatest importance to locate and cosset innovative individuals so that the others can engage in innovative activity freed from the stresses of innovation. Attitudes to paperwork are also important. As we have seen, such attitudes are often based on the fact that a great deal of paperwork is extremely expensive, and often meaningless — the meaninglessness ranging from time sheets, through checking of accounts, to gross public sector accounting. Society would, indeed, seem to have much to learn from Lord Sieff. Yet the more appropriate social accounting procedures which are so urgently needed will undoubtedly involve paperwork. It is important, too, to get behind the widespread desire for more money: is what is wanted more *discretionary* spending, more leisure, or improved housing and urban environments? Given the new concepts of money which are needed by society, the development of appropriate policies will be very dependent on the answer to the question “what lies behind the desire for more money?”

Above all the results would seem to justify the widely held view, documented in the survey, that one's colleagues and workmates were too concerned with what they could get out of the organisation they worked for and too little concerned with what they could do for it.

IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES

It will be recalled from Chapter 15 that, on the *Important Activities Questionnaire*, our informants were asked to rate how important it was to them to be doing various kinds of things at work, and to behave in ways which would lead them to exercise various types of competence. The results are presented in Table 12, where the items have been presented in rank order.

The first 15 items suggest that a considerable proportion of our informants espouse a conventional view of management. Management consists in making sure that high standards are attained and maintained, persuading people to turn in their best performance, taking responsibility for others, ensuring that things are well organised and run, improving the relationship between management and work-force, ensuring that people co-operate, making the most of one's own abilities, doing something about complaints, and making sure that everyone knows what is going on.

Relatively few want to do things which would seem to be crucial to the effective management, or to the effective operation, of the organisation. Few want to build on hunches and take the steps necessary to ensure that something comes of them; few want to take other people's suggestions and translate them into practice; few want to sit on committees taking important decisions; few want to introduce new products or services, think out how to improve those products or services, or even how to make the products or deliver the services more efficiently; few want to persuade others to explore the merits of suggestions; few want to work out the unexpressed feelings which lie behind what people say; to take responsibility for the continued livelihood or well-being of others, to ensure that others do things that they like doing and are good at and do not get asked to do things they cannot do, or to ensure that there is participation in making important decisions.

These statistical results amply confirm the impressions we formed during the exploratory work for the study. What many people seem to be saying is that they want a formal position or status. They seem to be saying that they want the external, visible, trappings which go with a managerial position. They want to be *seen* to be managers. But they do *not* want to do the things which it is necessary for managers to do if they are to make their organisations hum: to listen to the unexpressed (and often unacceptable) views which lie behind what people say, to assess the competencies and interests, and incompetencies and areas of disinterest, of their staff and deploy them appropriately, to assess the organisational barriers to effective working — both internal and external to the organisation — and try to do something about them, to create a climate of participation, dedication and enthusiasm, to lead their work-force into the unknown and ensure that something comes of it, or to create a climate of support for innovation in which suggestions are taken seriously and acted upon.

Although many want to ensure that high standards are attained and maintained and to persuade others to turn in their best performance, few seem to want to do the things which would be expected to create a climate of enthusiasm, dedication, initiative, and ability to capitalise on ideas, in which the need for a variety of different types of quality of contribution is recognised, and a climate in which it is unthinkable to do anything except turn in work which is, in one sense or another, up to a high standard. Few seem to think that, if high standards are to be attained, it would be necessary to spend a considerable amount of time mulling over the organisational

TABLE 12
VALUED ACTIVITIES
(COMPETENCIES WHICH IT IS IMPORTANT TO EXERCISE)

	Very Important %
2.16 Making sure that high standards are attained and maintained	69
1.33 Persuading other people to turn in their best performance	69
2.18 Ensuring that the contributions of others are recognised and appreciated	63
1.5 Trying to make full use of your abilities	63
2.15 Making sure that things are well organised and run	60
1.14 Finding ways of improving the relationship between management and workforce	55
2.27 Ensuring that important differences of opinion come into the open so they do not fester away below the surface	54
1.30 Paying attention to detail	53
1.16 Taking full responsibility for a particular piece of work	52
2.5 Ensuring that a large number of people co-operate and work together without conflict	51
2.24 Taking other people's complaints seriously and trying to do something about them	50
2.17 Ensuring that the way things are organised is not wasteful of time, money or skill	50
1.38 Ensuring that barriers to effective teamwork come to light and are dealt with	48
1.43 Making sure everybody knows what is going on	47
2.39 Putting a lot of energy into trying to keep a discussion group/working group/committee/union of which you are a member focussed on its main goals instead of being distracted	47
1.27 Developing new skills, by yourself, as you go along	47
2.23 Ensuring that your subordinates can find out how well they are reaching their goals	46
1.7 Thinking up better ways of doing things	45
2.31 Being available for consultation by subordinates and colleagues	44
2.32 Making sure other people are well informed and can make good decisions	43
2.33 Getting all colleagues and subordinates to participate in clarifying the goals of your department and working out the best ways of achieving these	43
1.31 Persuading your boss/superior to do something about problems you have noticed	43
1.10 Establishing a network of contacts in order to keep up with developments	42
2.6 Finding experts who are able to help you	42
1.19 Getting round opposition in order to find ways of getting important things done	40
1.2 Getting other people to do things which you think need to be done	40
2.22 Trying to ensure that your subordinates are set challenging but realistic targets	38

2.9	Building up a store of specialist technical information	38
2.28	Showing your subordinates that you think they have something important to offer the organisation	37
1.49	Finding out what people are good at and giving them the opportunity to develop their abilities	37
2.25	Ensuring that your subordinates regularly study why they are not achieving their goals more effectively	36
1.39	Ensuring that people are generally helpful and supportive rather than critical of each other	36
1.36	Making sure everyone gets fair treatment from the organisation	35
1.26	Finding the causes of problems in the organisation and doing something about them	33
1.3	Working out what needs to be done and going ahead and doing it, without having to check with someone else first	33
1.1	Making changes	33
1.40	Dealing with problems which stop people working well	33
1.9	Regularly reviewing your own goals and seeking the help of your superiors to achieve them more efficiently	32
2.3	Getting decisions changed because you have found that they are not the best ones	32
2.8	Anticipating future opportunities and taking the action necessary to capitalise on them	32
2.35	Getting people who do not get on well together to work effectively as a team	31
2.10	Persuading your organisation to explore ideas which you feel will have major implications for future development	31
1.20	Supervising other people	31
2.19	Ensuring that the organisational structure is adequate to the demands individuals make of it	30
1.51	Helping other people to work happily together	30
1.50	Encouraging others to suggest how things can be improved	30
1.34	Making sure rules are followed	30
1.25	Admitting your own weaknesses and seeking the assistance of others in these areas	30
1.22	Making plans for a long period ahead	30
1.6	Thinking about the sort of thing the organisation should be doing in the future	29
2.30	Ensuring that your subordinates have an opportunity to exercise discretion, initiative and responsibility	29
2.36	Getting together groups of people in which one man's strengths compensate for others' weak points	29
1.45	Making sure that everybody has a chance to state their opinions	29
1.17	Doing your work in your own way	29
1.44	Explaining the reasons for your decisions to subordinates	29
1.41	Finding out the problems and dissatisfactions of those who work under you	28
2.7	Getting workmates/colleagues to work with you at tasks which you all think important but are no-one's particular responsibility	28
1.18	Studying the effects of changes which have been introduced	28
1.8	Trying out new ways of doing things to see if they work	27
1.24	Getting other people to share their ideas with you	26

1.28	Studying your customers' or clients' reactions to your behaviour, goods or services	26
1.35	Issuing orders and instructions	25
2.14	Making sure subordinates do things the way you want them done	25
2.38	Recognising that, since you are not doing their jobs, your subordinates are in a better position to know what is the best way of doing things than you	24
2.21	Ensuring that your subordinates have scope to try out any new ideas or suggestions they might have	24
1.48	Helping other people to correct their weak points	24
1.21	Taking responsibility for organising an office or department	24
2.13	Running your office/department exactly the way you want it, without having to bow to the wishes of others	23
1.4	Working out what needs to be done and suggesting it to someone else	23
2.11	Persuading people to explore the possible merits of suggestions, instead of seeking to discredit them	22
2.2	Introducing new products, services or technical innovations	21
2.29	Ensuring that your subordinates participate in making important decisions in the organisation and play a significant role in running it	20
1.12	Trying to find better ways of thinking about things	19
1.37	Trying to win the best deal for a group of people	19
1.32	Persuading people to accept your point of view	18
1.23	Sitting on committees which are making important decisions	18
2.26	Ensuring that your subordinates can do the things they really want to do and enjoy doing	18
2.4	Taking responsibility for the continued livelihood and well-being of a lot of people	18
2.20	Ensuring that your subordinates are able to do their work in the way they think best	18
1.47	Taking other people's ideas and suggestions and putting them into practice	15
1.42	Advising colleagues/subordinates who are unpopular so they will have fewer difficulties at work	14
2.1	Deciding what should be done on the basis of your hunches or impressions (rather than facts) and being responsible for the results	13
1.11	Putting forward new arguments or making controversial suggestions	13
1.13	Finding ways of doing something which no one has done before	12
2.37	Encouraging subordinates and juniors to take responsibility for important decisions which would often be taken by people higher up in the organisation	11
1.46	Working out the unexpressed thoughts and feelings that lie behind what people say	9
1.15	Working for long periods at boring tasks in order to achieve a worthwhile outcome	9
1.52	Finding out what other people are bad at, so that they do not get asked to do these things	9
2.12	Making all important decisions yourself	9

- 2.34 Encouraging newcomers to create their own jobs,
thereby becoming involved in them instead of defining
the jobs precisely for them

3

Base (= 100%) variable, around 45

climate, systems, and extra-organisational barriers to high standards. Few seem to acknowledge that *whether* an individual's work is up to standard can often only be decided after having examined what he was asked to do and the context in which he was working. Few seem to acknowledge that persuading others to turn in their best performance often means ensuring that they can participate actively in the running of the organisation by being fully informed about what is going on and ensuring that they have an opportunity to take personal responsibility for deciding what they will do. Few seem to recognise that to delegate responsibility one has to ensure that those concerned are sufficiently well informed to make good decisions, and expect them to make as many mistakes as they would make themselves. Few seem to feel that ensuring that differences of opinion come out into the open means that it would be necessary to put in a great deal of effort to make unexpressed thoughts, and widespread assumptions which operate to the detriment of the organisation, explicit. Few seem to recognise that the growth of most organisations is dependent on creating a developmental environment *within* them, on isolating and thinking about *systems* problems which prevent the organisation operating effectively and doing something about them, on gaining control over outside factors which had previously been beyond their control, locating resources on which the organisation could capitalise, and capitalising on a developing situation by taking risks and ensuring that at least some of them are turned to advantage.

Still less do the data bode well for the future levels of innovation and development in Scotland. Few said it was important to them to do things which would be likely to lead to innovation: to work for long spells at boring tasks in order to accomplish something really worthwhile; to find ways of doing something which no-one had done before; to put forward new ideas and make controversial suggestions; to build on hunches and ensure that something worthwhile came of them; to take over other people's suggestions and translate them into practice; to find better ways of thinking about things; to persuade others to accept their point of view; to introduce new products and new services; to work out what needs to be done and to suggest it to others; to persuade others to explore the merits of suggestions or ensure that subordinates are able to do their work in the way they think best.

It is of the greatest possible importance to emphasise the probable effects of these priorities for the future of British society. They emphasise the point which was made earlier, namely that it is urgent for us to re-think our conceptions of leadership and management. But it is also important to note that there was considerable variation in the importance attached to doing nearly all of the things we asked people about. Thus, employers may need to take care to find the relatively few people who wish to innovate and turn risk to advantage and then move these people into positions from which they can engage in these activities. It is hoped that use of these questionnaires will help them to do this.

CHAPTER 19

ANTICIPATED CONSEQUENCES OF TRYING TO TACKLE A PROBLEM

It will be recalled that one of our objectives in this enquiry was to develop means of assessing the cognitive-affective maps which people have of the consequences of trying to tackle a "problem" which they have identified as being of some importance to them.

In this context the *Quality of Working Life Questionnaires*, and the *Important Activities Questionnaires* are important for two reasons which go beyond the functions already noted.

Firstly, in the work to be reported here, they enabled us to pin-point "problems" which each individual rated as both personally important and less than satisfactory. Having pin-pointed such a problem, we were then able to ask our informants to say what they expected the consequences would be if they were to try to do something about it. This enabled us to assess their feelings of subjective confidence to tackle the problem, the perceived rewards to be gained from attempting to tackle it, and the environmental constraints and value-conflicts which would deter them from trying to tackle it.

The second set of uses to which we planned to put these data has yet to be operationalised. What we plan to do is to develop computerised means of weighting each individual's ratings of the probability of a particular consequence following from his attempt to tackle the problem he has identified by the importance he attaches to that consequence. By summing these weighted consequences across all significant consequences it will be possible to assess the strength of any individual's motivation to tackle any problem one cares to ask him about.

In the work we have done to date we first asked our informants to indicate how likely it was that a number of general consequences would follow from their attempt to tackle the problem they had identified. Secondly, we asked them to indicate what they thought their supervisors' reactions would be. Thirdly, we asked them to say what they expected their personal reactions to be: would they enjoy it? Would it be doing something they felt they should do? Finally, we asked them to rate what competencies they thought they would have an opportunity to exercise when tackling the problem and to estimate their subjective ability to do the things which they felt it would be necessary to do.

General Consequences Expected on Seeking to Tackle a Personally Important "Problem"

As can be seen from Table 13, our informants' subjective abilities and perceived role expectations did not on the whole seem to militate against their trying to solve the problems they had identified. Only about a quarter felt that it would be inappropriate for them to try to do something about the problem they had identified, that they would be unable to persuade others, that they would have to be underhand and devious, or that they lacked confidence in their ability to tackle the problem.

However, rather more than half did feel that, if they were to be successful, they'd have to be more determined and out-spoken than they would like to be. One-third said that it would be a task for someone higher up in the organisation. A third felt that they would be unable to persuade other people to support them and to agree about what needed to be done.

TABLE 13
CONSEQUENCES OF TRYING TO TACKLE A PROBLEM
GENERAL

		Agreeing %
If I was to try to do something about this problem:*		
1.2	I'd feel I could be persuasive enough to do this	67
2.9	I would feel confident about tackling this	62
3.12	I would feel that someone in my position should do this	62
4.6	I'd feel that I can be aggressive enough to do this	59
5.4	I'd have to be more determined than I am to do this	58
6.11	I would be able to find all the information I would need	56
7.5	I would need to be more outspoken than I am to do this	49
8.7	I would feel that this is a job for someone higher up in the organisation than myself	37
9.13	I would be unable to persuade other people to support me	36
10.15	I would feel confident about getting everyone to agree about what should be done	35
11.3	I would have to be more underhand and/or manipulative than I would like to be to do this	29
12.1	I'd feel I was not the right sort of person to do this	20
13.10	I'd lack the abilities needed to do this	14
14.8	I would have no idea where to begin	12
15.14	I'd get too upset and frustrated when things went wrong to make it worthwhile	12

Base (= 100%) variable, around 120

*identified by a large discrepancy between importance and satisfaction ratings.

Thus, while some people — who could be identified by using the Questionnaires — would seem to need developmental experiences which would enhance their feelings of confidence and positive perceptions of their role, this is not a widespread problem.

However, it does seem that there may be a need for wider discussion of the role of the citizen at work and in society. This is suggested by the reluctance of our informants to speak out about sources of dissatisfaction, the suspicion that they have that doing something about a problem they had noticed would not really be up to someone like them, but up to someone else, and a feeling that it may be difficult to get others to support them in trying to get something done about it and agree about what needed to be done.

This British reluctance to complain and take on themselves, as individuals, or as part of a group, responsibility for getting something done about a problem which they have noticed (also documented and set in the context of international figures in Raven, Whelan *et al.*, 1976) may be associated with the fact that Adam Smith came from Britain. On the whole, British people have given expression to their feelings either by changing their jobs or by choosing alternative products or political parties. In this way they have avoided the need to make the reasons for their feelings explicit and have been able to persist in believing that it is somehow not quite nice to complain about things which are wrong. One simply goes elsewhere for one's goods or services or votes for another political party. Complaining to officials is often fruitless. Taking one's business elsewhere is effective!

Now, given that the marketplace has, for the best of reasons, largely been neutralised (the control of the spending of some 75% of GNP now rests with the government) and given that we nearly all now work, directly or indirectly, for large organisations in the State apparatus, these beliefs and expectations will now no longer serve us well. Our state services will serve us badly unless we complain, try and get something done about them, and expect and demand that our officials do something about our complaints. Our organisations will serve our society badly unless those who know something about the organisations complain about the things that are wrong and try to rectify the defects. We will not be able to develop and utilise our talents unless we cease to believe that we will be able to move between employers until we find a niche which suits us and, instead, persuade our society to implement a man-power policy which explicitly strives to recognise, place and develop our own particular talents.

The beliefs and expectations we have documented here are, therefore, central to the very rationale for developing the Questionnaires we have been striving to produce, and they make a case for developing questionnaires which will make it possible to assess the societal need for goods and services provided by organisations and the efficiency with which those goods and services are, in reality, being provided. A pre-condition to the implementation of the results of those enquiries would be a national man-power policy which would assure us all that our talents would be recognised, developed and utilised for our own benefit and for the benefit of the society in which we live.

In the light of these findings it cannot be emphasised too strongly that it is incumbent on British citizens to be more vocal in their expression of their feelings, that it is incumbent on administrators to take those expressions and feelings more seriously, and that we need procedures with which to hold our administrators

GROUP 2

TABLE 14
CONSEQUENCES OF TRYING TO TACKLE A PROBLEM
REACTIONS OF SUPERIORS

If I was to try to do something about this problem:*		Agreeing %
1.17	My boss/superior would be helpful	55
2.20	I would get credit if I was successful	48
3.23	I would have good opportunities to do this	47
4.24	Bosses/superiors would think I was an asset to the organisation	44
5.22	Bosses/superiors would think I was invading their territory	41
6.21	Those responsible would be unwilling to listen to me	39
7.19	My bosses/superiors would think it was important for me to do this	38
8.26	I would not be encouraged to do this, as change is not welcome in the firm/organisation	37
9.25	Management would obstruct me and make things more difficult	35
10.18	Shortage of time, money or manpower would make it impossible to do this	28
11.16	I would have to find a job with another firm to do this	23

Base (= 100%) variable, around 110

*identified by a large discrepancy between importance and satisfaction ratings.

personally accountable for acting on suggestions. We can no longer so easily express personal choice in selecting a job, an urban environment, or a welfare system. To make the system which we have work, we must all behave differently. And these data suggest that too many of us are prepared to accept poor provision from the socialised sectors of the economy in a spirit of frustrated resignation rather than articulate our needs clearly and loudly.

Reactions of Superiors

To a degree which surprises the author, those who completed the questionnaires felt that their superiors would support them in trying to tackle the problem they had identified (Table 14). Only about a third said that their boss would not be helpful, that he would be unwilling to listen, obstruct them, discourage them, or not think them an asset to the organisation.

One-third may, of course, be considered to be too high a proportion for comfort, particularly as it may be made up of those who have tried to improve things and encountered previously unexpected obstacles. (The anticipation of obstacles counts as a *positive* contributor to motivation in McClelland's scoring system, perhaps because it is evidence of realistic expectations, probably derived from experience).

In addition, only about one-third thought that their bosses would actually think it was *important* for them to try to tackle the problem or that they would actually be encouraged to do something about it.

GROUP 3

TABLE 15
CONSEQUENCES OF TRYING TO TACKLE A PROBLEM
PERSONAL REACTIONS

If I was to try to do something about this problem*:		Agreeing %
1.35	I would feel a sense of achievement after doing this	88
2.31	I would feel I was doing something worthwhile	87
3.38	I would have to overcome a lot of difficulties	78
4.29	This would give me personal satisfaction	75
5.33	I would enjoy doing this	75
6.28	I would end up with more work to do	61
7.39	I would be thought of as someone who was interested in the organisation	58
8.37	I would feel I was doing something for my own benefit	51
9.27	My promotion prospects would improve	41
10.34	I would worry about this	39
11.36	I would be labelled as a troublemaker	30
12.40	I would become unpopular	26
13.30	It would stop me from getting on with my usual work	24
14.32	I would risk dismissal	16

Base (= 100%) variable, around 110

*identified by a large discrepancy between importance and satisfaction ratings.

Personal Reactions

There were a number of strong personal motivations to tackle the "problem" which had been identified: those concerned felt that they would get a sense of achievement from trying to tackle it, they'd feel that they were doing something worthwhile, they would get satisfaction from doing it, and they'd enjoy doing it (Table 15).

The main disincentive to doing something about it which was anticipated was that they'd end up with more work to do.

Only about a third mentioned possibly more important reasons for not tackling the problem: risking dismissal, extra worries, being labelled as a troublemaker, and being unpopular.

Three-quarters, however, said they'd have to overcome a lot of difficulties.

Benefits and Disbenefits to Others

We may look next at the perceived benefits to others of trying to tackle the problem (Table 16).

The most frequently anticipated benefit was increased efficiency in the organisation. This was followed by improved opportunities for others to make the best use of their abilities, improved quality of decisions and reduced levels of dissatisfaction in the organisation.

However, doing something about the problem would make for conflicts and arguments, and one-third said that it would have disadvantages for workmates and make extra work for them.

Colleagues' Reactions

Colleagues, like superiors, were expected to provide support: half said that their colleagues would respect them for doing it, two-thirds said that they would co-operate and half said that they would be pleased that someone was doing it (Table 17).

TABLE 16

GROUP 4

CONSEQUENCES OF TRYING TO TACKLE A PROBLEM BENEFITS/DISBENEFITS TO OTHERS

If I was to try to do something about this problem*:		Agreeing %
1.43	This would increase efficiency in the organisation	81
2.47	This would help other people to make best use of their abilities	70
3.49	This would lead to improved quality of decisions	65
4.45	This would help to reduce dissatisfaction in the organisation	64
5.46	This would cause conflicts/arguments in the organisation	64
6.42	This would benefit society	35
7.41	This would have disadvantages for workmates/colleagues	31
8.44	This would stir up discontent in the organisation	30
9.48	This would make extra work for others	30

Base (= 100%) variable, around 100

*identified by a large discrepancy between importance and satisfaction ratings.

However, in other respects, they were not so supportive. Half said that others would blame them if things went wrong, half said that others would be indifferent even though it was in their own interests, half said that their colleagues would think them interfering, one-third said that others would see it as a threat to their jobs, or think they were doing it for some hidden motive and obstruct them.

GROUP 5

TABLE 17
CONSEQUENCES OF TRYING TO TACKLE A PROBLEM
COLLEAGUES' REACTIONS

		Agreeing %
If I was trying to do something about this problem*		
1.51	Others (e.g. bosses, workmates) would support me	72
2.56	Others would co-operate	67
3.59	Colleagues/workmates would be pleased that someone was doing this, as they would not be prepared to do it	58
4.50	Others (e.g. bosses, workmates) would blame me if things went wrong	51
5.54	Others would respect me for doing this	49
6.55	Others would be indifferent, even if I was doing it for their benefit	49
7.57	Others would think I was interfering	47
8.58	Others would see this as a threat to their jobs	37
9.53	Others would think I was doing it for some hidden motive	35
10.60	Colleagues/workmates would obstruct me	28
11.52	Others (e.g. bosses, workmates) would think I could not do my job properly	15

Base (= 100%) variable, around 100

*identified by a large discrepancy between importance and satisfaction ratings.

Competencies One would have an Opportunity to Exercise

Before we discuss the results of enquiring whether, in striving to tackle the "problem" our informants had identified, they would have an opportunity to exercise competencies they cared about, it may be desirable to remind the reader that it would be possible to compute an index of the strength of each individual's motivation to do something about the problem by weighting the consequences he anticipated by the importance he attached to having or avoiding each of these consequences. The latter information was, of course, obtained in response to the other sections of the Questionnaire. Computerised means of performing this weighting operation are currently being developed.

A few remarks may be made on the results which would be obtained by mounting such a weighting exercise. Nearly all the competencies we asked about were felt by more than half of our informants to be called for if they were to tackle the problem they had identified (Column 1 in Table 18). Thus the strength of their motivation to tackle the problem will be primarily determined by the *importance* they attach to exercising these competencies, and their subjective *ability* to behave in these ways, rather than by their perceptions of whether tackling the problem would provide them

with an opportunity to behave in ways they believed to be important. As we have seen, there are very wide variations between items in the proportion of our informants who said that they *wanted* to do these things or to exercise these competencies. It is appropriate, therefore, to emphasise that very few people said that they *wanted* to do many of the things which they thought that seeking to tackle their problems would give them an opportunity to do. Furthermore, to introduce conclusions which will be drawn from data which have yet to be presented, most felt that they would be able to exercise most of these competencies either "well" or "very well". The main determinant of an individual's willingness to tackle a problem which he has identified therefore emerges as neither the opportunity it appears to provide to enable him to behave in ways in which he wants to behave, nor as subjective ability, but as the importance he attaches to engaging in the behaviours which he thinks are necessary. Put another way, values are the most important determinants of behaviour.

Subjective Abilities

It has been argued (e.g. by Holland, 1959) that subjective ability carries more weight as a determinant of behaviour than does interest in the task. At one stage in the development of the research, we asked people to rate their subjective ability to perform all the competencies we asked them about. What we found was that most people were reluctant to say that they were *unable* to do anything. (And, in passing, we may note that these results suggest that it may be difficult to get people to discuss their strengths and weaknesses in staff appraisal interviews.) Because of this, we finally asked our informants only to rate their subjective abilities in relation to competencies which they thought might actually be involved in seeking to tackle one of their problems.

Although there was a great deal more variation between our informants when rating their subjective abilities than when assessing the competencies which they would have an opportunity to exercise if they sought to tackle one of their problems, more than half said they could perform more than half of the activities we asked them about either "well" or "very well" (Table 19).

The activity they most frequently said they could do "well" was "use my judgement and initiative in areas in which it is good". Although this is, to a degree, tautological, it nevertheless suggests that most people feel they are good at doing this in relation to at least some of the types of activities they might undertake. The same applies to the next items: 'learn new things'; 'help my workmates to overcome difficulties'; 'plan ahead'; 'lead others'; 'plan and present my case to others'; and 'persist for a long period of time to accomplish something worthwhile'.

In line with the general theoretical framework which has guided our research it may be that if many employees seem to lack these abilities this may be because they do not value the tasks they are asked to carry out rather than because they lack the competencies which are needed.

At the other end of the scale, most of the competencies which more than half said they were not able to perform at least "well" in relation to solving a problem they cared about gave us cause for concern. A few may be singled out for comment.

Approximately two-thirds said they were not good at encouraging others to monitor their own performance and take corrective action when necessary, that they were not good at widening their colleagues' sights and encouraging them to take wider responsibilities, that they were not good at inventing new ways of thinking about things, that they were not good at studying other people's reactions to their efforts, and that they were not good at building up a unique store of specialist

TABLE 18
 CONSEQUENCES OF TRYING TO TACKLE A PROBLEM
 COMPETENCIES WHICH ONE WOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY
 TO EXERCISE

		Would Have Oppor- tunity %	Item No.	Very Import- ant %	Posn. in Import- ance List	Feel able to do this either "Very Well" or "Well" %
1.8	Think out ways in which things could be improved	92	1.7	45	18	62
2.23	Help my workmates overcome difficulties	88				70
3.30	Learn more about the situa- tion being dealt with from studying the effects of my actions	88				50
4.11	Plan and present my case to other people	87	10 Q of L	31	36	66
5.3	Learn new things	87	2.17	56	—	72
6.25	Sense what other people are thinking and feeling	85	46	9	77	42
7.26	Use my judgment and intuition in areas in which it is good	85				73
8.17	Branch out into areas which are new to me	85				55
9.24	Motivate other people	84	33	69	2	53
10.35	Attend to detail	83	30	53	7	56
11.4	Plan ahead	81	22	30	42	68
12.10	Find out whether my ideas which I have developed work out in practice	81				57
13.20	Put other people at their ease	81				53
14.38	Ensure that things are well organised and well run	80	2.15	60	4	65
15.29	Take the steps needed to ensure that I was successful	80				45
16.9	Anticipate and solve previ- ously unforeseen problems	79				40
17.27	Persist for a long enough period of time at a particular task to accomplish some- thing very worthwhile	79	15	9	78	66
18.41	Make sure others are suffic- iently well informed to par- ticipate in making decisions	79	2.32	43	18a	58

		Would Have Opportunity %	Item No.	Very Important %	Posn. in Importance List	Feel able to do this either "Very Well" or "Well" %
19.19	Get other people to work together well	78	2.5	51	9	54
20.5	Find the techniques and resources needed to accomplish the task	76				58
21.39	Ensure that the contributions of others are recognised and appreciated	75	2.18 Q of L	63	3a	63
22.15	Be inventive and creative	75	16	7	—	46
23.2	Persuade other people to support me	73	32	18	69	48
24.31	Turn in an outstanding performance	73	Q of L 2.13	46	—	48
25.34	Study other people's reactions to my efforts	72	28	26	53	38
26.44	Ensure that groups of which I am a member do not get side tracked on to irrelevant issues and personal bickering	72	2.39	47	14	51
27.40	Encourage others to monitor their performance and take corrective action where necessary	70	2.25	36	25	35
28.37	Encourage others to be forward looking and developmental	69	2.28	37	26a	40
29.1	Lead others	68				67
30.22	Help the clients of the organisation or the service	68	Q of L 2.9	35	—	57
31.18	Be able to make things happen myself instead of trying to persuade others to make them happen	68				52
32.43	Study and do something about the problems which stop people working well and effectively	68	26	33	29	50
33.28	Find out about developments in other organisations	67				37
34.13	Do new things which have not been done before	63	13	12	75	41
35.12	Invent new ways of thinking about things	62	12	19	71	35

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		Would Have Opport- unity %	Item No.	Very Import- ant %	Posn. in Import- ance List	Feel able to do this either "Very Well" or "Well" %
36.36	Build up a unique store of specialist information	61				39
37.32	Widen my colleagues' sights and get them to accept wider responsibilities	60				35
38.21	Create productive controversy	60	2.9	38	27a	44
39.42	Create situations in which people can grow and develop	60				46
40.7	Challenge the views of experts in the area	57				35
41.16	Get the better of others	43				28
42.6	Gain control over other people	41				28
43.33	Be my own boss with no one telling me what to do	40				45
44.14	Mull over fleeting feelings on the fringe of consciousness and make the basis for them fully explicit	40				28

Base (= 100%) variable, around 70

information. More than half said that they were not good at doing things which had not been done before, sensing what other people were thinking or feeling, taking the steps needed to ensure that they were successful, being inventive and creative, persuading others to support them, and learning more about the situation they were dealing with from studying the effects of their actions. As the work of Klemp, Munger and Spencer (1977) has demonstrated, many of these competencies are crucial to effective problem-solving and leadership behaviour. Yet many people's perceptions of their abilities in these areas in relation to a task which they had selected as personally important do not seem to be high.

In reviewing this material it became apparent that there was the same failure to connect activities which they felt able to engage in at a *general* level with the components of the behaviour which would seem to be crucial to effective performance which we met when we reviewed the material on *interest* in engaging in managerial and leadership behaviour. Thus, many people appear to be saying that they are able to plan and lead, but that they lack the ability to sense what others are thinking and feeling, do new things which have not been done before, encourage others to be forward-looking and developmental, anticipate and solve previously unforeseen problems, study other people's reactions to their efforts, find out about developments in other organisations, widen their colleagues' sights and get them to accept wider responsibilities, encourage others to monitor their performance and take corrective action when necessary, mull over fleeting feelings on the fringe of consciousness and make the basis for them fully explicit, or gain control over others. How effective could they possibly be as leaders and managers if they are not able to do these things?

Nor was that all. Where we have the information, there did not always seem to be a great deal of *interest* in doing these things anyway: for at least the following there is not only much less than universal confidence in *ability* to do them; there is also personal disinterest:

Inventing new ways of thinking about things.

Being inventive and creative.

Doing things which have not been done before.

Sensing what others are thinking and feeling.

Persuading others to support one.

Studying others' reactions to one's efforts.

Encouraging others to monitor their performance and take corrective action when necessary.

Encouraging others to be forward looking and developmental.

Building up a unique store of specialist information.

That substantial numbers of people not only do not feel very competent in these areas, but also lack interest in exercising these competencies in relation to problems which they have personally selected represents a bleak picture for British society. It is to be hoped that the results are not confirmed in wider studies. But it is particularly hoped that the instruments we have developed will make it easier to identify such individuals who either occupy, or are about to move into, influential positions — which includes most people in this society — and draw up and develop programmes of staff development and placement to suit them.

GROUP 6

TABLE 19

CONSEQUENCES OF TRYING TO TACKLE A PROBLEM COMPETENCIES ENGAGED: ABILITY

		Feel able to do this either 'well' or 'very well' %
1.26	Use my judgment and intuition in areas in which it is good	73
2.3	Learn new things	72
3.23	Help my workmates overcome difficulties	70
4.4	Plan ahead	68
5.1	Lead others	67
6.11	Plan and present my case to other people	66
7.27	Persist for a long enough period of time at a particular task to accomplish something very worthwhile	66
8.38	Ensure that things are well organised and well run	65
9.39	Ensure that the contributions of others are recognised and appreciated	63
10.8	Think out ways in which things could be improved	62
11.5	Find the techniques and resources needed to accomplish the task	58
12.41	Make sure others are sufficiently well informed to participate in making decisions	58
13.22	Help the clients of the organisation or the service	57

		Feel able to do this either 'well' or 'very well' %
14.10	Find out whether my ideas which I have developed work out in practice	57
15.35	Attend to detail	56
16.17	Branch out into areas which are new to me	55
17.24	Motivate other people	53
18.18	Be able to make things happen myself instead of trying to persuade others to make them happen	52
19.44	Ensure that groups of which I am a member do not get side-tracked on to irrelevant issues and personal bickering	51
20.43	Study and do something about the problems which stop people working well and effectively	50
21.30	Learn more about the situation being dealt with from studying the effects of my actions	50
22.31	Turn in an outstanding performance	48
23.2	Persuade other people to support me	48
24.42	Create situations in which people can grow and develop	46
25.15	Be inventive and creative	46
26.29	Take the steps needed to ensure that I was successful	45
27.33	Be my own boss with no one telling me what to do	45
28.21	Create productive controversy	44
29.25	Sense what other people are thinking and feeling	42
30.13	Do new things which have not been done before	41
31.37	Encourage others to be forward looking and developmental	40
32.9	Anticipate and solve previously unforeseen problems	40
33.36	Build up a unique store of specialist information	39
34.34	Study other people's reactions to my efforts	38
35.28	Find out about developments in other organisations	37
36.7	Challenge the views of experts in the area	35
37.12	Invent new ways of thinking about things	35
38.32	Widen my colleagues' sights and get them to accept wider responsibilities	35
39.40	Encourage others to monitor their performance and take corrective action where necessary	35
40.14	Mull over fleeting feelings on the fringe of consciousness and make the basis for them fully explicit	28
41.16	Get the better of others	28
42.6	Gain control over other people	28

Base (= 100%) variable, around 70

CONCLUDING COMMENT

The data we have presented are revealing not least for what they tell us about the way in which *leadership*, *management* and *responsibility* were *conceptualised* by our informants. Our informants said they were *able* to lead, manage, take responsibility and supervise, but simultaneously said that they were not able to do a lot of the things which, as we have shown earlier, are crucial to effective leadership. Not only did they not feel able to do many of these things, they were personally not interested in, or motivated to perform, many of these tasks anyway (the competencies crucially important to effective management and leadership which they were not particularly *interested* in exercising go well beyond those included in the list given immediately above — which consists of those which they felt they were *neither* particularly interested in *nor* able to do particularly well).

What is, perhaps, most surprising is that these beliefs and expectations exist in a context in which there is apparently no perceived lack of *opportunity* to do any of these things. Thus it is not true that simply providing people with an opportunity to exercise high-level competencies will lead them to do so. The way they go about these things may not be particularly effective — but, although aware that they *are* not as effective as they would like to be, they may still not discover why it is that they have not been more successful. This may arise from their failure to monitor their performance to learn more about the nature of the situation with which they were trying to deal and the type of action which would enable them to deal with it more effectively. But that may not be all — for they may well realise that they would *need* to behave differently in order to be effective, but these activities may be at variance with their self-image and their beliefs about the types of activity which they personally would find satisfying.

The results we have obtained and reported, not only in the immediately preceding section but also earlier in the survey report, are, therefore, of the greatest possible significance. On the one hand, they seem to throw considerable light on the causes of the plight in which Britain currently finds itself. Not only do they illustrate a great need to re-think conceptions of management and leadership, the role of “participation” in developing more appropriate understandings of oneself, the organisation in which one works, and the wider society in which one lives and one’s organisation strives to function, they also illustrate the need to re-think the very role of the employee and the citizen in the socialised society in which we now find ourselves living and the need to provide much more encouragement to innovative activity and active participation in the management of organisations and society.

On the other hand, they illustrate that it is unlikely that simply providing opportunities for participation in running organisations and reducing the tendency to usurp responsibility for taking decisions from those who have most direct contact with them — although of the greatest possible importance — will, on their own, lead to the leap in understanding, ability and motivation which is needed. That leap is most likely to come about most quickly through the provision of carefully developed experiential educational programmes designed to help people to gain insight into a variety of different value systems, motivational dispositions, and patterns of behaviour, to clarify their value conflicts, to practise and perfect alternative styles of personal valuing and behaving, and to create more supportive and personally developmental organisational climates.

Such educational exercises are described in Raven (1977), but they could be carried on most effectively at the level of the individual organisation on the basis of organisational self-surveys conducted using the questionnaires which have been developed in the course of the research reported here.

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This book is about the components of competence, the understandings, and the procedures which are required to run our administered world effectively. It is, in particular, about ways in which important motivational dispositions are to be fostered, assessed, and utilised in homes, educational institutions, and workplaces.

Dr. Raven argues that, if the members of our society are to function effectively, as individuals or as members of the organisations of which our society is composed, they need new understandings of the role of management and the role of the employee. They need new understandings of the role of government, bureaucracy, and the citizen. They need qualities sadly neglected by educators in the past — managerial ability, initiative, innovativeness, discretion, and the ability to work effectively with others.

A set of psychological measurement principles appropriate to assessing such qualities, best termed components of competence, are described. These contrast sharply with the most widely accepted canons of psychological measurement. It is, for example, argued that it is essential to assess values prior to any attempt to measure ability.

Evidence is presented to suggest that the human resources which our society most badly needs are best fostered through processes which have been studied by relatively few psychologists and implemented by few educators other than parents. In the requisite developmental

environments people practise and develop important components of competence in pursuit of their *own* interests and goals. Such developmental environments are most often found in homes and workplaces rather than schools. Nevertheless the activities observed in a number of classrooms where such qualities were fostered are described.

Finally, the survey data presented in the book, despite their limitations, are deeply disturbing. They suggest that the cause of the "British Disease" is deep-seated indeed. Not only do many members of the population hold dysfunctional beliefs about management and participation, the results reveal a profound lack of interest in doing the things which effective managers need to do, lack of interest in innovation and efficiency, and little concern to support innovators. If these results are confirmed in more broadly-based surveys, they point to a future which is bleak indeed.

The book will be of interest to managers, teachers and psychometricians . . . and all those concerned with the education and training of such professionals. It will be of particular interest to all concerned with staff development, organisational development, and public accountability. Because of what it has to say about the causes of "The British Disease", it will be of interest to politicians, administrators, and social commentators of all kinds. It will, above all, be of interest to anyone who is concerned about future economic and social development.