Creating a community of inquiry:
Conflict, collaboration, transformation

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Editorial Foreword to the Series

Over the last decade, there has been an enormous growth of interest in the social and psychological aspects of institutional and organizational life. This has been reflected in a substantial upsurge in research and training in the field of organizational behaviour particularly in Institutes of Higher Education and Research throughout the Western World. Attention in this development has focused on the interrelationship between the individual, the variety of groups to which he belongs and the organizational environment within which he and his group operate.

The purpose of this series is to examine the social and psychological processes of these interrelationships, that is the nexus of individual/personal development, group processes and organizational behaviour and change. Within this context, a wide range of topics will be covered. These will include: the individual, his role and the organization; multiple roles and role conflict; the impact of group processes on personal and organizational development; strategies for 'humanizing' the organizational environment to meet individual and group needs; and the influence of technical and economic factors on organizational life.

The series will attempt to draw together the main schools of organizational behaviour including, for example, the American behavioural science tradition as reflected by Harvard, UCLA and National Training Laboratories, and the British socio-technical and open systems approaches of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. It is hoped that this will add significantly to understanding the distinctive characteristics of the various approaches and also provide a link between them through which individual, group and organizational behaviour can be seen in fuller perspective.

CARY COOPER
ERIC MILLER

Acknowledgments

Introduction

This book is about a school in struggle—a school trying to learn, a school trying to transform itself into a real community of inquiry, a school trying to change in pace with its members' changing understanding of its mission and of their own needs. The author of this book was no neutral observer, but rather the person who took the primary leadership role at the school. I too was in struggle, as many persons have been during the past decade, trying to determine how to lead well and where to lead, rather than assuming I knew all the answers to begin with.

In order to learn from this experience, we must recall the social context in which the school nested—the social context of the late Sixties. And we must also clarify how I can recount my experience in a way, both sufficiently objective and sufficiently subjective, that the reader can really learn something from it. This introduction addresses these two issues.

The social context

In the middle and late Sixties a great wave of fervour for 'liberation' developed in the United States, then curled and broke against the established institutions.

This fervour generated vague but alluring visions of heightened personal independence within warmer, more participative, more responsive communities and a more just social structure. We all know bits and pieces of the details: whether we think of college graduates attracted to the early idealism, uncertainty and excitement of the Peace Corps rather than making an immediate career commitment; or the community organizing of SCLC, SNCC, CORE and the Black Panthers which widened into the Black Power Movement; or SDS; the Free Speech Movement; Vietnam Summer; draft resistance; the Merry Pranksters, Hippies, Yippies and Diggers; Esalen and its offshoots; the new music and its groups; the new communes; mobilizing community participation in various OEO projects; university reform movements; Woodstock; the Chicago Conspiracy; women's liberation; gay liberation; transcendental meditation; People's Park. . . .

In the early Seventies this wave of fervour has receded again, leaving for many a taste of empty and futile bitterness in its wake. Sexual liberation too

rarely resulted in true love; psychedelic liberation too rarely resulted in God-consciousness; political liberation too often resulted in Nixon.

The optimism of the middle Sixties has soured and, indeed, appears shallow by contrast to the deep, silent pessimism that has replaced it. Somehow we dangerously miscalculated; we miscalculated the distance to full independence and community, not envisioning the scale of learning required of each of us who would liberate himself; and we miscalculated the antagonism we would arouse in 'them'—in those who chose to judge rather than to join the experiments.

All traditional sense of community is disintegrating today, and most self-conscious efforts towards more just arrangements founder too, because members don't envision the scale of the commitment involved or don't yet possess the skills and awareness to learn from their difficulties together.

This afternoon, for example, I talked with a young inner city teacher from a white working-class background who bemoaned the sense of boredom and despair which he encounters around his neighbourhood, both among his childhood friends now laid off from work and among his present students.

Then I spoke with a courageous but exhausted woman who, having found through interviews that persons in her suburb felt isolated and alienated, tried to organize some groups in which these people could clarify and improve their experience, only to find very little response.

Then I heard a black consultant speak about how the new communities now being built outside major cities do not pay sufficient attention to developing racial and economic balance, thus becoming nothing more than subsidized suburbs, reinforcing rather than altering the divisions in our society.

These are merely random examples of the disintegration of traditional communities and the failure of new experiments in community. We know almost nothing about the dynamics of organizing self-conscious, intentional communities (though Kanter's recent *Commitment and Community* is helpful in this regard). Yet, given today's transcience and today's communications, there is no way of recreating traditional communities based on unquestioned custom. Therefore, we must choose between chaos, repression or a new kind of community in which personal inquiry, growth and liberation are reconciled with common celebration, ritual and commitment.

If we *know* little in a theoretical sense about the dynamics of such communities, we *practise* what little we know even less. This is so because very few of us are motivated, or able, to look at our own behaviour closely and objectively enough to tell whether we are actually doing what we say we would like to do in theory. We may be able to see the contradiction between another's theories and practices—as when one person insists that everybody participate equally in decisions—but we are more likely to avoid seeing such contradictions in ourselves.

In this book I try to look closely at my own and others' behaviour as we attempted to build a microcosm of a community during two summer sessions of a residential school in the 1960's. I do so in the hope that others might

learn with me from its successes and failures about the scale and the difficulty and the dignity of building communities of inquiry.

I will tell the story about my two years (1966–1968) as director of an Upward Bound programme, funded under the Office of Economic Opportunity with the goal of helping poverty high-school students gain admission to college. Although this programme was not representative of Upward Bound as a whole in many of its particulars, it may have been more representative in overall spirit and impact. Consequently, the reader may be interested to read the book in the light of Jencks' finding in his massive study *Inequality* that Upward Bound was the only educational process at the high-school level which differentially affected the likelihood of its participants attending college. He speculates, 'Upward Bound's apparent success may ... be an exception that proves the general rule about high school resources not affecting students' college chances. Upward Bound programs are not run by high schools ... They reject many of the schools' traditional values and practices, and they encourage students to look at themselves and the world in a different way' (p. 151). To what degree this description fits the programme I directed, the reader will be able to decide for himself as he reads on.

I came to the position of director very young and very optimistic. Indeed, at 22 I was the youngest Upward Bound director in the country. Within two years I was to experience the immense satisfaction of sharing in a collaborative community that was demonstrably generating new kinds of learning and new degrees of success for our students and staff. And I was also to experience the immense distress of conflict beyond-my-ability-at-that-time-to-resolve–the immense distress of a disintegrating community which came to be regarded by the national office, according to a national staff member who visited us, as one of the six 'most dangerous' programmes among almost 300 around the country.

Throughout this time I was trying to encourage a climate in which each of us could articulate his aims and receive feedback about his behaviour and his effects on others. As part of this effort I tape-recorded many events at the school, and we sometimes scored them or played them back for our benefit at the time. Consequently, although I have occasionally recreated dialogues with students from memory, all of the conversations from staff meetings reported in the book have been transcribed from tapes. As the book shows, my theory about what it means to organize a school collaboratively developed important new facets both during and after the programme, eventuating in a theory of historical stages of organizational development reported towards the end of the book.

Many traditional social science measuring techniques have been relegated to relatively low visibility in this study, although interview results, questionnaire analyses and behaviour-scoring schemes applied to taped conversations all appear at critical points to add perspective to the events. Instead, I have tried first and foremost to tell the story of my experience with Upward Bound as clearly and unflinchingly as possible, so that I and others can accurately identify

successes and failures. Four other members of the staff have read the story and found it authentic from their points of view.* Within this story, I have paid special attention to articulating the way my action theory evolved over time and to analysing the way my own and others' behaviour implemented or contradicted our intentions at any given time. I have emphasized these three aspects of the qualities requisite for learning from experience—the articulation of action theory, the analysis of actual behaviour related to intention and the record of inner and outer experience—because I regard them as least developed in our social science and in our public life.

The story of a school's development will have some of the flavour of the popular books that appeared in the Sixties about dedicated teachers working closely with children—books such as those by Holt, Herdon, Kohl and Kozol, not to mention the basic book of this genre, A. S. Neill's *Summerhill*. But instead of concentrating first and foremost on the students, this book focuses more on the staff's struggles to learn and to organize effectively and on the overall changes in the school over time. The question I am most concerned with is *not* how to teach or create a curriculum for particular students, but rather how to organize a whole school so that it has the opportunity to become a learning environment for everyone in it. My concern is how to create a community of inquiry.

Over a century ago, Friedrich Hegel crowned two thousand years of Western philosophy with his massive studies of the development of consciousness and freedom through human history. A generation later, however, Marx and Kierkegaard saw that the consciousness and freedom of which Hegel spoke had not yet by any means fully penetrated society as a whole or the day-to-day lives of individuals. Whereas Hegel traced the evolution of the spirit in abstract prose, Marx and Kierkegaard raised the question of how the spirit evolves in our actual social relations and subjective experiencing.

But even though Marx and Kierkegaard focused on the material and existential qualities of life, they continued to do so in abstract prose. They left unexplored how actually to create a community of consciousness and freedom.

In a community of consciousness and freedom, neither what currently exists outside us nor abstract laws of causation would be treated as ultimate truths. Rather, the continual dialectical exchange between the concrete and the abstract—between matter and spirit, between practice and theory—would claim the deepest attention of the community. A community of consciousness and freedom would be a community of inquiry—a community of self-development towards an enlivened attention, a community in constant transformation.

But now my language here is straying towards abstract prose again, when the point is that creating a community of inquiry requires a commitment of

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*One reader, a teacher during the second summer, felt that I shortchanged what happened in classes that summer, which is certainly true. I try to give a sense of the quality of classes during the first summer, but my primary focus is on the overall development of the programme and thus more on shared public events than on what was happening within individual classes.

the body as well as of the thought, and a study of the body in action as well as of the thought in reflection. At present, there is very little sense abroad about how to actually organize a community of inquiry—a community where no one manipulates others, but rather where everyone, teachers and students, governors and governed, doctors and patients, is transformed through their experience together.

My belief that I could contribute something special to the development of a community of inquiry stemmed from my affiliation—as a graduate student at that time—with the relatively new field of organization development. This field, like clinical therapy on the individual scale, is devoted to the practical task of helping organizations become more integrated, more adaptive and more effective. Organization development is not a technique for directly manipulating organizations, but rather strives to help them become more aware of their own processes and culture and thus gain more control over their own destiny.

For the most part, theory, research and practice in this field have derived, up until now, from interventions by scholar-consultants external to (but invited by) the organization in question. Consequently, the theory and research in organization development have tended to focus on the specific strategies and tactics by which group and organizational self-awareness and self-control can be enhanced. I wished to discover how to apply such strategies from a position internal to the organization with day-to-day line leadership responsibilities. I knew in a vague way from the outset that this meant discovering *when*—at what moments and at what historical periods—this concern for enhanced self-awareness could best be expressed. Nevertheless, like anyone else with his or her pet ideology or technique, I tended to view my concerns as 'of the essence' and thus to express them constantly through word and action. I found that sometimes my words resonated and my actions effectuated, but other times they did not. Only after the programme was over could I begin to discern a historical progression of stages of organization development which helped to explain the changing preoccupations of the organization as a whole and, thus, the changing resonance and effectiveness of my own actions.

Whereas the field of organization development has heretofore focused on intervention, this study focuses back and forth from leadership initiatives to the overall evolution of the organizational context. Whereas social scientific inquiry generally attempts to develop timeless verities, this study attempts to develop verities about time itself. Whereas both interventionists and scientists usually focus outside themselves on something else, this study includes the studier himself as one of the subjects of study and change.

Whereas we usually reduce phenomena when we study them to what can be focused upon, this study strives to describe phenomena 'too large' to be focused upon—an organizational 'climate' and a 'flow' of time, as experienced by a person 'within' them. The logic and methodology of controlled scientific experimentation presumes well-focused, well-defined, manipulable variables. This study represents uncontrolled scientific experimentation in which the object is to bring new variables into view. The traditional medium for gradually bringing the 'larger than life' into focus is the story.

This book commutes between the concrete and the abstract, telling the story of the conflict, collaboration and transformation encountered in one attempt to create a community of inquiry and following the story with a theory of personal and organizational self-development. The problem is that any story and any theory—indeed, anything—may distract us from inquiring into the dialectics of that most encompassing of all phenomena—our own attention.

I look forward to the time when this book is no longer necessary because we are all actively working together in our different ways in what we come to recognize as mankind's most urgent responsibility—the creation of a worldwide community of inquiry. In the meantime, we shall each suffer many reverses as we begin to explore the politics of inquiry and try in our small and insufficient ways to transform our lives together into a dialectical movement towards moment-to-moment consciousness and freedom in community. I wish this book to serve as a companion for those who recognize the necessity of such experiments and such reversals in our personal and public lives. Only through such experiments shall we develop modes of social science and social organization more adequate to the possibilities of human growth.

Contents

Chapter 1

Initial Concept, First Step

Greg and I had begun to talk about creating a school. The idea of two graduate students creating their own school was a dream, of course; but one based on some experience.

My experience derived from my year as Associate Director at the Yale Summer High School, visiting our students of the previous summer at public and private schools all over the country and designing the details of the curriculum, schedule and living arrangements for the next summer session. Then, there were the gruelling 20-hour days of the seven-week residential session itself, when I had virtually full responsibility for the internal workings of the school, while the Director, Andrew Wilson, handled what might be called 'external relations' with the University, the Government, the Press and visitors.

The whole experience convinced me that my interest for the next years would be in education, but that radically new forms of education must be devised. The Yale Summer High School was advertised as innovative, but I could see very little that was innovative about it. There was enough money to hire a fine, large staff for the summer, to buy plenty of supplies, to provide exciting speakers and entertainment, and, probably most important, to bring bright, poor, often prickly, 'underachieving' students from all parts of the country and all races together for the summer. The combination of students created tensions which informal conversation and, later, English essays often rendered creative, but the curriculum and the formal organization of the school tended to be conventional. I could not see that they contributed greatly to, or even used, the educational potential inherent in such a diverse student body and in the constant problems and decisions which living in close quarters provoked.

I had entered a graduate programme in Individual and Organizational Behaviour at Yale's Department of Administrative Sciences in the hope of gaining a better understanding of what kinds of organizations might actually enhance education. It seemed to me that the increasing cries that the educational 'ivory tower' become relevant to 'the real-life problems of the outside world' were ironic: for there is plenty of real life in a school, and a school's aim in the end is to heighten life-consciousness. Yet schools are organized as though nothing happens within them, as though students study for and about life in a vacuum. What kind of organization would recognize and learn from its own liveliness, I wondered.

Greg and I had begun to dream about such a school. Greg was by far the more experienced teacher of the two of us, having taught at Bishop College in Texas and at Yale, as well as the Yale Summer High School. Moreover, at the Summer High School he had been responsible for its most interesting educational innovation, an intensive, college-level, cross-disciplinary seminar, which met four hours daily for 10 returning students. Initially, his concept was that Greek literature and philosophy were eternally contemporary in their intellectual challenge and emotional immediacy, and that rigorous dialogue and writing rooted in such texts was as good training for high-school students as for college students.

Through intellect to experience

Ten bright but bored students blossomed under Greg's nimble, probing and very demanding teaching. The following summer, when I was Associate Director, Greg was back again, this time with four associates to teach courses modelled along similar lines, the courses ranging from 'History and Philosophy of Science' to 'The City in American Literature'. Greg taught what he called 'The Foundations of American Politics', which somehow managed to encompass, among others, Plato, Shakespeare, Freud, Orwell, Jefferson and various Supreme Court decisions.

But the second summer he was concerned with much more than intellectual pyrotechnics. He had always been aware of and able to use the subtle emotional interplay within any group, but only recently had he come to recognize its trans-intellectual potential for learning. Heretofore he had brilliantly controlled and channelled students' energies into intellectual work. Now he realized that gaining independent control of their feelings and behaviours might be part of their work. The previous summer *he* had been largely responsible for his student's excitement. To the casual observer they might have appeared internally motivated to learn, for they worked hard without grades or significant punishments as carrots and prods. But in fact they were dependent upon Greg for their excitement. Without him they might revert to boredom and apathy, or become cynical critics of less adept teachers, rather than creating new learning situations for themselves.

So Greg negotiated the second summer with these problems in mind, seeking to help the students recognize and question their feelings and behaviours as well as the ideas in books. Such an attempt should actually increase students' genuine understanding of ideas, for, as Plato realized in his dialogic and dramatic form of writing, ideas are the forms of right action—not recondite abstractions. Greg used the setting of his own class—how assignments were determined, who led the class, who participated—to raise the same questions about politics as the books raised. The questions about the class, however, involved the feelings and behaviours of those present, not of America's founding fathers, who could be discussed, criticized and judged with relative impunity because they were not present.

Most class members found it terribly difficult to face and think about their immediate feelings and behaviour. Equally difficult was the task of constructing analogies between immediate classroom events and the ideas embodied in the texts. To recognize that one's behaviour, whether passive or active, constantly affects others and can be questioned and accounted for intellectually places a tremendous burden of responsibility upon a person. Much that is in him will resist exposure and will try to block this basic realization.

Greg's attempt to use classroom interaction as additional material for learning inevitably called forth such difficulties and resistances. It became clear that to mix academic and experiential learning and to seek to base learning on an inner wish to know inevitably called forth conflict. The only viable teaching method was one which accepted and dealt with such conflict openly, rather than suppressing it or manipulating it to serve the teacher's ends. Greg struggled towards such a process.

At the end of the summer he found his students less adept at textual analysis and less brilliant in their essays than his previous group. On the other hand, some seemed to have gained an insight into themselves and their possibilities, an insight based on their actual feelings and behaviour rather than on vague daydreams—a kind of insight which had been inaccessible to the previous group. Moreover, Greg became to this group a rotund, powerful, heavy-drinking, brilliant, irascible, gentle human being to be dealt with, rather than the mythic Olympic god that he had been to the previous group.

The dream

Such was our background. Our dream derived from our experience: create *a school in which both classrooms and community as a whole would be arenas* for immediate experiential learning about the same issues that were to be studied in the academic curriculum. The obvious analogy was the development, structure and process of a community, as studied through our own communal experience on the one hand, and as approached through literature, social sciences and such natural sciences as ethology and ecology on the other. Classes would use intellectual resources (texts, movies, games, etc.), the students' own experiences in the city, the immediate classroom situation and the general process of living together as analogical inputs into learning.

Students would all be drawn from New Haven and would be those most alienated from and failing most disastrously in the current school system. The inevitable conflicts within the programme around motivation, communication, leadership and decision-making would thus become legitimate areas of inquiry and effort, rather than incidental, bothersome and seemingly unfathomable clots in an otherwise smooth-running system. The entire effort would be collaborative in nature, to emphasize the self-motivated quality of experiential learning and to get the students working together rather than against The System.

This dream strikes me in retrospect as having been more realistic than most

Utopian fantasies. We foresaw that contradictions would arise among persons' intentions and their behaviour. Rather than 'hoping away' such conflict, we intended to focus upon it as a source of learning. Missing from the dream, however, was a lively sense of the school's development over time, and this despite our avowed theme of 'community development'. For example, it did not occur to us how difficult it might be to share even the bare bones of the dream itself. Yet the very notion that conflicts within the programme could become vehicles for our mutual education rested upon the assumption that everyone shared an understanding of, and allegiance to, the dream.

In fact, as the following chapters will record, the theme of community development did *not* come to integrate the curriculum of the school we began. And it was only after I left the school and thought back over its history that I gained a sense of the critical element missing from the original dream—the temporal stages through which our little community actually did develop.

The actuality

Such thoughts and events were still far in the future when one evening I suddenly found myself face-to-face with the chance to realize this dream. Andrew Wilson invited me to his apartment and asked me whether I would like to initiate a new summer school—a proposed Yale Upward Bound programme.

The Office of Economic Opportunity had funded 250 Upward Bound programmes all over the country for the summer of 1966. Based on a few early prototypes, such as the Yale Summer High School which began in 1964, Upward Bound programmes were financed largely by OEO, but were run by colleges or universities. The basic model was a seven-week residential summer session at the colleges for underachieving, poor high-school students, with an academic year follow-through programme of some sort. The summer staffs tended to include college-age residential tutors who lived with the students, a heterogeneous teaching faculty composed of a sizeable proportion of high-school and college instructors, and several administrators. Each programme was largely autonomous in its determination of educational philosophy, curriculum and daily schedule, though proposals and operations were reviewed by a central consulting agency. Programmes ranged in size from 30 or 40 students to a few of over 200 students. Unlike the Yale Summer High School, Upward Bound programmes drew their students from their local areas and were associated with the local Community Action Agencies. Each director was required to create and meet with an Academic Policy Committee and a Public Advisory Committee comprised of academic and community personnel respectively, to review decisions.

Now, in the winter following the first summer of large-scale operation, there was money at OEO to establish a few more Upward Bound programmes. Andrew, a consultant to Upward Bound himself, had been approached about Yale's interest in starting an Upward Bound programme to serve New Haven.

Andrew turned to me, a person in whom he had confidence and whom he knew to have relevant experience, to ask if I would serve as Programme Co-ordinator and do the early work of organizing the programme. I was to determine the internal operation of the programme, while a senior faculty member from Yale or another local college would become director and handle administrative relations with Yale, New Haven and Upward Bound. I was to write the initial proposal (due shortly) and hire the director. So short was the time in which to accomplish these matters and so scarce were persons with the necessary experience that Andrew intended to forego a Yale Upward Bound programme if I did not feel I could make the commitment to organize it.

I tried to be reasonable and learn all the who's, why's and how's, as well as the if's, but's and also's, before weighing all the evidence and deciding whether to accept his offer. I spent a considerable amount of time and effort before admitting to myself that all such questions were subordinate to my desire to attempt it, along with Greg.

What I was aware of at the time was a sort of acceleration and excitement in my activity, a sense of contact and focus in exchanges with others. Looking back, I imagine that a feeling of being needed, being important and being defined began to replace the emotional emptiness of the past months—an emptiness caused by the transition from my previous well-defined job to the vague role of graduate student and by the sudden discontinuation of a magnetic relationship I had had with a woman. I was greedy for such a change.

The first step

I began the initial work quickly and easily. Programme proposal and budget were composed and sent off to Washington; Yale officials and New Haven educators were visited. It was a preliminary jog around the track to loosen the muscles, or—to try another metaphor—a shakedown cruise to remind one of the necessary terms and instruments, of prevailing winds and currents.

Primarily, however, this was a period of searching for the right first step. I felt that the initial planning of the programme would set the tone and limits for everything that followed. For example, if in our initial planning we *spoke* a great deal about experimenting without ever actually *behaving* experimentally, I doubted whether we would ever reach the point of behaving experimentally. Instead, the incongruity between our words and our behaviour would make the first lesson of our school something like: 'Don't worry about doing what you say; we don't'.

Another possible self-contradiction was the danger of *imposing* an ideology of *self-directed* learning. Greg and I had some mutual understanding of the conditions we felt to be necessary for encouraging students towards self-direction. But how were we to create such conditions within the school? Were we going to impose our ideology upon it! If so, the rest of the staff and students would be directed by us, not self-directed. Such a result would contradict and defeat our intentions from the outset.

Even if I did not argue, defend and justify my moves ideologically, there was still the possibility that my personality and leadership style would place implicit emotional limits on the programme that would prevent others from exploring paths towards self–world consciousness and self-direction. Strength and charisma may be virtues in a leader when he must unify followers to complete some external task. But such a leader inevitably creates dependence upon himself among the followers. When the task involves developing the followers' independence, strength and charisma in the leader may merely divert the followers from taking authority over themselves. This had been Greg's main concern the summer before as he struggled to use his strengths without creating blind dependence. And a similar aim and effort seemed to be central to the counsel of the Tao Teh Ching, to which I found myself often returning:

> Tao never makes any ado,
> And yet it does everything.
> If a ruler can cling to it,
> All things will grow of themselves.

> The more taboos and inhibitions there are in the world,
> The poorer the people become.
> The sharper the weapons the people possess,
> The greater confusion reigns in the realm.
> The more clever and crafty the men,
> The oftener strange things happen.
> The more articulate the laws and ordinances,
> The more robbers and thieves arise.
> Therefore, the sage says:
>> I do not make any fuss, and
>> the people transform themselves.

How can one possibly avoid making any ado when he must start something, I wondered.

These were the dangers of taking a definite first step into the uncharted realm of self-directed learning. On the other side of the equation were the dangers of taking no lead. I knew that I was quite capable of organizing an *ordinary* educational programme. Over the period of five and a half months before the programme was to begin its summer session, I could easily assemble, piecemeal but discriminately, a staff, a curriculum, a programme of activities and a student body. But my means of doing so would be anti-educational—that is, they would treat these matters as external tasks, as preparations before the education was to occur. They would overlook the potential for self-directed learning inherent in all interactions. Such an anti-educational course of action would be particularly disastrous since it was clear that the staff would have to experiment with self-directed learning if it was to recognize and encourage such a process among the students. If the staff's introduction to the programme were to a smoothly running bureaucratic organization, there would be no reason for staff members to expect or explore new learning and teaching processes prior to and during the summer session itself. Rhetoric about self-

directed learning would be discounted as the usual public phraseology attached to such efforts. The danger of proceeding automatically according to my 'practical training' was similar to the danger of talking but not acting experimentally: we were likely to end up with no experiment whatsoever in self-directed learning.

I now regard the very way in which I posed the contradictions inherent in the various imagined first steps to be itself a sign of my distance from centred intention (though of course I could not see this at the time). My sense of the danger of such contradictions rested on the assumption that they would undermine the school rather than provide material for learning. In other words, I assumed that if I contradicted myself, the school would begin sliding 'downhill'. This assumption implied, in turn, that I was alone, on the top of the hill to begin with, straining to pull others up by my 'perfect' behaviour. And this *led* to the further implication that I did not trust that anyone was capable of confronting me if I failed at any time (or, more simply, to the implication that I feared being confronted, so I would try to be perfect to begin with).

Given my avowed commitments to confrontation, to developing trust and to working collaboratively, I would have been shocked to hear someone assert that my anguish about how to start the school was as much derived from an implicit elitism as from an explicit egalitarianism.

What was missing from my thoughts about how to begin the school, just as it had been missing in the original dream, was an appreciation for how a person or a community can grow over time, resolving initial contradictions into subtler unity. Indeed, another way of phrasing the chain of implications outlined above is that I did not experience and trust my own or the school's future as a source of healing. Of course, the history of this country since the framing of the Constitution does not offer many examples of such growth, healing and increasing unification. Indeed, in retrospect, the Sixties illuminated the degree to which various segments of our supposed national community had become alienated from its direction and felt contradictions which public rhetoric had previously suppressed. Thus, the later Sixties became a time when blacks, students, poor people, women and gays opened wounds, asserting the legitimacy of their particular identities against a spurious unity which did not include their aspirations. So, any effort our school would make to resolve initial contradictions into subtler unity would occur without any obvious models to guide us, without any sense on my part initially of how such historical processes could be encouraged, and against the grain of a larger historical current.

And again: how to take the first step?

Whatever its principal effect might have been—additional burden or enlightenment—I had none of this retrospective understanding to guide me as I continued to consult potential advisors, persons informed about education in New Haven and college students and teachers who indicated an interest in

working for the programme. I felt a growing sense of frustration at my inability to surmount the possible contradictions I kept posing myself. Sometimes I would condemn myself as an inveterate intellectualizer: if I would just go ahead and do something, I could confront and deal with the consequences actively, rather than just imagining them. But I had already formulated 'just going ahead' as a danger in itself, so that too would have been an avoidance of the problem. I knew that I needed to find a move and moment which rightly expressed my centred intention for this school. I needed to discriminate among and distill the day-to-day pressures I increasingly felt into creative action. During this time I alternated intense days of activity with morning and evening prayer and meditation; in other words, I alternated concentration 'downwards' with opening 'upwards'. However, my effort was to achieve a state in which I could be simultaneously concentrated and opened, simultaneously conscious of my behaviour and centred intention.

As the number of my 'consultants' increased, so did their concern to get started and their prescriptions for how we ought to start. I, in turn, sensed a one-sidedness in most of their proposals that would miss the central aim of the school, and wished increasingly that they would recognize and help to distill each other's pressures, rather than focusing them all on me in an unmodified fashion. I thought how funny and educational it would be for them suddenly to find themselves all together at a meeting charged with making the decisions each thought so simple from his particular perspective. This thought, initially no more than a passing fantasy, fused somehow with a growing recognition on my part that the problem of taking a first step was changing from 'How do *I* start?' to 'How do *we* start?'.

At this point what felt like a right first step became at once obvious and compelling. The first step would be to begin meeting together regularly to make the various major decisions that needed to be made. In this way our first step as a school would adhere to the collaborative form of organization I hoped to realize. At the same time, persons considering joining our staff could come to these meetings and experience the benefits and frustrations of working collaboratively and thus determine whether they were committed to this way of working before deciding to join us. Also, by analysing tapes of these meetings and pointing out inconsistencies between our intentions and behaviours, I hoped to encourage the process of self-directed learning. So, Greg and I contacted everyone who had seemed concerned to help us, inviting them to the first of a series of weekly meetings at a given time and place.

Contradictions and Collaboration in Staff Development

The decision to have meetings to begin making decisions about the school did not of course do away with the possibility of contradictions between my intention and my behaviour.

During the first meeting I felt I must concentrate on not becoming an ordinary, externally directive leader. I *did* have to concentrate, because people raised hands to speak, looked to me for recognition and waited expectantly after each speaker said something for my reaction. After describing this pattern to the group and explaining why it posed a problem for me, I sometimes used the tactic of writing notes and neither responding to nor looking at what was *going on*.

This strategy was temporarily frustrated by Mike, one of the advisors, and David, a potential teacher, who insisted that I share my thinking about the programme up to this point. I did so, but without any recommendation about how the group should act now.

There was silence. Then, after some initial fumbling, and without my assistance, a conversation sprouted. Thereafter I never had to worry about being the sole initiator in the group.

Responding to success by playing it safe, I didn't say much for the rest of the meeting. After some lively discussions about how our summer school would tie into the New Haven public school and neighbourhood structures, the conversation dragged, becoming boring and inconclusive. Still, I stayed in the background.

Afterwards I noted to myself, 'I ended up with a sense of failure as a participant at not having the courage to express my feeling (i.e. not behaving congruently) when the discussion lost its force'.

During this early period I found that I could evaluate each meeting only by determining whether I had felt able to express my immediate feelings and perceptions during it. I felt terrible after the first meeting because I had maintained a silent role, rather than responding more flexibly to my changing feelings. During the meeting itself, I had been so pleased at avoiding being externally directive that I did not notice myself abdicating an active role altogether.

Of course, one might argue that my continued silence tested the group's capacity to reorient the conversation, and I attempted to rescue this possible benefit of my behaviour by pointing to the group's behaviour as one of the

dilemmas we faced when I wrote the first of my weekly meeting notes. The following is a replica of the first week's notes.

UPWARD BOUND MEETING

Thursday, March 2

(I will try each week to write up a brief summary of our meeting for those who missed it, as well as my own analysis of the kinds of dilemmas we have encountered. Bill Torbert)

I opened the meeting by suggesting that: (1) I would try to act more as a researcher of the discussion than as a director; (2) we might generate an agenda and introduce ourselves to one another at the same time; (3) two agenda items were, (a) should we draw students from a single neighborhood and school in NH and, if so, which? (b) should we be co-ed or all male?

After the introductions, which produced no more agenda items, I was asked to review my thinking about the program. Then we moved to a discussion of the single-neighborhood/single-school idea. A number of points were made: it would initially be more difficult to work with students from one area because of their anti-educational group-cohesion (!); but it would ultimately be easier to work with students from one area because after the program they would reinforce one another's pro-educational norms; we could intensify our influence by working in the Hill area, dovetailing with various other existing and planned programs; but we might find ourselves swamped by, or in conflict with, other organizations, damaging our uniqueness as an anti-school, so perhaps we should work with Fairhaven and Wilbur Cross rather than the Hill and Lee.*

Questions were raised: is it our aim to help individuals get to college? or are we primarily responsible for influencing the educational norms of a community? do we wish by our choice of students and neighborhood to make our work as easy as possible for ourselves, or as difficult as possible? since we will be inviting more new students to take part in the program next year, should we start with students from two areas and expand in both, or start with one area and continue with that area, or work with one area this year and another next year?

We felt we needed some information (which I will gather through some of you): given 200 students in the Lee freshman class from the Hill, how many meet the financial criteria? How many students in Fairhaven meet the financial criteria? What is the racial constitution of these two areas? Where are the multi-problem families in New Haven?

DILEMMAS: (1) Toward the end of the meeting we found ourselves reiterating the same points, contradicting ourselves, whispering to one another, and, in short, coming close to the atmosphere of a classroom where one is prohibited from exploring the most important comment: this discussion has ceased to be important for me; (2) we were unable to reach a decision, a difficulty we will have to overcome if we truly intend eventually to have even more persons, i.e. our students, share in the decision-making; (3) we were unable to take up our second agenda item, or to project an agenda for next week which would permit us to arrive with some of the kinds of information we found ourselves lacking this week. In sum, as I see it, we found that, deprived of ordinary directive leadership which takes responsibility for how things are done at a business meeting, we could be facile at the level of intellectual principles about our unique organizational intentions, but that this facility was not sufficient to induce unique organizational operations.

*New Haven has three inner city high schools, Hillhouse, Wilbur Cross and Lee. Each school serves a number of neighbourhoods, of which Fairhaven and the Hill are two. Ultimately we decided to take students from all three schools rather than concentrating on one.

My tendency to avoid conflict

Only much later, with the help of my departmental advisor, Chris Argyris, and the pain of further experiences, could I begin to see how deeply my behaviour at this first meeting reflected my urge to avoid conflict. At the time I could see this pattern in my maintenance of the passive role. But I did not see that by avoiding looking at people I had been avoiding a possible open conflict about leadership. Also, *my use of the notes to discuss my perceptions of the outcome of the meeting again permitted me to avoid confronting others* directly.

Upon reflection, fear of conflict seemed a pattern in my earlier life too. I remembered the time when an antagonistic acquaintance had pronounced me 'unbelievably angelic', and the more vivid occasion when a more exploratory acquaintance told me he found me difficult to understand as a person —I seemed terribly intellectual and distant to him. For example, he continued, he had never seen me get angry, really angry. I would become far more human for him, he said, if I could just once express anger at something. I found this comment somewhat awkward since I could not well prove my ability to express anger on the spot, there being nothing angrifying about our conversation as far as I could see. I replied that it was true that I rarely expressed anger, but that I believed I could express it when appropriate. He asked, 'Why don't you get angry right now?'

'Well, there's nothing to get angry about,' I replied, somewhat put out by such a nonsensical request.

'What if I goad you into anger?' he asked.

'I don't see what that would prove—it wouldn't be real,' I replied with a growing sense of awkwardness, as I begun to suspect that he might actually proceed to goad me.

'Come on, why don't you get angry at me, Bill?' he said in a fake voice.

'Don't be ridiculous,' I replied, somewhat strangled and increasingly uncomfortable and uncertain about how to respond so as to avoid falling into his trap.

'Go ahead, Bill, a little anger won't hurt,' he urged with maddening sweetness.

At this my face grew red (though it was a long moment before I realized it); I clamped my mouth shut and decided not to say a word. I was damned if I would play such a silly game and get angry merely because he asked me to.

After a short silence, he remarked coyly, 'I do believe you are angry *now*'.

'I am not!' burst from me vehemently. And I realized immediately that I *was* angry and that the only way I could have 'avoided his trap' was to feel comfortable in expressing my anger at his game. But I had not even been able to recognize or name my anger until he had exposed it.

This little incident had alerted me to my tendency to avoid conflict. I knew that I was not yet fully conscious of the relations among the aggressive, passive and reconciling forces within me and between me and others, so there was certainly unresolved conflict there to be discovered. My feeble efforts to

recognize and express anger henceforth at appropriate moments only made me the more aware of the depth of my training to avoid conflict. My ability to befriend and reconcile mutual enemies seemed more demonic than beneficial at such times, and I sometimes blamed my diplomat father for passing on his withdrawn gentleness all too effectively.

But the most present evidence of my fear of conflict was the ache of suffering and uncertainty I had carried about with me for several months. It derived from a love-affair with a woman already married. We had befriended and loved one another from early acquaintance—but without being 'in love'—and I became a good friend of her husband too. A fateful bunch of coincidences created the conditions for our 'falling in love', which we did totally and magnetically. We attempted to remain apart. We attempted to tell her husband, but his emotional situation made it seem unwise to her. Finally, she told him, and, in a rage, he commanded her to break off the relationship with me. She acceded, telling me in parting, 'I guess you'll want to kick me in the stomach or something, but I can't resist his strength'.

For a long time no other human relationship meant anything to me, and I was anguished by the destruction I had been a part of. Sometimes I prayed that their marriage would heal their wounds; sometimes I lashed myself for permitting our love to remain clandestine so long, thus betraying her husband; sometimes I felt his anger had covered over an unresolvable conflict and beaten his wife into submission, and that, had my anger equalled and confronted his, the three of us would have emerged happier in the long run no matter what the outcome. I connected my behaviour in both of the latter two instances with my reluctance to face conflict and bring it into the open in search of resolution. Now I was suffering the consequences. An important reason for immersing myself in Upward Bound may have been to forget my loneliness, although I did not think of it in this way at that time.

After the first meeting

I was not the only one who left our first meeting confused, ambivalent or anxious. Jennie and Sam, two advisors working with the Community Action Agency, called during the week. Jennie remarked that she had never before seen a meeting which really encouraged participation as this one had; that she thought my notes and analysis were concise and provocative; and that she doubted whether we would ever make any decisions if we continued in this fashion! Sam, sounding worried, called to be sure I was aware that this was not the way to get what I wanted out of the group—I would have to present my view much more forcefully and pull the discussion together when it became ragged.

Not surprisingly, I remained anxious as I looked forward to our second meeting. Suddenly my ideal that the group simultaneously work together and learn to work together seemed impossibly difficult of realization. I sensed an attitude on the part of most of the others that working together and learning

were two unrelated processes; or, to put it another way, that thoughtful planning for the future and awareness of one's present behaviour were two inimical matters. I decided to ask the group to take ten minutes at the beginning and end of our two hours together to look back over what we had done and forward to what we needed to do in order to gain perspective on our work together. I hoped this would create an oasis for learning, just as in my own life I had for a time set aside special periods for prayer and meditation.

The group agreed to this suggestion at the outset of the second meeting. These two review sessions made the meeting seem more of a single, completed, comprehended unit than the first. Also, we quite easily reached our first decision —to make the school co-ed (thus departing from Yale College's all-male tradition)—contrary to Jennie's expectations that no decisions would ever be reached by this collaborative method. She quipped, 'That was neater than last week', and everyone laughed.

Anxieties lowered, the meeting proceeded in a friendly and apparently productive fashion. Efforts were made once again to define the school's aim, to specify the kind of students we would seek, and to identify people and agencies who would know such students.

Most persons, including myself, felt better at the end of the second meeting, and in its glow the first meeting was seen as having made persons more aware that the school would not necessarily embody their particular idea, but would be a place for working out ideas together. As Rick, a VISTA volunteer, who later helped find students, put it,

'I think often before people start talking about things substantively together they really have to do a little b.s.ing—you have to get a little feeling on the table—and I guess what I thought was productive was that there were a lot of thoughts put on the table for a first meeting. When I first came in here, I had very definite ideas about what was right and I met with resistance ...'

But this concept of working out ideas together was by no means deeply rooted. Another advisor, Mike, regarded as a radical and excellent high-school teacher, impatiently cut in at one point in the meeting, exclaiming to me, 'It's your school—tell us what it's there for and we'll go from there'.

The dilemma of where collaboration or self-direction starts—how deeply and fully it can inform one's intention, thought and behaviour—continued to emerge meeting after meeting and into the summer. If I were to tell the staff precisely what to do and we then did it together, would the programme be collaborative? If I were to set only the aim of the school—tell the staff 'what it's there for'—and we worked together from there, would the programme be collaborative? If I set no conditions whatsoever and we decided together what the aim of the programme was to be, would the programme necessarily end up being collaborative?

These questions were never argued out directly, but people's behaviour showed them to be unresolved. When conflict was high and a common decision seemed difficult, students or staff would often turn to me in frustration and say, 'Well, in the end it's your responsibility, so why don't you make the

decision rather than create all this confusion?' Or the dilemma would manifest itself in contradictory behaviour. For example, Mike, the very advisor who at our second meeting wished me to define for him 'what it's there for', insisted at the following meeting that the students should be able to define their own goals within the programme rather than have them spelled out by the staff. Surely he didn't mean to imply that the students were more capable of setting goals for themselves than the staff (?).

His apparent contradiction went unnoticed. Instead, fierce and loud argument erupted as to whether the goal of the programme for the students was specifically to send them to college:

Rick:	Form is more important than content; if you can get with kids, it matters a lot less what you teach them.
Sam:	Well, legally you are limited in that you are supposed to have a program that will get low-income kids, who wouldn't otherwise go into college.
Corky:	Did we decide that was the purpose ... (background talk, loud laughter, interruption)
Sam (loudly):	I urge we stick to the intent of the funding.
Mike:	What defines the program is not Congress but the kids.
Greg:	We agree that in some sense our object is to get kids into college, but that doesn't help us decide what to do.
Sam:	What you've got to do is (a) convince these kids they're worth something because we know they don't believe they're worth anything, and (b) that they can make it because they've never made it before and they're not willing to try again most of them ...
Rick:	Is this making it to college?
Mike:	I think we've got to get this college bug out of our bonnet.
Sam:	*You* want to convince them they're *not* going to make it ...
Greg:	Why should 'making it' be identified with eight more years of school?
Sam:	You want to teach him to be a bricklayer?
	(undertone: Yes, why not?)
Sam:	But this isn't an apprentice program for being a bricklayer.
Mike:	It's an apprentice program for being a human being.

I had felt helpless during this argument. Persons seemed to be sniping at one another right and left, using high ideals ('convince these kids they're worth something', 'an apprentice program for being a human being') as their weapons. If 'form is more important than content', we certainly were not yet controlling the form of our conversation so as to be mutually productive. After the meeting I once again felt depressed and anxious. We seemed to be arguing in circles, rehashing points already raised without arriving at any fundamental agreement or making any progress.

In retrospect, and after seeing many other 'idealistic' groups engage in internecine warfare of a ferocity they would immediately condemn in anyone else, I realized that a fundamental reason why such ideological fighting occurs is that most persons do not sense that they can apply their ideals to their *own* immediate behaviour. Their ideals are always aimed at others or at the future. They are too busy in the present moment formulating and expressing these ideals to pay attention to the actual quality and effects of their behaviour.

The result is not merely that they fall into contradictions between their ideal thoughts and their actual behaviour—such, after all, is no more than the material of self-directed learning. But, more destructively, their attitude does not recognize the *possibility* of experiential contradictions and therefore forecloses inquiry into them rather than encouraging it. So, instead of gradually reducing such contradictions, they tend to propagate the very inconsistencies between thought and action which they ideally abhor.

But why should my response to this situation be an emotion of helplessness? Did I expect that everyone else would already be familiar practitioners of the process of self-directed learning, which I myself was only beginning to formulate? Was not my aim and my job precisely to open up the possibility of self-directed learning to students and staff? Why feel helpless, anxious and depressed as the full scope of the job presented itself to me concretely?

As I thought about my reactions, I realized that my sense of helplessness was still another derivative of my fear of conflict, and especially of my fear of conflict with older persons. (Both Sam and Mike—the main antagonists during the argument of the third meeting—were considerably older than I.) My analysis of others' distance from self-directed learning might be accurate enough, but I had to be careful to include my own feelings within my awareness too. Otherwise, I might attack others with my analysis, thinking I did so to help them 'see the light', but actually doing it to avoid feeling helpless. I would be attacking them with high ideals as weapons, just what I felt was ineffective about what they were doing to one another.

Ways of foreclosing learning

The following week I attempted to raise this limitation of mine as a problem for the group. I shall include a relatively large portion of that meeting's discussion below, with an accompanying commentary, because it illustrates so well various members' implicit orientations to the possibility of collaborative, self-directed learning. Especially, it provides examples of experiential contradictions between thought (the content of a verbal statement) and behaviour (the effect a statement has on a conversation).

Discussion at Meeting	*My Retrospective Commentary*
(1) Bill: A feeling I personally had of a difficulty in confronting others, especially older people here in ways that were useful to me ... the long argument between Sam and Mike that took place which I didn't find helpful ... still, I didn't find it possible to intervene at all and say what I felt.	(1) Here, I was trying to express my feeling as a personal unresolved emotional dilemma which invites existential inquiry.
(2) David: Yet we saw something	(2) David immediately shifts the

really important—a basic conflict of orientation.

(3) Bill: Yes, I was glad that we could have open conflict, but I thought I saw people zooming from one end of the spectrum to the other.

(4) Mike: You're looking for an immediate payoff that you've no right to expect, that you're not going to get this early in the game. You expect us to be functioning as a viable whole which we're not—we're largely spare parts still.

(5) Rick: The argument was basic for a time; then it became dysfunctional. I think the problem was it became personal—a slapping contest. If you (Bill) want the group to move in a direction it behooves *you* to move in that direction. It depends on what you want to get out of the group. You called the people together.

(6) Joe: I wasn't here last week. You said something about age being a factor but I would say that that's irrelevant. If you're chairing the the meeting and you feel the meeting is going the wrong way, I certainly wouldn't take the attitude that I couldn't say something to any particular member of the group no matter what the age. And if they keep going in another direction then I think that as Chairman you are obligated to come in with the rest of the group.

(7) Bill: I agree with you in principle, but in practice it is a personal problem for me.

(8) Rick: Then we have to throw it back at you and say there's nothing

focus away from the personal to a general characterization of the conversation, *as though to reaffirm its value* in the face of an attack by me.
(3) I avoid the basic conflict between David's and my focus by joining him in a general characterization of the previous week.

(4) Mike's orientation is not to inquire into his or my behaviour, but to defend the whole conversation, regardless of whether it was competent behaviour.

(5) Rick recommends external direction by the leader (me), consistently attempting to solve my problem by external direction (i.e. by offering me advice). Since I had just owned to feelings which prevented me from intervening, his simple directive to me to intervene amounts to a punishment for my bad behaviour ('Don't you ever do that again!').
(6) Joe repeats the same lesson but more gently. When he says that age is irrelevant, he is obviously trying to help me to get over my 'hangup', yet his method is to tell me that my feeling is irrelevant.

(7) I try again to emphasize that it is a personal, emotional fact which I am asking for help in working through.
(8) The implication of what Rick says is that emotional matters are

we can do. That's something you'll have to figure out.

(9) Joe: I think that what we're saying is none of us here would feel a personal feeling because you're going to call us down.

(10) Bill: Yes, I find that response helpful and that's why I wanted to raise it, because I thought it would be easier for me in the future to be open about any feeling if I raised it.

(11) Mike: If something pains you, say something about it, for heaven's sakes! I mean really.

private; others can't help with them; they should not be talked about.

(11) This is said impatiently, as though any small child ought to understand this simple rule of behaviour. Thus, in practice, it punishes me for owing to my difficulty in speaking at certain times. Its form, as well as the form of most of the preceding comments, discourages the very process which its content purports to encourage.

(12) Chad: I would hope you would too, Bill. I think we all recognize that you are the top man here—you're the director of the project, and certainly your background and as far as information about the history of this thing is certainly greater than ours is individually.

(13) Bill: That's not what I feel I'm asking for—some reaffirmation that I'm the head ...

(14) Chad: Not in deference to status ...

(15) Jack: Can I try something ... I think it's what Bill's getting at ... I think it's a lot more general than just Bill's feeling. Last week this argument got going and I got really angry, I think a lot of people did, and I was responding especially to Sam as a type—Establishment and all the bad things—I didn't come out and say these things, not because of my position in the group,

(15) Here Jack is attempting to explore his reactions without defending them, the first contribution to self-directed learning besides mine.

well, partly because he's older, he's
the Man, he's in, but partly because
it wouldn't have been helpful and I
think that's what Bill's saying. What
good would it've been to say, Boy
do you tick me off ...

(16) Mike: So, I did.

(17) Rick: What I get suspicious
about is everybody comes down on
somebody if they're not X-type
liberal. Sam brought up some
practical questions ... I got mad at
everybody else because I think
there's a kind of inflexibility about
the kind of flexible thinking we
have around this table ... just the
way you (Jack) were talking a
minute ago.

(17) Rick first 'comes down on' Jack
for 'coming down on' Sam. Yet Jack
did not 'come down on' Sam at the
time, and now has offered his feelings
in a self-questioning mode. Thus, the
effect of Rick's comment is once
again to punish an effort at self-
directed learning. He succeeds in
cutting off Jack's exploration.

(18) Jack: I was aware of that, and
that's why I didn't say anything.

(18) Jack now defends himself
against the attack.

(19) Rick: But these are the kind of
things that will sometime have to be
thrown on the table ...

(19) Now Rick attacks from another
angle. 'Things will have to be thrown
on the table', he insists, unaware
that he has just finished attacking a
person who had put 'things on the
table'.

The fourth meeting was by no means all self analytical in orientation. A
great part of it was spent in sharing recent impressions of the area's public
schools among staff members who worked in them or had visited them, and
in devising student admissions forms and procedures. Once again, as after
the second meeting, there was a general sense of pleasure at our productivity,
and I was pleased that I had been able to be aware enough of my feelings
and behaviour during the quoted episode to express them as much as I did.

Different perspectives on the spring meetings

Nevertheless, with each succeeding meeting my sense of the magnitude of
the contradiction between my ideal and our actual behaviour increased. At
the same time I saw how unaware most people were, not only of the actual
effects of their behaviour, but also of the very possibility of becoming aware.
As the above transcript suggests, much of the behaviour at our meetings
shielded the individual, and discouraged others, from experiential inquiry.
Nor was my continuing tendency to avoid conflict in so many small ways a
happy quality at a time when the conflict between my ideal-but-not-so-con-
gruently-transformed orientation and that of others needed elucidation.

Of course, this perspective on the early meetings focuses entirely on their shortcomings and is not sufficient for their evaluation. For example, my sense of the repetitiveness of arguments is mitigated by the fact that almost half of the members present at the second and third meetings were there for the first time, testing whether they would become staff members. This process of using staff meetings as a forum for testing personal commitment to the programme certainly paid dividends. Several people who were otherwise highly qualified de-selected themselves because they felt they needed more structure in order to work well. Since the programme never lost its hectic, oscillating, ambiguous, emotional quality, they probably would not have worked well during the summer, and it is well that they were not lured to participate on the basis of rhetorically shared ideals. At the same time, a third of the programme's staff (eight) was attracted to it directly through these meetings. And our advisors became actively involved and personally helpful rather than mere representatives-on-paper of their various organizations.

Another perspective appears if we look at these meetings macroscopically rather than analysing members' behaviour microscopically. We see a self-consciously non-directive leader, collaborative decisions, open conflict and reflection upon the fundamental aim of the organization. All these qualities are rare events both in class groups with teachers and in work groups with bosses. Classical teaching and management theory both advise leaders to direct and control their groups, to define work-objectives for the group and to avoid conflict. And a considerable body of empirical organizational research has verified that teachers and other leaders reflect this advice in their behaviour. Certainly, the quotes from our meetings demonstrate the extent to which group members behaved in externally directive and inquiry-discouraging ways when they attempted to define and control what we were to do together. Yet, at the same time, the large-scale events of these meetings introduced the members to a different kind of organization than their interpersonal styles seemed to fit by habit.

As we continued meeting through the spring, coordinating student admissions, developing a curriculum and outlining a daily schedule, I continued to feel a gap between my own and others' understanding of learning. But I increasingly avoided this source of conflict between me and others and focused the meetings on external tasks. I feared that my orientation was too self-analytical for most and that to insist upon it would be to impose it. Meanwhile, on the macroscopic level, we began to experience some of the benefits of collaborative functioning. Members tended to feel free to contribute information to decisions, and the decisions themselves were made quickly, while remaining open to change. Also, the very structure we were developing for the summer gave us the chance to begin the collaborative decision-making process all over again with the students, rather than imposing our 'wisdom' upon them. Greg's and my ideal curriculum had been so much of a dream compared to most staff members' actual abilities and interests that we did not attempt to realize it.

Instead, we devised a core curriculum which focused on different topics from week to week. During the first week, the curriculum would focus on 'New Beginnings', using popular records, painting and poetry to consider the theme. We would spend the week at a camp in the woods where we (staff and students) would determine the rules, disciplinary procedures and daily schedule for the rest of the summer.

Trying to evaluate the meetings

After the spring meetings, one staff member, David, looked back upon them as follows:

> The summer I look forward to as a laboratory; for trying things out. I think this is essential for all of us.
>
> I guess one of the things I like about it, though at first I was skeptical, is the way the furnishing of the laboratory has gone on; how laboratory principles—a universe of discourse–has been set up; how a community of interest has grown out of the exploration of different feelings.
>
> Partly the reason I'm now pleased is that I feel you (Bill) have been handling yourself better ... I feel you are most naive on the level of how feelings work out. I see you as more chairmanlike this last month, correlating and pulling things together.

I was complimented at the outset of this statement. I felt I had succeeded, after all, in communicating my sense of the importance of experiential inquiry. Then in the last part of this statement David reveals a perception of the spring meetings directly contrary to mine, leaving me more uneasy than pleased by our rhetorical kinship. Whereas I saw the early meetings as crucial in setting an atmosphere, he seemed to find the later meetings more valuable. And whereas I feared I had utterly surrendered my effort to lead the school towards mutual self-directed learning during the later meetings, he saw in them my best leadership.

As I looked back over the spring before the summer session, I was highly ambivalent. I wrote:

> My most general evaluation at this point is that our innovative energies are given free reign by our organizational structure, but that our interpersonal competence is not high enough on the average to handle all the challenges it will face. ... Whether this condition is primarily hopeful or primarily dangerous I am not sure.

By the time our seven-week residential programme began, I had hired 24 staff members (six of whom worked voluntarily or part-time) on a budget for 15. Of these, five were to teach 'core' classes of 12 students apiece for two hours each morning on the topic of the week. Another 10 were full-time resident tutors who, along with every other available staff member, would tutor three students in reading and writing in the final hour of each morning and would assume primary responsibility for six students living in the same dormitory entry during the evening: I and two Associate Directors, Valery Jones and Rob Gilman, took the administrative roles. Greg and five others helped with counselling, drama and sports on a part-time basis during the afternoons.

It was a young staff—only six members were over 30 and 10 members were college undergraduates. Ten were women, 14 men. Eight of the staff members (all full-time) were black. Four members of the staff came from the faculties of the three New Haven high schools, while two taught at Yale.

We had decided that we should take our students after their ninth grade year, rather than after tenth or eleventh grades as most Upward Bound programmes did, because many students turn 16 and drop out of school during tenth grade. We wished to reach students who were not only economically poor, but who were also doing least well in their current schools. We reasoned that if the War on Poverty was based on the assumption that our country had not been serving a segment of our population well, then we should work with those least well served. Rather than taking students who got B's and C's at school, as most Upward Bound programmes did, we chose 60 students three-fifths of whose grades in the ninth grade were F's. Thirty-six were boys, 24 girls. Forty were black, 20 were white.

Chapter 3

A New Beginning (I)

Profoundly anxious about whether the programme would begin that afternoon as scheduled, I paced the New Haven streets at dawn one Sunday morning towards the end of June. It was too late to change anything. In the week before our departure for the camp, the practical complexities of taking 80 inexperienced people to a primitive camp for a week became nerve-rackingly evident. Buses to be scheduled, linen rented, food and utensils for wood-burning stoves to be bought, cabins to be assigned, curricular materials to be prepared and shipped —new details occurred to someone each day, and I was sure two or three necessities had probably been overlooked altogether.

At the same time, we had continued our admissions process for students right up to the final day, hoping to convince some students to join us who hadn't been near school in quite a while and could see no reason to try that brand of poison again. So, address lists, to be given to parents and students, were run off Saturday night, and even then turned out not to reflect precisely who piled into the buses and cars Sunday afternoon.

To my relief, children and parents, dressed in their Sunday best, laden with suitcases, began to appear half an hour early, in the courtyard of the Yale college where we would spend the six weeks after the week at camp. Lemonade and cookies were being served by some tutors, some others handed out address lists at the gate, and the rest of us found ourselves in pleasant and animated conversation about our intentions for the summer with parents and other relatives of the students. Within an hour of the arrival of the first family, I found myself besieged by three eager friends of prospective Upward Bound students, wishing to know how they could be a part of the programme. Indeed, hardly a day was to pass for the rest of the summer when one or two New Haven teenagers did not approach me, or simply try to slip into a dormitory, lunch line or class, wishing to join the programme. This became one of those small and much-needed indicators that, despite the trials, tribulations and conflicts, the students felt good enough about the programme to speak of it positively to their friends.

After I had made a little speech to the assembled multitude about how we really were going to be a different kind of school, we loaded the buses and all available cars and made off for the camp. Or, almost all of us did. As I lagged behind to lock the gates and make one final effort to contact the three students who had not shown up, an old car pulled to the curb. A slouched-over, battered-

looking man dragged a boy from the back seat by the scruff of his neck. Was I connected to this school business, the man wanted to know. At my nod, he thrust the dark olive, glowering boy towards me: 'A Max Pirelli s'posed to be in your program?' Another nod—my voice had yet to catch up with the pace. 'Well, that's him,' he said, already retreating towards the car, 'He needs it, caught him trying to run away this afternoon, his mother called me and I had to leave the ball game to find him'. And he was off.

Absolutely zero influence

Max declined all offers of conversation on the way to the camp, avoided every scheduled activity and all associations for the next two days, and gained a reputation among the staff as the least-known, least approachable student in the programme. Then, on our third night, he disappeared altogether. By 3 am Rob Gilman, one of the Associate Directors, and I had contacted first the State Police, then one of our teachers who commuted from New Haven to the camp, and finally Max's mother whom we'd hoped not to disturb. The teacher, who knew his way around the community well, stopped by an all-night pool hall the next morning and, as he had expected, picked up Max, who returned to the camp passively enough. He didn't have a word to say about the whole episode, except that he'd scratched his legs walking several miles through fields to the main highway.

It won't hurt to finish off the story of Max's summer right here, for he was the one student in the programme on whom it had no evident effect whatsoever. How constructive, significant or durable the summer's effects were on other students are questions which subsequent events often raise and sometimes answer. But in Max's case there was no evidence that he ever established any relationship whatsoever to anything or anyone in the programme, beyond panhandling a little pot and beating up one smaller kid several times. He gave others few opportunities to engage him at all and never permitted any conversation, which by mischance commenced, to flower. He, too, like our continual 'applicants', became a measure of the summer's success. He represented absolute zero, $-270°$ Fahrenheit, as far as 'programme influence' was concerned. Curiously, although he was not nearly so vexatious, scary or insistently time-consuming as many other students, I am sure he was also universally the least well-liked student in the programme. Or maybe that's not so curious after all.

On my arrival at the camp everyone was huddled, soaking wet, in the dining-hall. Wads of towels which were to last the week lay used and trampled on the floor. Apparently there had been a brief thundershower shortly after the arrival of the caravan. Although the buses had unloaded by the dining-hall, most of the students and staff had been caught outside, having begun the quarter-mile downhill trek to the cabins by the lake.

Staff members had begun the trek to get linen and blankets down to the cabins and assign beds. The students, however, had been pulled by a far different

sense of purpose. The upcoming thundershower had set the bullfrogs around the lake to croaking, and their chorus in the distance sounded to some of the boys like nothing so much as a rival gang preparing for a rumble. Having never seen a bullfrog, they were not to be dissuaded from this belief.

Shortly, with six or ten of the toughest blacks as self-appointed leaders, fringed by several white aspirants and flanked by a dozen or so giggling, shrieking girls, a crusade to the lake shore was underway, only to be cut short by the rain. Not until later in the week, when one enterprising student captured and boxed both a snake and a bullfrog, could the students be persuaded that the noise was harmless. In the meantime, although they came to realize that the various animal sounds they heard at night were indeed those of animals and not of rival gangs, they remained afraid of them.

The 'end' of the first day

Indeed, this fear, we gradually came to realize, was one of the primary reasons for their restlessness the first few nights. 'Restlessness' is a tame word, which can be applied now, in retrospect. At the time, it seemed to the staff like utter and malicious chaos. After a feature-length movie and a period of ping-pong and volleyball that first evening, we asked everyone to retire to the cabins to find their beds and get acquainted with the other members of their tutor groups. There being but six flashlights altogether and the students being fearful of the dark, this process began to unfold in an orderly fashion, a reassuring event since suppertime had been a trying experience. The students seemed to be utterly unaccustomed to any kind of group cooperation, somehow disappearing and leaving most of the table-setting, cooking and dishwashing to staff members. This time, however, the students negotiated the hill to the cabins together, the boys and girls separating into their distinct areas quietly.

Greg, Rob, Valery, Rick (the Vista volunteer who had helped recruit many of the students) and I spent a pleasant five minutes congratulating ourselves in hushed tones near the cabins on the end of the first day and trading first impressions of various students. Then we heard the first shrieks from the girls' cabins. The girls were being attacked by the boys. Well, that was only to be expected, vexatious for the staff for a while and fun for the kids. Or was that all there was to it? Two of the girls in the programme had been out of school pregnant most of their ninth-grade year. The chief reason we had been unable to attract any Puerto Rican girls to the programme, despite help within the Puerto Rican community, was their mothers' fear of pregnancy in a residential programme. Other parents, too, just that afternoon, had voiced questions and fears regarding 'parietal hours' and were not at all reassured, though they remained polite, when we informed them that we intended to set that policy and others with the students.

Perhaps these various concerns ran through our minds during the first half hour of good-naturedly chasing the boys and telling them to get back to their cabins. As the night wore on, however, there ceased to be time for such leisurely

considerations. Not only did the boys' marauding expeditions not cease; it seemed that the girls themselves were inviting the boys in, making assignations through the windows, opening doors for the boys when the women tutors were not watching, and slipping out themselves. Since there was no evidence that any of the kids wanted to cooperate at all, nor that they in any way respected or feared the authority of the staff, it appeared utterly impossible to prevent them from doing as they would.

Twelve staff members (the rest were not staying at the camp), with no legal, familial or organizational sanctions (we had yet to agree on rules and enforcements) and little personal influence, were powerless in relation to 60, sometimes frighteningly abusive, energetic teenagers. The frighteningly abusive challenges by students seemed to occur when staff members, reaching the end of their resources and patience, acted scared, formal or threatening. The students seemed to know that they had won at that point and would press their advantage by coolly demanding to know what the staff member intended to do or throwing a crushing tantrum at an uncertain white woman tutor.

At the same time another kind of interaction was beginning to take place. Fewer staff members were available for 'chasing' duties as the night wore on because increasingly they found themselves calming down one or two students and entering into their first conversations with them. It was during these conversations that several boys first confessed that they were banding together and making a lot of noise because they were afraid of the forest sounds. Such discussions sometimes led to immediate 'zoology lessons', the tutor identifying each animal sound and describing the characteristics of the animal in question. The following day several lunch-table conversations could be overheard, with one student deriding the others who reported disliking the animal sounds and self-importantly (but of course casually) relaying his tidbits of knowledge to them. Other discussions during the night turned to a comparison of the city and the country, of the, to them, known fears of the street *versus* unknown fears of the forest. Participants in these conversations provided some of the initial fuel for class arguments the following morning on the week's curricular theme, 'New Beginnings" or 'Experimenting with the Strange'.

Shifting scenarios

The scenario of alarms and chases continued until dawn. As two or three staff members would gather during the night for brief interludes of mutual support, the obvious topic of conversation was, what is happening? The answers became much clearer after two more nights. The second night was a virtual repeat performance of the first, again lasting till dawn. This time, however, the girls' role shifted from aiding and abetting the boys to aiding and abetting the women tutors in securing their cabins against entry. In a day's time the women tutors had gained sufficient confidence from enough of the girls to learn that many of them, while they very much enjoyed the excitement of the night-time escapades, as well as the attention paid them by the

boys, were very concerned and frightened by the possibilities of pregnancy and of being used rather than cared for by someone.

The third night, dreaded by the now-exhausted staff, turned out to be quiet. What had happened to our rampaging, chaotic barbarians of two nights before? Part of the answer was that they too were exhausted and thus more prone to sleep. Another part of the answer was that the intense interactions of the past two days had rendered the environment familiar and non-threatening to them. How intense these interactions had been struck me when I realized that after two days I knew not only the names of all 60 students but also some event or conversation that I had shared with each of them or that was common knowledge throughout the camp.

Different staff members attached different weights to various theoretical explanations of these events. There was the 'geographical' theory, already alluded to, which held that the kids were simply scared of the new environment. This theory leaned on the evidence of fear of animal noises, as well as the constant what-sounded-like-bitter complaining by many students about the primitive conditions (having to make our own food, no heat in the cabins, having to walk to that shed with no flusher).

Doc, toothaches and the physiological theory

Then there was the 'physiological' theory, which held in its extreme form that these kids were no different from middle-class teenagers except that poverty resulted in physiological damages that prevented them from behaving in orderly, approved ways. This theory rested on the rather surprising discovery during the third day that Sonny Bates and Seth Phillips, two of the most unstinting instigators of the raids, were unable to sleep because of severe chronic toothaches. They received only pain-killing shots when they visited the dentist because they couldn't afford the cost of longer-term solutions. Having during the spring gratefully received the offer of some young dentists in New Haven to work for free on our students, we now sent them their first patients. Thereafter, the only problem that Sonny and Seth presented us in regard to their sleeping habits was how to wake them up.

The 'physiological' theory gained strength not only from this direct evidence, but also from two other factors. One was that, unlike the 'geographical' theory, it shed some light on why students chose their *particular way* of dealing with this new situation. The second factor was the corroborating evidence supplied by 'Doc'.

Doc was a third-year medical student who had agreed to spend the week with us in the wilderness, since we were so remote from medical facilities. The students named him, and the staff picked up on the name. I never saw him again after that first week and can't for the life of me remember his real name, but that first week he was a key figure, undoubtedly the most sought-after individual in the programme. At all hours of day and night some student was trying to find Doc.

In part, this behaviour became evidence used to support a third, 'psycho-social', theory which held that the primary deprivation from which these students suffered was neglect, both at home and at school. Therefore, what they could not really believe—and needed to test by their antics the first two nights and by their constant visits to Doc for imagined knee-scrapes and digestive problems—was our willingness to attend to them.

But, in part, the visits to Doc also revealed a host of genuine physiological problems that accounted for a lot of apparently anti-social, self-destructive behaviour. Many of the non-readers among our students (about half of whom averaged a third-grade reading level) required glasses but never before had been diagnosed. They avoided reading like the plague, partly because they could not make out the words. By the end of the summer 20 students had new pairs of eyeglasses, our original budget for medical supplies having been far exceeded.

There were real problems of digestion, too. Two of our students were so accustomed to living on French fries and milk shakes that they were literally unable to stomach our regular meals at camp (until we brought in extra supplies of potato chips and Kool-ade). Needless to say, this non-diet could severely lower the students' energy levels. Some girls' cramps during menstrual periods were aggravated by fear and lack of knowledge about their condition and lack of sanitary napkins.

The fact that such events were part of daily discourse ('Mary's on the rag') only served to perpetuate fears, misinformation and unwillingness by the girls to appear in public at such times. During the year this situation could account for absences that would abrogate whatever effort the girl might make to keep up with the curriculum. During the summer this situation repeatedly complicated efforts by the women tutors to rouse their groups in the morning.

Milly's pains

Doc also gave us our first insights into the incredible range of ills among our students which straddled the border between the physiological and the psychological. At the most general level was the oft-observed low pain threshold of many students. This was most obvious among the girls, because its existence among boys was to some extent hidden by the strong male norm of appearing impervious to pain. Thus, it was not until some tutors gained the confidence of Sonny and Seth that their toothaches were discovered. But once discovered, it became obvious that the pain which another person might have borne while going about his daily business was utterly distracting them from concentrated activity.

Among the girls Milly Parson soon gained the preeminent reputation for painful ills. A day could not go by without her contracting a severe stomach ache or headache or uteral pain. It turned out that she had missed school two-thirds of the year because of such maladies. As the summer wore on, she spent increasing amounts of time in the Yale infirmary, complaining that the doctors never cured her.

From the first, Doc maintained that these ills were not feigned to gain attention, but rather that they were physiologically based. At the same time, pain itself is preeminently a psychological process by which a malfunctioning part claims the attention of the whole person. If the person has other concerns, commitments and goals the pain can serve as an occasional reminder that the part needs attention at an appropriate moment. The relative predominance of the pain is influenced by the gravity and immediacy of the malfunction. But if the personality tends to be less organized, as is generally the case among adolescents unless they are compulsive, and if the person has a low level of self-esteem, as is often the case among compulsive or deprived persons, then his body becomes his highest level of stable organization and the only obvious vehicle for realizing possibilities-in-the-world. A threat to its integrity, however minor from the point of view of a person committed to other social values, becomes totally threatening and preoccupying to such a person.

Towards the end of the summer, after the nurses and doctors at the infirmary had virtually given up on Milly and more than insinuated that she was merely feigning her uteral problems, a complex story emerged. It turned out that her uterus was indeed infected. Milly had failed to clean herself carefully after engaging in intercourse, knowing nothing about such a procedure. At the same time, there was no observable reason why the infection had pained her so much. Another woman might never have suspected the infection until some test revealed it.

As members of the staff worked with Milly in drawing, writing and dramatic role-playing during the summer and following year, however, it became evident that relationships with men were highly traumatic experiences for her. She hated and feared men, having long witnessed the parade of them that used and abused her mother, a parade that had started well before her unknown father; and at the same time she had picked up her mother's flirtatious style with men, as well as her tendency to measure her social value by how much a man wanted her—wanting, in turn, being calculated by his desire for her body, that being her only intrinsic value evident to her.

The resulting emotional contradictions became visible in each of her relationships with boys, as she alternated quiet but ostentatious flirtation with loud and obstreporous vilification of them. Her own deliberate strategy was also based on a precarious balance which precluded stable relationships but not suicide attempts. She hated a man the more he showed an interest in her, she once confided to me, hating him most if he had intercourse with her, thinking to use her and leave her. But, she continued, in fact it was she who was using the man, for what she wanted most in life was a child she could care for 'without no man to mess it up'. Her strategy was of course brilliantly and tragically self-reinforcing, since her style and emphasis first attracted men to her body, then ultimately drove them away, confirming her distrust of them.

I, too, eventually played one of these prepared roles. I personally tutored Milly quite intensively during the year after the first summer in math and

English. Enough trust developed in our relationship that I was able both to confront her and kid with her about the very patterns of behaviour I have been describing above. The very distance between us in terms of age, race, social position and personal background probably emphasized our mutual inability to 'use' one another, making it easier for me to put an arm around her without seeming flirtatious or to speak impatiently without seeming uncaring. Then, just before the beginning of the second summer session, I married. And the session itself involved more students and staff than the first summer and more prearranged structuring of time. Milly and I saw one another rarely and briefly in the normal course of events. She felt dropped, betrayed, jealous. She became utterly apathetic and complaining. She aroused the whole campus and the fire department two late nights in a row by setting off false alarms. She made no progress. After the summer, although my formal connection with the programme had ended, I visited her home twice to see her, leaving my number for her to call. Although she had called the previous year, she did not now. I had evidently shown my true colours as an untrust-worthy man. The positive effects of the first year, however small and frag-mentary, were probably more than negated by this final sequence.

This story, initially intended as an example of the interplay between physio-logical and psychological factors in determining our students' behaviour, has certainly wandered across time, far past the first nights of the programme. It has also wandered beyond the boundaries of evidence for the 'physiological' theory of the students' behaviour those first nights, and enters the territory of the third theory, which I've tagged the 'psycho-social' theory.

The myth of Luther and Melinda

The first full day of 'school' yielded an incident which not only further exemplifies the 'psycho-social' theory, but also gained immediate recognition among staff members as a mythological archetype of inspired staff behaviour when confronted by an intransigent student. As such it was told time and again when staff spirits were low, or when we wanted to make a visitor under-stand what we were trying to do.

The protagonists in the myth are Luther, a small, young, black staff member, unable to pass his first year at college, despite enormous desire and effort, because of his inferior academic skills (and consequently hired as an adminis-trative assistant rather than as a tutor), and Melinda, a round-and-fiery-eyed, menacing, beautiful, black girl, so vehement towards teachers at her high school that the vice-principal had taken to suspending her immediately when-ever she reappeared in school. The setting was the main lodge, up the hill a hundred yards beyond the dining-hall, containing classroom space and a large central area where we showed movies, held general meetings, played ping-pong and listened to music. The issue was the one rule of the camp, 'No smoking in the buildings', since they were made of wood. The rule promised to require no active enforcement by the staff, since its utility was so self-evident

and since there was no restriction on smoking outdoors where most activities, including classes, tended to occur anyway. Nevertheless, within minutes of bringing this one rule to the attention of the students at the end of our general meeting late the first morning, I noticed Melinda determinedly pacing about the hall alone, smoking a cigarette.

'Melinda, would you go outside if you're going to smoke?'

'Who the piss you think you is, motherfucker? Mr. Big-Ass?'

At this point one-down in the repartee, but with a clear sense that I could easily descend much lower, I was permitted to edge towards the wings by Luther, who took over.

'Don't you want to cooperate with us, Melinda?' he asked sweetly.

'Later for you. Little prick; big words. Keep ya nose out-a ma ass, mine'll stay out-a yours,' she replied moderately, suspicious but uncertain about his intentions.

'That sounds reasonable, Melinda, "everyone mind his own business",' he appeared to conclude with the same unfathomable sweetness as he ambled off.

I had preoccupied myself with some other person's less demanding inquiry as soon as Luther replaced me, but had kept one ear on their dialogue. I didn't intend to 'see' Melinda smoking again now, but I was a little disappointed that Luther had dropped it so easily.

Within a few seconds, however, Luther returned with a broom and began sweeping the ashes Melinda had dropped across the room and out of the door. Two trips took care of the already-fallen ashes. Luther now deferentially assumed a position two or three steps to the rear of Melinda, following her about inconspicuously. As soon as she flicked her next ash, he pounced on it eagerly with the broom, starting another trip to the door. She greeted his return with a glare.

'What the shit you doin'?' she asked contemptuously and as indifferently as possible.

'It's my job to be as accommodating as possible to the students, Melinda. Since it wasn't convenient for you to go outside just now to smoke, I thought I could keep the rest of the staff from getting angry at you by sweeping out the ashes. That way you can do whatever you want without anybody hassling you.'

She apparently had no immediate comeback, so, attempting to avoid her one-down status, she turned away before the last words were out of his mouth, stamped out her cigarette and made for the door. Luther swept out the butt, and I assumed the scene was over, a minor, momentary, psychological victory for Luther, with Melinda as defiant and ornery as ever.

Her wounded screech from somewhere outside notified me that I had again computed the score too soon. When I reached the window, I saw Melinda and Luther disappearing down the path over the lip of the hill, she marching haughtily ahead, turning occasionally to scream imprecations at him, he meekly protesting that he would stay out of her way, that he was merely trying to mind his own business as a staff member, etc.

Later that afternoon, Rob Gilman rushed up to me chortling and insisted that I drop everything and follow him. He led me down to the waterfront and pointed. Out on the lake were Melinda and Luther in a row boat, she regally commanding his every stroke from the back, he meekly complying, the true servant.

The ridiculous, useless and discriminatory staff

Melinda was a complex, bright, proud woman, and she was not about to admit that she had enjoyed the attention or found someone willing to be useful to her. Instead, when she told the story that night to various staff members, with a huge victorious grin on her face, she reported what a ridiculous and useless little fairy Luther was, as shown by his inane behaviour following her around.

'You pay him for that shit? I can do that. You discriminatin' against us students. You be payin' us equal with the staff, if you know what's right.'

Again and again throughout the summer Melinda demonstrated her consummate mastery at creating binds for staff members, so that they would have to act in ways that proved one or several of the following propositions:

(1) that they didn't really respect her freedom and individuality;

(2) that they didn't really care for her;

(3) that they didn't act consistently with their own principles;

(4) that no good ever came from cooperating with or trusting someone else.

For example, I remember the time she marched up to me to announce that she had stolen all the glass covers for the wall-lights of the common-room in our college.

'Oh?' I said a little wearily, trying to summon up the energy to gird my mental loins for the coming set-to.

'What ya goin' do about it? You the one in charge. You sposed to prevent that kind of thing. What ya goin' do?'

(Ugh, here goes.) 'I guess I'll try to get them back, Melinda. Where are they?'

'In my room. And you can't go in there without my permission.'

'You wouldn't want to go over to your room and bring them back yourself, would you?'

'No, I ain't going over that way today,' with a big smile, enjoying the gradual buildup to the climax of her latest invention.

'Well, would you give me permission to get them?'

'You crazy? What would I go to all the trouble of stealin' them for an' then let you get them?'

'Well, I guess it's hopeless then,' I concluded, giving up much too early for Melinda's taste.

'You go near my room without my permission and they'll all be broken!' she added fiercely, trying to savour another in a long string of successes against these dumb chumps, but feeling just a bit cheated by the lack of fireworks.

A day later four of the glass covers were back in place, two still missing. Melinda reported with resigned mockery that she had had to do the incompetent staff's job for it once again, but that the 'criminal' had already maliciously broken two covers before she could break away from her other activities to go attend to the case. She thought I ought to come look at the broken glass in the sewer and then get to work apprehending the criminal as quickly as possible. As for her, she expected an appropriate reward for her work ... and so on.

True to form, Melinda always denied that the programme had any value whatsoever for anybody. She became especially furious if she ever heard staff members discussing her (we made no effort to prevent students from hearing us talk about them) and would demand to know who had given us permission to discuss her. She once heard one of us telling the story about her and Luther to a visitor and made it a point for the following week or so to search out each visitor and assure him that the programme was worthless, that the staff told nothing but lies, and that, in particular, there wasn't a shred of truth in any story about her. Of course, her denials only increased the credibility of the story and the number of times it was told. Ever after that first day, Melinda was utterly, if subtly, changed from a brooding, threatening, intransigent, unapproachable outsider to a satisfied, demanding, impossible, lovable insider.

This change and her obvious pleasure in the attention she received not only illustrates the 'psycho-social' theory that these students craved attention once they discovered that it really was freely given, but also can serve to introduce a final theory bandied about by the staff to explain those early nights. (Amazing how much theorizing a little excitement generates in even the most 'practical' or persons, who would deny all interest in abstractions if asked.)

How institutional losers adapt

We can call this theory the 'institutional' theory to distinguish it from the others. According to this theory, our students had long been treated as outsiders and failures by American institutions, preeminently by the public schools. The schools transmitted middle-class values of order, individualistic competition in private, conformity in public and intellectual achievement isolated from commitments to communal action—values foreign and irrelevant to our students, but nevertheless imposed upon them insofar as possible. The schools could generally avoid questions such as whether their aims were valid and why they weren't achieving their aims by using these students' failures as a contrast to honours students' successes. Winning has no meaning except by contrast to losing. Oligopolistic capitalism, whether material or intellectual, requires losers to motivate the winners. Or, to use sociological language, deviance is necessary to help define conformity.

How do the losers, the deviants, handle their relationship to the institutions whose interest it is, no matter what the rhetoric, to keep them in the losing

role? We were seeing the answer to this question acted out among us those first two nights, according to some staff members. The losers come to define themselves as outside and opposed to institutions, perhaps trying to con them, perhaps withdrawing apathetically, perhaps defiantly challenging them. Their habitual way of relating to some new organization would logically be the reverse of 'winners'. Whereas the winners (and other players still competing for the prizes) try to psych out the leader's expectations, the formal institutional reward and penalty systems and the informal rules of the game in order to *meet* them, deviants psych out these same features in order to *contradict* them. Only when a deviant has successfully contradicted the institution can he begin to feel in a stable, trustworthy relationship to it.

According to this theory, our students were prosaically, and after a while more desperately, seeking out the institutional and interpersonal limits of the Upward Bound staff, in order to exceed them.

In several cases, they did manage to establish staff members' limits rather easily. One male tutor named Kevin turned out to be an earnest, but over-intrusive and officious intellectualizer, with a moralistic and paternalistic tendency to define staff members' and students' obligations to them in crisis situations. This 'let-us-reason-together-children' approach infuriated staff and students alike, and students soon found they could wound his pride and undermine his effectiveness in a variety of ways: refusing to respond, denying his authority outright, insisting that he bully them, or reporting his gaffes to sympathetic staff ears. Susan, a female tutor, quickly revealed that resistance soon pushed her past the point of good intentions to irritated, illogical anger and subsequent tears and despair. The girls, especially, thereafter enjoyed terrorizing her whenever she opposed their wishes. In general, students merci-lessly exploited staff members' weaknesses when bored or bothered.

Other staff members, of course, exhibited a far greater capacity to act creatively, fashioning durable relationships and common goals from initial distance and mutual strangeness. Luther, really unhireable on the basis of formal qualifications, repeatedly demonstrated tenacity and intuitive genius in relating to the students. Ray Flowers, a black tutor who had remained dis-appointingly silent throughout the spring meetings, belying my initial sense of his promise, immediately flowered, in keeping with his name, when the session opened. Spontaneous organization seemed to sprout around him, the first evidence being the manifestation of the International Volleyball Champion-ships, which engaged everyone's attention between supper and dark the evening of our first full day and every evening thereafter the first week.

These staff members seemed to gain their personal authority by a combination of genuineness (expressing their actual feelings and acting as they said they would), willingness to listen, an ability to be firm without being defensive or attacking, a kind of intuitive knowledge about when to act and when to wait, an ability to combine specifics and abstractions relating their behaviour to goals of the community, and an ability to be friendly with students without denying the distinctions in age, role and attitudes between themselves and

students. At least those are the qualities I could see that seemed to help them negotiate the daily dilemmas that for others became untenable contradictions again and again—*contradictions between being a friend and being a staff member or between permitting individual freedom and creating communal order.*

The strengths and weaknesses of the staff members were emphasized by the virtual lack of institutional rules at the outset of the summer. There being no impersonal limits to test, our students were forced to concentrate their attention on persons. Here the special genius of our non-organization for our particular students asserted itself. Although at first it appeared that we would reap nothing but chaos, we soon experienced an emergent order, in which the students were participants and, in fact, in large part the determining forces. Had we attempted to impose order, we might have succeeded with a few students, and in time turned a few of those few into winners, but the rest would have immediately exceeded the imposed limits, reinforcing rather than in any way growing beyond their habitual role. As it was, one can imagine many students experiencing considerable indeterminate frustration as they strove to break non-existent rules those first days. Their exhaustion was less hypothetical.

Classes—the non-deviants, the participants and the obstructors

Despite everyone's lack of sleep the first two nights, we had virtually 100 per cent attendance at classes the first days. Only the older high-school teachers correctly diagnosed this sign of participativeness as part of the students' tour of the facilities to determine what they were about to reject and to study how to go about rejecting it. As the summer wore on, two-thirds attendance by the students came to be considered a 'good' day.

Of course, not every single one of our students fitted the 'deviant' syndrome as drawn. A few were pure pleasure to work with from beginning to end. There was Penny Reeves, a diminutive white girl who managed to be cooperative, hard-working, attractive and unafraid of her surroundings. The one-third minority of whites often felt isolated and attacked in the increasingly black-defined culture of the programme. Speakers and curriculum often focused on black issues, never specifically on white issues. Music in the common-room became almost entirely soul rather than acid. 'We must be feeling just the way you feel most of the time,' Penny could offer with sympathy during a class discussion, rather than simply retreating into self-pity.

Carlo Tithers was another non-deviant. Older than the other students by two years and from Bridgeport rather than New Haven, he had taken a great deal of initiative to find and apply for the programme. I could never exactly make out what had soured him on the street life and lent him determination to try to learn. His words garbled by nervousness and his academic record garbled by lack of skills (although considerably higher than our students' norm of three-fifths F's), he nevertheless showed an immediate and rare

appreciation of abstract relations in social behaviour. When he entered the programme, I was confident that he, unlike most of the staff, understood the theoretical relationships among its purpose, form and intended results with absolute clarity. He therefore also understood the risks involved and the inevitability of failures. And he understood that the whole environment, not just classes, could be an arena for his learning. He even recognized that his understandings and aims made him susceptible to being dismissed by other students as straight, particularly if his efforts to help realize the aims of the programme occurred in the form of argument or public initiatives. Consequently, he never held any elected office during the summer; neither did he take strong stands in debates about our community or dominate class discussions. Instead, he became Melinda's closest boy friend during the first week and could be seen promenading about the camp with her in serious conversation. And later he took a similar role in relation to the chairman of the Discipline Committee, whose job was the most demanding and delicate at the school.

But, whatever their intentions may have been, a number of students besides Penny and Carlo got hooked on the classes the first two days. We teamed an 'administrator' with one teacher and a dozen students for two hours each morning to deal with the week's theme through poetry, students' writing about experiences at the camp, drawing, records and discussions of the previous night's movie or one that might be shown at the beginning of the morning. Another topic of discussion during the first week was the structure of the school for the succeeding six weeks. During the first days especially, resident tutors also joined these classes, enlivening the discussions and making possible several supervised activities at once. After the class, we would hold a general meeting to consolidate the work of the various classes towards our rules and enforcements and daily schedule. Then, for the final hour of the morning, we rounded up every staff member and volunteer we could find and asked them to tutor three students each in reading and writing or any other subject in which the student needed help. We hoped that the resulting privacy and personal relationships would help break through students' resistance to acknowledging their skill deficiencies and working to overcome them.

Beginning and then sustaining a conversation with a class composed almost entirely of veteran non-participants and obstructors is not the simplest task on earth. With a Melinda refusing loudly to cooperate, being offered the option of leaving, then blasting back into the room every 15 minutes to point her finger at everybody and laugh, continuity and any sort of dramatic development tended to dissolve. Moreover, none of the students had ever participated in so small a class or in one which was intended purely as a conversation (as contrasted to one in which the teacher encourages discussion at his discretion and then wonders why students don't participate). Students reacted suspiciously, cutting down one another's efforts to say anything serious, interrupting staff members to test their reactions, or trying out their endless vocabulary of swear words for effect.

At the same time, most of the instructors had already decided to shed the

'deprived background' that many public school teachers bring with them into a classroom. They had overcome the assumption that 'imposed order permits coordinated effort which results in learning' for the more generally valid axiom that 'mutual learning creates community which in turn generates order'. This change afforded them the luxury of concentrating on learning in the classroom. Secondly, they had a wealth of materials at their disposal to use as they and the students wished to explore an existential theme significant to us all at this time, 'New Beginnings'. Instead of having to choose between stopping or permitting the class to be distracted by 'extra-curricular' discussions, the teacher could apply his pedagogical skill to such discussions to discover and investigate differences of attitude towards our new beginning.

Third, the fact that we were negotiating our political relations to one another opened up all student reactions in class to question. How should obstructions like Melinda's be dealt with, her teacher wondered with the rest of the class during one of her absences. Should the teacher have the power to send her out of class? Should the director have the power to suspend her from school? Should there be a committee of her peers to whom such bothersome behaviour could be referred for action? Should the persons whom she bothered simply deal with her directly? Melinda stomped back out of class when asked what *she* thought at her next apparition. But soon she was back to deliver herself of the opinion that anyone who misbehaved should be thrown out of school. At a subsequent reapparition she was surprised to have a quiet member of the class address her directly to the effect that throwing her out of school would be much too easy for her and would represent a failure on the part of the school because it would not have helped her learn anything new.

In one class, Simon and Garfunkel's 'I am a rock' led to a conversation about how hard it was for teenagers to speak seriously and personally to one another. In another, the analysis of e.e. cummings' 'Pity this poor monster manunkind not' burst from hesitant stutters and derogatory exclamations at 'those crazy words, that ain't how you make words, don't he know how to write' into a full-blown metaphysical argument about the relation of science to nature. In a third, some Richard Wright haikus inspired astonishing poetic efforts by the students themselves. As each student copied his poem on the board for all to share after a five-minute composition period, Seth Phillips, whose toothache was yet to become public knowledge, delivered himself of the following sentiment:

> I'm very big outside,
> But very small inside.
> I'm getting smaller.

Micky Robertson, the only white guy who could deal with the blacks on equal terms and without fear, had written:

> A room
> A thousand doors
> None opens.

Tutoring—reading, writing and relationships

When we broke for tutoring after the general meeting that first morning, I found myself paired with three white students, Cynthia, Nel and Frank. Frank and I already had the makings of a relationship. On the way to camp the evening before he had been as voluble as his backseat partner, Max, had been silent. We had agreed to spend part of each afternoon trading my small skill in judo in return for his more developed skill in karate (an agreement which Frank's badly sprained thumb abrogated within five minutes of the beginning of our first session).

Frank had already browsed through our library of paperbacks and was carrying *Black Like Me* when our quartet met for tutoring. Faced with the problem of how to tutor three persons individually at the same time, I suggested that he spend the hour reading. We quickly devised three distinct marks he could put in the margin to mark and distinguish among words or sentences he didn't understand, ideas or descriptions which he found new and interesting, and passages he disagreed with or found boring. We agreed to discuss what he had read at the beginning of the next period.

In the meantime, I turned to Cynthia and Nel, suggesting that we walk and talk, asking one another whatever questions we wished in order to become acquainted and find some work we would like to do together. I was beginning to feel tired and unimaginative. Somehow neither girl excited me. A few monosyllables distinguished Cynthia from Nel by name, but they seemed alike in appearance—pinched, pale, droopy—and in attitude—reticent, withdrawn, lustreless. Both were sour and suspicious about the programme and the camp so far. They could foresee nothing for themselves during the upcoming week but discomfort, boredom and probable hostility from the blacks.

Their apathy was contagious. I found it hard to come up with questions, or to want to come up with questions. I began to believe that their unwillingness to venture beyond their shells was probably unbreachable and that their predictions about the week would turn into self-fulfilling prophecies. Towards the end of the hour I asked them each to write a page about their experiences the first two days in camp before tomorrow afternoon. We agreed to meet in the afternoon so that I could work with Frank during the morning hour. I had no idea where we might go that second afternoon. As far as I could see, our conversation had trickled to a stop. And I had no hopes that their writing would be anything but a few flat, opaque sentences.

As it turned out that second afternoon, I was right about the writing, but wrong about the conversation. Evidently Cynthia and Nel had discussed me at great length in the intervening day, our first conversation having been as monumental an event as ever impinged upon their lives. Cynthia had reached the point of suspending her generalized distrust enough to risk asking me some questions about myself. Whereas the day before the girls had contented themselves with asking me a few formal questions in an uninterested tone and without pursuing them beyond my initial reply, Cynthia now returned to

my first answers and pressed further. What was it like to go to school in a foreign country? Did I like it? Did I make friends? How did it feel to leave one place and go to another? And as I told stories about my childhood, pausing to ask them whether they'd had similar experiences, but not pressing when their answers remained flat, Cynthia's questions became increasingly personal. What were my mother and father like? Did I ever fight with them? Why wasn't I married?

Our second hour flew by far more pleasantly than the first, but I still had no idea what kind of work we could do together. Their writing had turned out to be surprisingly competent technically, but so mechanical and unrevealing that I could find no clues for further writing assignments. This time I asked each to choose a book that interested her from the paperback library and begin to read it, noting in the margin whatever questions it made her think of.

The third afternoon we began by looking at the books together, at my request. Both claimed they liked their chosen book, but neither could say why. Nor had either written any questions in the margin. They didn't know what kind of questions I wanted, they told me, nor what passages merited questioning. That kind of passive response by students always angers me, no matter how often I hear it, and even though I know that they have been trained by years of school to respond in that way. This time, however, my anger was somewhat dissipated by an air of positive expectation on the part of the girls, a sense that the discussion of reading was a mere preliminary to the real work of the afternoon.

As my slightly prolonged silence indicated I was willing to let the subject of reading drop, Cynthia moved into the vacuum as she had the previous afternoon with more questions. This time, however, the questions were about herself. What use was school, she wondered, especially since she planned to become a hairdresser? Why were she and Nel such good friends, yet neither felt friendly towards other people? How could the black girls stand having the guys touch them so much even when they weren't their boyfriends?

Nel showed no indication that she was about to raise similar questions about herself, but she did 'confess', with the first glint I had seen in her eye and a flush, that Cynthia was her best friend and that she didn't see any reason to take a chance on making other friends as long as she already had one.

I felt we'd struck pay dirt. As the girls chatted animatedly, with an occasional question from me, I formulated a writing assignment for them. Each was to describe the other as fully as possible and give her opinions about what the other ought to change about herself, what was keeping her from changing, and how she could go about changing. Neither was to share with the other what she had written until the three of us met again the following day. (This provision was intended to free them from one another's probably-inhibiting surveillance and to heighten the dramatic tension.)

They accepted the assignment with many a question about what I meant by each part, how long it should be, etc. I could see they were enthusiastic

enough about the project to define these things for themselves, so I walked off laughing despite their protestations.

I must say that I found a curiously tangential aspect of our meeting the fourth morning the most touching and symbolic. I was delighted by their writing—I'm sure they both exceeded by far their longest previous paper, each generating more than four pages, and their descriptions and disagreements fuelled conversations and papers for another week; but my memory of our conversation is a little vague because I was mainly dazzled by how pretty both girls had, apparently independently, made themselves. I can't really describe what made them look so pretty. To say that they were wearing dresses and seemed to have done their hair doesn't really capture the essence of the matter. It was more a matter of wilted balloons being blown up than of Christmas trees being decorated, it seemed to me. Or maybe the entire phenomenon occurred in the eyes of the beholder.

Results and Ironies

The excitement about writing was somewhat more permanent than the prettiness. Although Nel soon reverted to her sour look, she continued writing, becoming interested in conversational dialogue and using a tape-recorder to get a clearer sense of its rhythm. Cynthia ventured onwards, writing for our weekly newspaper and testing some new friendships. It was clear to me that Cynthia was going to qualify as one of our great successes of the summer.

Then after returning home for the third weekend, Cynthia didn't show up at the college Sunday evening at the beginning of the fourth week. Nel reported Cynthia was not coming back. I found her at home later that week. She said that all the changing she was doing seemed likely to her to make more school and some other career besides hairdressing reasonable. She felt she had too much of herself invested in being a hairdresser to change that, so she was quitting Upward Bound before she *really* began to want to do something besides hairdressing. The emotional illogic of her argument (if she even got to the point of preferring some other career, wouldn't that in itself indicate that she was no longer invested in hairdressing) was impenetrable. I could not influence her in the slightest.

At first I thought there must be some other reason, probably connected with her family, that she was unwilling to talk about. But none ever emerged through Nel or other students who knew her. Nor was I able to discover any evidence of some traumatic experience occurring to her within the programme. Had she simply become scared by the speed with which she was changing? I don't claim to know. I'm still surprised that it was she who quit and not Nel. And even more surprised that Nel didn't quit after Cynthia did. I could have sworn that Cynthia's presence and example was the only factor that held Nel at the programme from day to day.

Meanwhile, my third tutee, Frank, had launched himself into the programme

in a painful frenzy. Neither in reading nor in writing did he need cajoling. He waded through four books during the first week, all about aspects of black experience in America. He took to writing essays and asserting his opinions on a range of topics focusing around social problems of race and poverty. His pain was at first visible only by inference, in his rigid posture, dilated eyes and tense, abrupt gestures. Next I began to wonder why he was reading so many books about blacks when his essays and conversation were a steady stream of vituperative condemnation of them. Then he began to ask me strange, indirect questions. Did I think black women could in any sense be considered beautiful? If my father had believed something very strongly before he died, would I consider myself a traitor to his memory if I acted counter to that belief? Finally, I began to suspect the pattern in his activity when I observed him during the day wandering about apparently alone yet constantly watching Carmen, a spectacular black girl. He had obviously become infatuated with her, despite his father's teachings. His own sense of order was built directly from his father's but had yet to solidify, so he was living in a brittle state of ambivalence and fear, tortured and tempted by his attraction to Carmen.

'Black women are immoral,' he would inveigh to me; 'blacks have no sense of order or discipline; of course I have nothing against them, but I will not room with one at the college; that's asking too much, an invasion of privacy; when my mother hears this is a programme for blacks, she probably won't let me continue anyway.' In the meantime, he would wander in the vicinity of Carmen, only once, as far as I saw, approaching as close as a ping-pong game with her.

After the first week at camp, Frank's productivity fell off. He began to complain of headaches that made it impossible for him to read for more than a few minutes at a time. He complained bitterly and constantly when, being the only white in his tutor group, he was roomed with a quiet black fellow at the college. He let it be known that his karate blows were lethal and that he would not hesitate to use his skill in self-defence. He practised loudly in the living-room of the three-room suite. And, of course, the black students quickly diagnosed his over-earnest tension and consequent susceptibility to mock adulation and indirect innuendo. They took to teasing him until, nearly losing his control, he would rush to a staff member and complain that he was being threatened. In fact, as the black students would then innocently claim, it was usually Frank who issued the direct threats and made the overt derogatory comments about race.

Other ironies, other results

Once again, Luther turned out to be the key staff member in the act. Somehow able to summon up more sympathy for Frank's dilemmas than others of us, he initially engaged in long, off-stage conversations with him. These conversations eventuated in the suggestion that Frank and Luther room together.

So, by the end of the second week, Frank was in the curious position of rooming with a black to avoid rooming with blacks, finding sympathy only from a black staff member for his complaints about lack of sympathy on the part of blacks.

Did this irony, and all of Luther's effort to perpetuate it, have a healing effect on Frank? To hear Frank speak of his respect for Luther as the first black person whom he had really come to know, one would say yes. To hear him speak of how the blacks ruined the programme and made it worthless, without acknowledging either his own destructive behaviour or his learning, one would say no. To compare his record at school the year before the programme to his record the year after, when his marks rose an average of two full letter grades, one would infer yes. To hear him defend his mother and insist desperately on agreeing with her that he should not return to the programme a second summer because of the blacks and because she needed more money, because his performance at school proved he didn't need help, and because it was time he quit school altogether and earn a living, one would infer no. What is the total healing score? $+1-1+1-1=0$, calculating one way; two-fourths, calculating another; perhaps still open to future influences, calculating a third way.

Chapter 4

A New Beginning (II)

The afternoons at the camp were hot and slow. The lake shore became the main gathering spot, although an occasional couple could be seen playing ping-pong or reading in the hall of the main lodge, throwing a football on the playing field, poking the captured snake with a stick, or engaged in tutoring under a tree.

The early evenings after supper became more definitely and more electrically defined than the afternoons by Ray Flowers' announcement of the International Volleyball Championships, to begin as soon as teams signed up Monday night. Thereupon, Rick Bayless, the Vista volunteer who'd turned up at camp with us, arose to explain in a tone of calculatedly infuriating braggadocio that this team was prepared to defend its championship against all comers. Upon being deluged by demands to name his team, he appeared to consider whether such a revelation would be strategic, then inadvertently leaked the information that it had yet to be formed.

Twenty minutes later Rick was loudly captaining and coaching his new team, himself by far the least competent player on it, to victory over an at least equally competent but completely psyched-out opposing sextet, the 'stands' alternately yelling for Rick's head and rolling on the ground, helpless with laughter, at his most recent error. Most of his errors were recouped by the play of his moody star, tall John Darius, who batted the ball as hard as he threw a football quarterbacking his high-school team.

But John, as the kids put it, 'got an attitude' each time he made a mistake or thought his team was being cheated. Then the hidden function of Rick's humorous over-coaching would assert itself, for he could put his arm around John's shoulder (quite a reach) and parade him back and forth across the court, joshing him out of his momentary determination never to touch a volleyball again.

The imminent victory of Rick's team led to a murmur among the watchers, 'Wait till Henry organize himself a team'. And with the victory of Rick's team, another challenge was issued by a team that boasted Henry Aston, the best basketball player at the camp, on its roster. Henry was as quiet and unobtrusive as John was flashy. He had not organized the team, nor did he captain or coach it. He merely played hard and well, especially courageous in leaping up in front of smashes by the opposing team to have them carom off his hands, arms or face and land in the opponents' territory before they realized that they had not won the point. But this was not enough. His team lost.

Each succeeding team to challenge Rick's included Henry Aston on it, and each team lost. Rick's team, of course, was becoming increasingly cohesive and increasingly skilled as its members continued to play together. Moreover, John's 'attitudes' became more and more infrequent.

At the same time, two other processes began to work on the situation. Rick's team was becoming more and more overconfident. And Henry Aston was becoming more and more interested in the organization of the opposing team.

Rick's team reigned as champion all Monday and Tuseday evenings, but the first real challenge occurred Wednesday evening at supper, when Henry quietly announced the formation of an All-Star team to meet the current champions in a two-out-of-three match. The All-Star quality of the team resided in its inclusion of girls and staff members as well as boys. Despite the presence of Rick himself and little Grace Hudson on his team, it had been assumed the first two evenings that the six strongest individual players among the boys would form the strongest combination to beat Rick's team. Only gradually did the analysts perceive the positive influence of Rick's antics, of Grace's determination, and of the other players' efforts to compensate for Grace's lack of height.

It also took a while for the pattern of the games to suggest the two-out-of-three gambit. For Rick's team would predictably build up a big lead over its opponents while they struggled to integrate their strengths and compensate for one another's weaknesses. Then the two teams would play evenly for a few points until the opponent would become demoralized as Rick's team neared 21.

The first game yielded the predicted result, except that Henry's team had pulled to within four points of Rick's before yielding to defeat. Throughout the game Rick's team maintained the calm self-assurance and taunting over-confidence that had so devastated its earlier opponents. The beginning of the second game served notice, however, that some new policy was needed. For Henry's team reversed the usual sequence, piling up a large lead. Rick called a time-out and tried to rally his team, but the players had become unaccustomed to working under this kind of pressure and were unable to head off the opponents. One to one, and the fans could sense that Henry had built the team of the future.

The most surprising feature of the third game became John's attitude, or rather his lack of an 'attitude'. Instead, with Rick temporarily unsure how to weld the team together, John took over. Both teams on even ground now, they fought point for point, Henry's team still the sentimental favourite, but the watchers wondering what would happen to John if his team lost after all he was putting into it. 'John ain't never lost nothin' without he develop a attitude. The way he holdin' back now, he lose, you see a super-attitude.'

John's team, as it was forever after known without anyone noticing the change, lost. And there was John, to everyone's amazement, reassuring his teammates that they'd played hard and congratulating Henry on his team.

I have described these volleyball games in such detail because they first contrasted so strongly, then dovetailed so magnificently, with the development

of a formal structure for the school. Whereas the volleyball games created a well-defined competitive situation, demanding familiar physical skills, our general meetings to determine the school's structure were necessarily ill-defined at the outset, hopefully cooperative and demanding of unfamiliar social skills.

If the students were unfamiliar with a conversation among a dozen persons in a class session they were absolutely familiar with occasions involving a whole school, such as our general meetings each morning. Weren't these like assemblies at school, where somebody on the stage talks at you while you talk and play among yourselves, occasionally hoot at the stage and try to incite the teachers to throw somebody else out? So, during the first and second morning, while I was trying to ask them what areas of school life needed organization and who should do it, pandemonium ruled in the hall of the main lodge. Even if I managed to get a student's attention by taking his intended aside seriously, or even when some student made a directly serious contribution, no one else was listening. Or if one side of the room momentarily quieted sufficiently to listen to one of its midst speak, they were soon diverted into screaming imprecations at those not listening.

Self-determination or anarchy

Our experiment in self-determination threatened once again, as it did so many times those first days, to collapse. In retrospect, it is easy to see that it had not yet begun. But at the time I felt as though I was misrepresenting matters when, at the end of the first day's meeting, I announced the five areas of school life that 'we' had decided required structuring. The 'we' amounted to several suggestions shouted from the floor, as well as a couple of thing I'd had in mind, which made sense to me. Most persons present hadn't heard them mentioned, forgot them as soon as they heard me summarize them, and probably didn't know why we were there in the first place.

The second day provided a slightly different experience. I had assigned one area to each of the five class sections to create a plan for the school by Wednesday. Since the teachers raised these issues with their sections Tuesday morning, most students became aware that something was happening and that something had happened at Monday's general meeting.

Of course, they didn't really believe they were to have power over such intimate features of their lives as when and for how long classes should occur, when they might wander off campus and about town, and whether there should be any lights-out policy. So Tuesday's general meeting maintained the same level of pandemonium as Monday's, but this time focused accusatorily at me (this is progress?). If they could do what they wanted, why did they have to have any classes at all? Could boys and girls room together? How about placing only students on the Discipline Committee? Who made the decision that Tim Weston's section would deal with rules about visitors? Why didn't I agree right away with the suggestions that were being made?

I felt exhausted and persecuted after the meeting, especially when several

staff members who had doubted the possibility or efficacy of self-structuring all along adopted an I-told-you-so attitude towards me. I was disheartened by the unreasonableness of the students, who seemed totally to overlook the need to reach common agreements rather than just establish individual preferences. Not until Greg sat down with me could I begin to see the emotional, developmental logic of moving from powerlessness, to self-assertion, and only then—only once one has a sense of personal efficacy—to common organization. So they were practising self-assertion on me? That was Greg's optimistic theory. Optimistic? ...

The third morning the attack shifted from me to the student representatives from each section who rose to deliver the preliminary plans devised by their section. It may have been because each representative had a dozen backers to help quiet the others or because each section wanted its plan listened to that thought I could detect a slight hiatus here and there in the commotion. Nevertheless, the representatives were annoyed and defensive about their reception. If they tried to argue points with their questioners and detractors, the latter would turn away or the argument would be overwhelmed by the hubbub. I tried to help the speakers by calling for order from time to time, encouraging them to go on, or noting the occasional point that seemed to receive general assent or general dissent. Afterwards we ran off a two-page summary of the different proposals for the sections to study the following morning. Each section was also to review its own proposal in view of the comments made at the general meeting and check for any inconsistencies with the other proposals. We were to make final decisions the next morning.

Something made the fourth meeting more meeting-like. Perhaps the tangibility of proposals on paper and votes being taken made the difference. Perhaps emotional development had been occurring amidst the apparent disorganization of the previous mornings. Perhaps the sections surprised one another into attention by modifying their proposals to take others' opinions into account. In less than an hour, a series of consensual or majority decisions were reached about morning and afternoon schedules, visiting hours, rules and enforcement. All of the decisions seemed to take into account the foremost needs of students, staff and parents. The decision about enforcement was perhaps the most memorable because it constituted what was to become the most significant and controversial corporate body during the summer—the Discipline Committee. The Committee was to consist of 15 members, 10 students—two from each section—and five staff—two tutors, two teachers and an administrator. Elections were to occur Friday morning.

He started it when he hit me back

Thursday afternoon I drove into New Haven and back, picking up some equipment and pay-checks for the staff. It was the first afternoon I could imagine leaving the camp and returning without chaos intervening.

The drive provided me with my first moments of quiet reflection during the

week, and I felt pleased. I could never have imagined working so hard, or having so much happen around me, or feeling so much at sea, nor could I have imagined our new beginning so definitely new, or so many relationships forming, or the students so colourful and stimulating. It seemed clear that we were going to make it through the week, that we really were going to do something together, and that persons were already beginning to change dramatically and positively.

From this 'high', the sinking sensation in my stomach was especially pronounced when I parked outside the dining-hall on my return. At a time of afternoon when everyone was customarily dispersed in the vicinity of the shore, all the students were congregated around the dining-hall, muttering among themselves ominously, not a staff member in sight.

I found the entire staff assembled in the dinning-hall, talking angrily around a weeping Regina, one of the tutors. Greg briefed me in a whisper while my other ear and my eyes took in tones and signs of tension, wounded pride and polarized conflict. There had been a fight at the shore, Greg told me, between several students and two tutors, Regina and Tom. Other staff members and students had rushed up to part the combatants, but not before ugly words and hard blows had embittered them. Now Regina and Tom and some other staff members were demanding that the six students be expelled from the school because their kind of violence would otherwise destroy the school and the dignity and authority of all staff members.

Other staff members were arguing vehemently that unilateral expulsion of students by the staff would destroy the school and our credibility, since we as yet had no rules to govern such a situation and were thus governed only by the principle of collaboration with the students. To break this principle was to become untrustworthy and inauthentic.

Time was critical. The longer the conflict continued between these two philosphical factions on the staff the more divided they would become, and the more divided the staff as a whole would become from the anxious and angry students outside. At the same time, I felt totally uninformed about what had actually happened. Who had 'started' the fight? What had the dispute been about? Why had other measures failed? It appeared the rest of the staff knew the answers to these questions, for they were no longer mentioning such concrete matters.

I did not know what to do. It was clear some kind of leadership was desperately needed, and the way people turned towards me when I entered indicated that they expected the leadership from me. Yet in terms of knowledge about what to do, I was the poorest present. And, to find out would take time we didn't have.

I forestalled decision for one minute by moving around to three staff members who I knew had rapport with the students and asking them to go outside. I didn't tell them what to do. The situation was too far ahead of any of us to merit instructions.

For the moment the argument around me bordered on the concrete. Each

side charged the other with responsibility for the fight. Then, no details mentioned or arbitrated, the disputants burst on to other abstract accusations against students or one another. But I realized in that moment that the concrete facts of who had done what to whom had yet to be agreed upon by the arguers. I was not the only one who did not know what had happened!

That gave me the courage to do what I had thought there was no time for a moment earlier—namely, to ask what had happened. Actually, I jumped in strongly and insisted that each 'side' tell what events and interpretations made the other side responsible for the fight.

A clear portrait emerged. Several fellows were teasing one of the girls, pretending they were going to throw her into the water. As was often true among our black students, the play was noisy and touchy. Boys put their arms around the girl and she screamed.

Many of the staff had great difficulty distinguishing when amusement turned to anger, mutuality to coercion and control to chaos in such situations because we associated all touching-cum-screaming with anger, coercion and chaos. Regina decided that anger, coercion and chaos were occurring, so she moved quickly into the group to rescue the girl and put a stop to the harassment.

In so doing, she shoved Jimmy, the smallest but fieriest of the boys. He struck at her. Seeing this, Tom, who was Regina's boyfriend as well as a fellow tutor, dove into the fray, tackling Jimmy. With this, the other guys in the group fell onto Tom.

Regina and Tom now saw the students as responsible for the initial 'anger, coercion and chaos', for hitting Regina when she came to rescue the girl, and for fighting Tom when he tried to rescue Regina.

Others saw Regina as guilty of misjudging a perfectly ordinary situation—she being middle-class black (as was Tom) and thus as asensual as us whites—and of then unpardonably assaulting a student physically (aggressive touching becoming a very different act when the aggressor is associated with authority). Tom was also seen as overreacting subjectively, losing his temper because Regina was his girlfriend.

Reports from outside indicated the students involved in the fight as well as those on the periphery all felt that the teasing had remained good-natured. But these reports had to be taken with a grain of salt, since it was clearly in the students' interests that that be the interpretation.

The tree that didn't fall

In short, there was no objective observer of the situation, and this was the cause of the conflict. Therefore, neither side could be proven 'wrong'. More than that, like Berkeley's tree in the forest, not falling if unheard and unseen, neither side *was* right or wrong. No common culture or code yet existed among us within which there were rights or wrongs. But this condition was itself so unfamiliar that it had remained unperceived. Persons when deeply threatened assumed they knew what they were talking about.

Once we had reviewed the facts, most staff members saw that the primary issue was still to create community among us, rather than to brand one side or the other as responsible for disrupting an imaginary community. The whole incident in fact spotlighted a form of behaviour that seemed to be anathema to all: physical violence by any member of the community. If we could agree that for us violence would be a wrong, our sense of community could be enhanced. The incident also spotlighted the danger of acting on one's own assumptions about what was happening in a cross-cultural situation rather than questioning the participants.

Regina, Tom and the students were still much too angry and wounded to want to learn any lessons from the experience. Nevertheless, I felt it critical that whatever happened next occur in the presence of the whole community. Otherwise the continued division between staff and students would poison relations more than any conversation within either group might heal them.

At this point, decisions were made quickly. We asked the students to join us in the dining-hall. While that was happening, questions arose about who should speak, what line should be taken, what result we would seek. I can't recall exactly how the decisions were reached in that brief minute, but the outcome was a perfect balance. I spoke first as leader of the whole community to make clear what would be *done*—what was going to 'come down'. I said simply that the incident was obviously disastrous, that our whole endeavour would quickly disintegrate if we had further such incidents, that nobody was to blame in this case any more than anybody else, that from this moment there would be a rule of no physical violence between any members of the community, to be enforced by expulsion for offenders whether they be staff or students, and that we would continue to meet together now until we resolved the conflict.

The students relaxed immediately and disbelievingly. A murmur ran around the room. They had expected the staff finally to unveil its power, now that there was a crisis, and prove that all the collaborative talk was bullshit. They had expected to have a fight and be beaten. They were disarmed.

But, being well-versed in the politics of chaos, they quickly imagined the next problem: 'Tom and Regina never goin' to live in the same house as Jimmy an' them. They be out for each other every night.' So the students nearest me forecasted.

Now Rick spoke to the community. It had been agreed that he was the member of the community with maximum credibility to all, knowing the students *more intimately than the staff* and not being a staff member himself. He also spoke in the students' idiom, which I could not yet even fully understand, much less speak. He repeated and filled out what I had said, reminding the students of what they'd hoped for and still needed out of the programme, using examples from the street to illustrate how damaging vendettas arising from false pride could be, citing my action as final proof that this programme was different, and so forth. He gave a long rap, picking everyone up with his urgency and reinspiring them, just when the darkening evening and the prospect

of having to start from scratch to prepare a delayed dinner threatened to intensify the gloom.

When he felt he had regenerated some possibility of hope, Rick pressed to the conclusion that on the spur of the moment seemed to him the most feasible. He insisted that for the sake of the whole programme all the participants in the fight join him outside in order to work through their bitterness to a reconciliation. 'Let's go!' he ended, turning to the door.

Into the moment of tense stillness that ensued, I called on everyone else to help prepare tonight's dinner, trying to stir up as much common activity as possible. I could see the participants in the fight using the commotion to cover their exit, while eagerness to quell hunger pangs knit the rest of the group into a more smoothly functioning unit than I had yet seen.

In retrospect, Rick's last action seemed a stroke of genius. The community had not yet developed to the point where it could have helped the intensive confrontation required among the participants. And, in front of the rest of us, the participants would probably have sought refuge in their wounded pride. Yet the matter needed immediate resolution. None of the combatants would likely have taken the first step towards a peaceful settlement. But by their willingness to step out the door and face one another they all implicitly took that first step together.

All I know about that little meeting is that Rick began by insisting that whatever was said belonged only within that group at that time and he never wanted to hear any stories about what went on from others.

Just as everyone sat down to a cold supper supplemented by hot dogs, the little group reentered the dining-hall, and Rick announced shortly that everyone had shaken hands. The dignity of the event spoke for itself. Everyone, students and staff, was amazed.

After dinner it was too dark to play volleyball, so some of the girls popped the popcorn while an unusually large crew washed dishes and then we watched our nightly movie (the lighting at camp was much too poor to contemplate anything like nighttime studying). Everything was back to 'normal'.

The bus driver's contribution

Or so it appeared.

The next morning sections elected representatives to the Discipline Committee. During the general session the Committee held its first meeting before the rest of the school, the five staff members joining the students in electing a chairman, vice-chairman and secretary. John Darius became chairman, as though in official recognition of his transformation on the volleyball court that week. Earl Smith, quiet and dependable, was elected vice-chairman. Carmen was chosen as secretary.

Then our sense of solidarity as a unit received an unexpected boost from our bus driver. We were ending our first week with a trip to the Newport Jazz Festival, leaving in the early afternoon and returning to New Haven after mid-

night for weekends at home. We had chartered one bus, expecting to squeeze the rest of the students in with staff members driving their own cars.

Exhausted by the whole week and drained by the conflict on Thursday, a number of staff members said they would prefer to return directly to New Haven to sleep Friday afternoon. Still shaken by the fight, other staff members felt that the chances of maintaining any semblance of order on a long trip to a public place appeared minimal. They argued that we cancel the event altogether and return straight to New Haven.

At the last minute, I found myself plagued with how to find enough drivers and whether to go at all. Exhausted myself, I felt unable to make the decision. Luckily someone countered strongly that not to go would be to accept the assumptions about the students' behaviour that we had refused to accept the previous evening. So, relying on this idea, I overcame my tendency to vacillate and to let each staff member decide for himself whether he or she would make the trip. I decided we were going and that a minimal number of staff *must* accompany us. I was surprised to find staff members who had requested not to go responding willingly to my decision that they must come. So preoccupied was I with having decisions respond to individual needs that I tended to forget that individuals often respond to well-defined common needs.

In any event, the point of this story is the bus driver. He could not be found. About to depart in a car myself, I wondered why the bus, full of students, still awaited departure. No one knew. The bus driver had simply disappeared. A search revealed him cursing over the pay phone, trying to get through to his superior. What was the problem, I asked.

'I'm not driving that bus,' he spat out with animosity and finality. Perplexed, but unsure whether he would offer me another answer, I asked why.

'No one over twenty-one on the bus. No one with authority.'

Again, time was of the essence. If he got through to his superior, confusion would reign.

'Why are you calling him?' I asked sharply, demanding his attention. 'Why didn't you find me? I can solve that. First, there *is* someone over twenty-one on the bus now, one of our resident tutors. Second, we have six staff members on that bus altogether, so there's plenty of authority. Third, if you like, I'll come along too.'

'No one can control those hoodlums,' he shot back. 'I wouldn't be caught dead driving them all the way to Newport and back. They'll slit all the seat covers on my bus.'

'I'll take full responsibility for the behaviour of the students, and if you tell your boss you're not driving I'll demand he fire you,' I said, meeting his raise, but not enjoying the game at all.

He decided to pass. 'You'll come too?'

'Yes.'

'Well, okay. But I'm going to tell them if they give me any trouble, I'm dumping them right out on the highway. The whole lot of em, right then and there. I don't care where we are.'

That kind of ultimatum to the students was more likely to become a self-fulfilling prophecy than a preventative, but it was clear I was not going to educate him about such niceties in the next minute, so I fled for the bus instead. I rushed up the aisle as he lumbered towards the bus, whispering urgently three times to those nearest something like:

'The driver's a bastard. Didn't want to drive us. But he's going to now. Don't pay any attention to what he says. Just play it cool. He's got the power. We got to play it *his* way to get there—to get what *we* want.'

I must admit whispering those few words gave me more immediate pleasure than anything else that week. Because it was so obvious from my tone and from their looks that we were on the same side. Once again, the truism that unity is most easily achieved in the presence of a common enemy was borne out.

But matters tottered on the brink for another minute. Not all the students had heard my hurried whisper, and others had probably not registered all its implications. So, when the bus driver strode a few steps along the aisle of the bus and delivered his ultimatum in the same utterly disrespectful tone I had heard, he evoked what I can only call a murderous, rising murmur from some students. But before a second had elapsed other students turned to them to begin cooling them down. Two students nearly got into a fight as one clapped his hand over another's mouth. The roar of the motor then covered the animated conversation about the driver that consumed everyone's first hour.

Whatever may have been responsible—this beginning, the elections that morning, the resolution of the fight the day before, or simply the students' wordly knowledge of how to 'keep a scene together'—the trip both ways and our time at the Festival that evening were utterly tranquil. I remember Carlo marching about proudly with sweet Melinda on his arm.

Unity or dissonance?

So everything really was back to normal—whatever we mean by normal in constantly changing situations.

Or was it?

Over the weekend, as Greg and I moved into the Yale residential college we were to inhabit for the next six weeks, he introduced me to a side of the first week I had not been aware of. He had most recently conversed with Susan, one of the white girl tutors, who had talked tearfully far into Friday night while the rest of us were at Newport. She was more than exhausted and drained; she was devastated.

As mentioned earlier, Susan was one of those staff members whose limits students had early reconnoitred and attacked. To her, the Thursday evening decision not to expel students had seemed the last straw. Her authority flouted the whole first week, she had looked forward to succeeding weeks when rules and enforcements would give her some handle over the students. But the lack of support for Regina and Tom and then Friday morning's decision to place 10 students on the Discipline Committee spelled havoc to her. Moreover, she

could not overcome her anguish that the students did not appreciate what she was trying to do for them.

She was not alone in her feelings. According to Greg, she had begun to associate mainly with Kevin, Regina, Tom, Gail (a withdrawing woman who was already putting most of her energy into her role as art teacher while avoiding difficult confrontations) and Douglas (one of our three middle-aged staff members). Douglas was a high-school science teacher whose style leaned heavily on lecturing and who had achieved least successes with his section the first week.

Greg feared that if these staff members weren't given more support their inadequacies would lead them to become a dissident clique. His talk with Susan had begun the support process, for she had ended with new understanding of our purposes and renewed, if fearful, commitment to try again. Greg's acceptance of her made her realize that failure did not have to result in censure, that it could also result in friendly analysis, new learning and increased success in the future. Of course, the students too had been exposed to only one alternative in cases of failure—censure—so it was not surprising they should censure her failings.

After her conversation with Greg, Susan wavered through the summer. I could see her obvious efforts to curb her temper, rejoice in the occasional breakthroughs, and consult other staff members for support when she encountered some block.

Retrospect

Looking back over that first week, I can see that I experienced and trusted an intuitive sense about when to 'take charge' much more than I ever had in situations with the staff during the spring meetings. Whether it was a matter of formulating an assignment for my tutees, or of pushing towards a governing structure despite chaotic meetings, or of making instantaneous decisions during Thursday's conflict, I did not become paralysed by the apparent inconsistency between unilateral leadership on the one hand and a commitment to collaboration on the other. Instead, without reflecting about it, I seemed to realize that persons were not yet fully capable of pure collaboration and that there were ways in which I (or someone else, such as Luther with Melinda) could structure situations that preserved and even enhanced our collective capacity to collaborate in the future far more effectively than refraining from a strong initiative would have done. Or, to put this differently, even in a situation of pure collaboration a particular person, such as Rick after the fight, may take what appears to be unilateral leadership at a given moment because he succeeds in expressing a common aspiration. Or, to put it still differently, there is a principle or spirit of collaboration which a single person or a minority may sometimes have to defend against the momentary impulses of the majority. I felt in this position at our general meetings the first two mornings of the week.

Chapter 5

Chaos or Creativity? (I)

By Sunday evening the staff were rested and felt enthusiastic about the coming week. Two full nights' sleep and some relaxed conversation about the first week made it all seem worthwhile. It was clear we had come a long way and, in any event, there would never be another week like the first. Now we were back in an urban, academic setting where we could more easily control the students and help them get down to work. Moreover, we would now be working with a collaboratively agreed upon framework, with rules and an enforcement process.

In a straightforward demonstration that they weren't exactly negative about the programme themselves, students began appearing at the locked college gate from lunchtime on, five hours ahead of schedule. While reassuring, their early appearance was not particularly convenient since many staff members were away, and the guard, whose presence was required by the university for the gate to be open, did not come on duty till later.

This matter of locked gates can use some explanation. The Yale residential colleges are built on the model of medieval castles, complete with moats. During the academic year their gates are open for the most part, but during the summer all gates to the colleges remain locked. We had arranged to have two guards man one gate and patrol the college for 16 hours a day. From 11 pm to 7 am all gates to the college would be locked. Staff members were given gate keys.

Living in rooms with lockable doors meant that students in the programme could bring record players and good clothes with them, and we were amazed at the loads of paraphernalia that began to be imported that afternoon. It had never occurred to us that we would have to decide whether students could bring televisions. On the spur of the moment, envisioning endless competition for front-row seats and a constant diversion from school work, we ruled out TV. The father who was busy installing a set meekly complied.

Living in rooms with lockable doors also meant that particular persons were assigned to particular rooms and only they had keys to that room. This procedure contrasted with the more open cabins at camp where whole tutor groups had shared spaces. The students had complained bitterly of the primitive accommodations at camp, so the staff were unprepared for the new complaints they began to hear Sunday afternoon. Now the complaints had nothing to do with primitiveness. Indeed, the rooms were virtually luxurious.

These complaints had to do with the rooming combinations designed by the tutors. Nobody seemed satisfied with his or her prospective roommates.

From the first night onwards it became virtually impossible to keep the students in their own rooms. It turned out that the roommate issue was, for the most part, a symptom of students' unfamiliarity with so much personal space. Several students complained that they could not sleep in a bed by themselves. Often when I waked the boys in the mornings, I would find six or eight asleep in the same suite, two or three to a bed, others draped over chairs.

Living in rooms with lockable doors also meant that there were things to be locked away from others. But the mobility among rooms and the presence of many entryways of unused rooms filled with Yale students' valuables presented unparallelled opportunities for increasing one's share of the wealth. The unused entryways could not be sealed off, for hallways connected all of them on the top floor and through the basement. Students missing valuables and unused rooms broken into became major irritants of the summer. To make matters worse, the regular presence of visiting friends of the students during the early weeks made it difficult to determine to what extent the problem of thievery was internal.

The initial policy on visitors was that each student could have two visitors during the afternoon or evening, so long as he or she remained with them. Within two days this policy proved unbearable to all of us. Friends of students would appear at the gate, announcing their intention to visit so-and-so. By the middle of the afteroon as many non-programme teenagers as programme members would inhabit the college, most of them unattached to anyone. The visitors wittingly and unwittingly interfered with many of our activities.

Twice that week we curtailed our visitors' policy, once at a general meeting in the morning, once in the Discipline Committee (which became a legislative as well as a judiciary body without formal decision). By the end of the week, visitors were permitted only Tuesdays and Thursdays, had to be met at the gate by their host, and had to carry a tag with their host's name while visiting.

The gate proved to be a momentous boundary that week, not only in terms of visitors coming in, but also in terms of students going out. Everyone had to be in by 11 pm when the gate closed and the guard left. (There had been discussion of having a staff member keep the gate open longer, but the inconvenience, as well as parents' likely objections to having their children on the town later than eleven, dissuaded the majority.)

Needless to say, the theory of having all students in by eleven was immediately tested in practice. Three students aroused staff members to open the gate after midnight on Sunday. They were told they would have to appear before the Discipline Committee. Then, on Monday night, another three students arrived well after eleven. The students inside the gate, who had already learned that this game could be enhanced by shouting 'Don't let them in' and trying to keep the gate shut, seized on an additional issue this time. The three truant girls were Carmen, Brenda and Elaine, the latter of whom had missed the first week at camp. 'Keep 'em out,' the other students shouted. 'Won't do no good

bringing them before the Discipline Committee cause Carmen and Brenda already on it!' So, with much glee and slapping of palms ('give me five', 'give me ten'), the insiders shared their assurance that this system, like all others they had known, was essentially corrupt.

Struggles of the Discipline Committee

I carried messages of violations to John Darius, who, as chairman of the Discipline Committee, would call a meeting and ask the offenders to appear. I must confess that I initially carried these messages with a sense of foreboding. I too feared that the Discipline Committee would turn out to be a travesty, or simply too large to handle the range and complexity of problems presented to it.

But John's response carried reassurance. He immediately defined two tasks for himself: talking individually to all offenders slated to appear before the Committee to be sure they realized that they would be asked to participate fully in the discussion of their cases and that the purpose of the Committee was not so much punishment but change; secondly, he intended to talk to other members of the committee to reinforce the importance of equal justice in the case involving Carmen and Brenda.

So well did he do the job of talking to Carmen and Brenda, however, that his conversation with other members of the Committee turned out to have been unnecessary. When it came time for their 'case' on Wednesday night, they simply stated their belief that they should not sit with the Committee in deciding punishment for themselves and that they were indeed guilty of breaking our rule. The rest of the Committee, tensed for another fight because the students who had been late Sunday night had just finished barraging them with excuses and attacks on the legitimacy of the Committee, spent an unusual moment of silence digesting this statement. Then one member of the Committee, unable to resist the opportunity to attack the vulnerable, asked accusingly whether they thought they deserved to remain on the Committee, having broken a rule. Carmen replied that she felt they deserved the same punishment that any other student would receive and that she realized now that it was particular corrosive of our system if members of the Discipline Committee broke rules, but that they deserved another chance. The same member returned to the attack, but before Carmen's patience broke John interrupted strongly, maintaining that such attacks would only alienate offenders and that no one on the committee was perfect. Another silence. John asked Carmen, Brenda and Elaine to leave the room while the Committee reached its decision. They were restricted to the campus for three days, just as the Sunday-night latecomers had been a few minutes before. Rob, who reported these events to me later, was astounded by the care and competence that John brought to his role. Like Carlo, he seemed willing and able to wrestle with the problems of the programme with the dedication, sensitivity and perspective one might have expected of a staff member.

The decision on Carmen and Brenda enormously enhanced the reputation of the Discipline Committee. Students crowded around the tutor at the gate the following evening to check the list of restricted persons and point with glee at Carmen's and Brenda's names. Not that this reputation made the Committee's work noticeably easier. Students still tended to strive mightily to disavow responsibility for their offences, showing legal and rhetorical brilliance that was never reflected in their classwork. How could you be guilty if the rules changed constantly and you didn't know the new rule? How come one was being accused of missing three classes when another wasn't (usually due to doctors' appointments, but a good diversionary tactic because members of the Committee might not know)? How could the tutor know it was me climbing over the fence when it was dark and she was twenty yards away? Why shouldn't boys be in girls' rooms, anyway? Didn't a defendant have the right of attorney? What if the Committee did punish the defendant, couldn't he simply not obey the punishment, and if the Committee again punished him, couldn't the defendant ignore that penalty too? What ultimate, real power did the Committee have?

During the early meetings of the Committee, its members often reacted to such questions by angrily threatening the offender with worse punishments. But gradually John and Rob educated the other Committee members not to get hooked into such exchanges and to focus instead on leading the defendants to look at their own behaviour responsibly, and, when the Committee did punish, to find creative punishments that fitted the crime, the criminal and the community. In the process, Committee members were forced into self-examination. What could they expect of themselves and their friends, given their difficult backgrounds? Why did they tend to become harsh as soon as they assumed official positions? What kind of arguments or relationships really made a difference in their own behaviour and might thus be effective with other students who appeared before the Committee? In retrospect, it appeares that the Committee was extraordinarily successful as an educational vehicle for its own members, only moderately successful at controlling other students' behaviour (but certainly not damaging as many disciplinary systems are) and least successful at educating other students directly. On the other hand, its existence was always alluded to by students talking to outsiders as evidence of our uniqueness as a programme.

White philosophy, black anger

The Discipline Committee did not resolve Sunday and Monday nights' violations until Wednesday evening because another event had intervened on Tuseday evening. I had invited Paul Weiss, the world-renowned Yale metaphysician, to talk to our students on Tuseday evening. A short, pugnacious man with a Brooklyn taxi-driver accent, Weiss had aroused excited discussions at the Yale Summer High School for two summers by abrasive assertions and devastating questioning of any counterpositions. For example, a troubled

question about the existence or non-existence of God would arouse from him the assurance that he could offer some 27 proofs of His existence. Among bright, intellectually-oriented students such assertions goaded rebuttals and fierce argument.

I was less sure that his visit to Upward Bound would bear fruit. Not only were our students several steps removed from direct intellectual absorption, but our experience in general meetings at camp made me unsure whether they would permit any kind of sequential public conversation.

The staff spent the few minutes before 8 pm rounding up students from the dormitories and off the green to enter the common-room. The meeting began slowly, the students not knowing what to expect, Weiss searching for a topic that interested them, throwing out rhetorical questions to test their response. As soon as a student responded, Weiss would jump on the response with a series of questions. Instead of stimulating the students, this procedure usually resulted in their desultory withdrawal. Such withdrawal would, in turn, provoke Weiss to further probing in efforts to draw a response, only to be met by determined and increasingly hostile silences.

After about 20 awkward minutes, someone raised the issue of Black Power (then a new phenomenon) and civil rights. Weiss immediately took the offensive, as was his style, by maintaining that the Black Power movement contradicted the civil rights effort, which aimed at determining and asserting what all men had in common. To stress common rights was appropriate philosophically, he argued, because it educated persons to look beyond the superficial features which differentiate men to the abstract essence shared by all men which binds them into community.

This time, instead of silence, he found takers on all sides. The students couldn't follow his big words and abstract reasoning or respond directly to it, but they could hear that he was 'putting down' Black Power, and they easily equated that with putting down black people *per se*. So they began to object angrily. And they were aided and abetted by numerous staff members who not only disagreed with Weiss on philosophical grounds, but also were angered by his mode of argument, feeling that he was indeed 'putting down' the black students as persons.

Weiss, in turn, became angered by the impoliteness and irrationality of the audience ganging up against him, not listening to his views, nor truly giving him a chance to respond to all the opinions and questions that were fired at him. Small groups of students talking and swearing about Weiss' views began to break away from the main conversation. Several students exited angrily, slamming doors. John Darius rose and wandered behind Weiss laconically, raising two fingers in a V over the back of his head. The others laughed. Weiss was furious. I struggled to maintain some kind of dialogue, most excited that the students were finally publicly engaged in conversation on a topic of deep concern to them. Other staff members began exiting to talk to the students who were shouting outside, trying to keep the conversation alive intellectually as well as emotionally.

Weiss left relatively early, wounded by his reception and convinced that the programme was out of control and that the students were barbaric. In the meantime, the conversation he had so energetically and insensitively sparked continued far into the night. Small groups of students and staff were still talking in the courtyard at 3 am when I turned in.

It was no dispassionate conversation. The black students were angry. They threatened every white face in sight. Sonny Bates, of the toothaches, actually slugged Kevin when the latter tried to prosecute the conversation in a too intellectualistic, condescending manner. (This time the 'physiological' theory did not apply.) Later, Ray talked another student into lowering the chair with which he had cornered two white boys.

Weiss was willing to examine all presuppositions at a philosophical level, but obviously made some assumptions about how conversations ought to proceed on a behavioural level that it did not occur to him to examine. One assumption appeared to be that emotions ought at all moments to be controlled by reason. A number of staff members made the same kind of assumption and consequently experienced the evening as yet another disconfirmation of their assumption that the hard work of establishing relationships had been completed the first week and that they could now turn to smoother transactions of inculcating academic skills.

To others of us, however, the evening marked a definite step forward in our educational enterprise. The students had been willing, for the first time, to become emotionally engaged in a public conversation that concerned all of them (at least all the blacks). This seemed a major step from the kind of dissociation and destructiveness we had witnessed in our general meetings the first week. We expected, as Greg had posited, that the students would first need to be heard, and that they would begin to become concerned with reasoning about their feelings once they were convinced someone was listening.

In retrospect, it is clear that on this matter Greg was correct. In events to be described in the following pages, the students showed a developing capacity in public meetings first to maintain silence and decorum in order to hear out important arguments; then to listen to one another's experience closely and respectfully enough to build theories from it; next to tolerate enduring differences of opinion without demanding conformity; and finally, during the following school year, to make decisions on a consensual basis when beginning in disagreement, and this without faculty leadership.

Struggles of the tutors

Without this retrospective vision to support either party, the issue remained very much alive at the tutors' meeting on Wednesday. Nor did that meeting resolve the matter, for the tutors generally could not 'see' their conversations with students in behavioural terms. They could see only the content of the discussions. They became discouraged when they carefully reasoned something out with a student and then found him contradicting the conclusion an hour

later. They tended not to discriminate between *telling a student reasons* for something and *helping him to find reasons*. Although in both these cases the reasons may be identical, the tutors' behaviour and its effect on the student is not. The tutors overlooked that 'reasoning out' of the former kind tended to lead to later contradictions on the part of the students, whereas reasoning of the later kind gave the student a chance to become internally committed to his conclusions.

On this particular Wednesday one of the issues was what to do about Sonny's hitting Kevin the previous evening and, more generally, whether expelling students from the programme was ever a proper punishment. A portion of the dialogue, appearing over the next several pages, illustrates the tutors' distance from effective helping behaviour.

Rob had argued at some length against expelling any students from the programme. He maintained that since we had not chosen them for their responsiveness to, or constructiveness in, school but had rather taken as *our* task to encourage greater engagement on their part in their education, it hardly made sense to punish them for not being responsive or constructive. Instead, we should use every opportunity to involve students in conversation about their conduct and the aims of the school.

Rob's argument ended in a silence. He had 'told' the tutors, just as Weiss and sometimes the tutors 'told' the students.

Trying to *do* what Rob was *saying* and thereby engage the rest of the staff, I asked how those who hadn't yet spoken felt.

Gail, who had been silent, ridiculed my question as copycattyish. 'Rob mentions going around the group to get students talking so you do it here!' This evoked nervous laughter.

Feeling somewhat discouraged, but trying to be more encouraged that Gail had talked for the first time, I responded as non-defensively as possible. 'As he said, some are timid and some are indifferent, and I suspect that's true here too. I would like to check.'

Perhaps it was my reaffirmation of investment, perhaps my lack of direct questioning which now left more initiative to the respondent; in any event, Gail's tone changed to troubled openness, as she admitted, 'I don't have any solution to the problem, but it has been bothering me very much'.

I now wanted to check my belief that the tutors' blindness to behavioural changes contributed to their frustration and sense of failure: 'Do people here feel talking to a student has ever yielded anything? In other words, do you feel that there are significant alternatives to punishment?'

'Not with immediate results,' came the straightforward answer from Tom.

The starkness of this response must have increased the tension, for an explosion of laughter followed Ray's quipped revision, 'If there are any, we haven't found them'.

Although *what* he said reinforced Tom's reply, *how* he said it suggested that the topic had reached a dead end.

Nevertheless, Gail continued in a contemplative tone, 'Something happens

suddenly and talking about it seems so removed, so long. The lack of immediacy is very frustrating.'

Kevin, aware of how this 'game' ought to be played, moved the conversation to a concrete example, suggesting that he alone talk to Sonny about their altercation the previous evening. It is difficult to convey the infuriating quality in Kevin's tone. Disingenuous sincerity and constructive competitiveness seemed mixed in a *schmorgasbord* of overtones that evoked instinctive hostility in everyone he faced.

Now, Gene Renfroe, obviously hoping to gain some insight by further exploration, but also betraying an undertone of annoyance, fed Kevin the straight line he was awaiting: 'How would you do that?'

Kevin plunged ahead confidently, 'First, I would sit down...' but trailed off as though he realized that his confident tone might breed hostility, given the recent declarations by others that they did *not* know how to talk with students effectively. '...I would sit down because it might take a long time,' he amended in a more humble tone. 'I would look for an admission that he was high yesterday—I mean generally high, not high on anything specific...'

'He would not admit that,' snapped Ray.

'I'm not so sure, protested Kevin weakly.

'By the way, he was on pot,' Ray further informed Kevin, continuing to weaken the foundations of Kevin's purported solution.

'...And I would ask him if we could permit this kind of thing to go on,' Kevin struggled against mounting odds. 'I don't think he would give me a yes.'

Susan, distracted by a point peripheral to the line of this conversation, whined, 'But in the first week we decided that students could not touch staff. It's more than a personal matter between you and him. It's the first rule we made.'

This diversion permitted Kevin to reassemble his humble confidence. 'I would prefer to give him a chance of coming up with the answer himself before doing something externally,' he intoned.

Luther, apparently nettled by Susan's tone, supported Kevin's enlightened orthodoxy without adding further illumination: 'What Susan said about rules—obviously the students don't care about rules. Sitting down together may lead to understanding.'

'I'm really dubious about understanding,' countered Ray knowingly and ominously. 'Maybe there are bigger and better things in store for us!'

'I hope some of the hostility can be verbalized rather than actualized. I didn't gain much information yesterday except that Sonny throws a mean left; not why,' Kevi finished, at once too cutely for the gravity of the situation and too ponderously to seem genuine.

The conversation moved on to other students. Sonny and Kevin were asked to meet with the Discipline Committee.

But as far as I could see, no tutors learned anything about how to spot or

enact more effective behaviour; nor that this kind of learning was even possible; nor how their own behaviour was interfering with a full exploration of topics right there at our own meeting. Instead, I suspected Kevin would remember the theoretical acuity of his argument, Ray his knowledgeable challenges, Susan the historical validity of her point of view, etc. This self-reinforcing, thematic quality of their memories would further mitigate against learning. The conversation may have yielded the tutors some comfort from sharing their common dilemmas and also some sense of control by their ideological and rhetorical flourishes, but neither seem to me a very promising substitute for learning.

Why is my assessment of this incident so harsh (it feels harsh to me), and what was I doing to change these dynamics? As I recall my state, I can identify how much it cost me psychically each time I intervened and found my sense of direction uncompelling to others on the staff. I must have held some expectation of openness to experiential learning on the part of the staff that I did not hold for the students, as well as some assumption that my confronting staff members would imply disrespect of them.

Perhaps I was projecting on others my own fear of being wrong. This resulted in my becoming disappointed when their efforts to discover 'right' behaviour were not as strenuous as mine would have been. And maybe I was also unwilling to confront them forcefully for fear of creating what by my standards would have been a crisis.

Whatever the emotional origin of my relative reticence with the staff, I often felt more distant from their individual experience than from that of the students, and I certainly lacked the sense of easy, exciting engagement with them that I could feel with students even at scary and frustrating moments.

They love us, they love us not

By Monday morning of the third week we had already negotiated two episodes that keynoted that week. The first had occurred over the weekend. One of the girls, Henrietta Jones, had been shunted around among foster parents for years, and the most recent set was giving up on her and remanding her to the state. In order for her to stay in the programme, we had to find someone willing to act as her foster-family for the weekends. Mary Wilkerson, who, along with her husband, was teaching one of the core classes, volunteered. But when they went to a movie together Saturday night, Henrietta asked to return to the lobby to buy candy and disappeared. She returned to the programme Sunday night without a word of explanation, apology or thanks. Although relieved that Henrietta was alright, Mary understandably didn't feel she could offer to be her guardian again.

This episode confirmed my suspicion, growing reluctantly for two weeks, that Henrietta could not be trusted at all. She seemed to be a pathological liar, lying even when there would have been no harm in telling the truth and

when her lie was so flimsy that it immediately revealed itself. Without even acknowledging that she had been caught, she would construct another lie to try to account for the previous discrepancy.

This pattern alone was hard enough to deal with and had succeeded in exasperating the Discipline Committee into attacking her during the second week. But there was more. It became evident that she invited boys from outside the programme to crawl over the moat into her window, resulting in a busy schedule of room-checking for the tutors in her wing. A pretty, light-skinned black girl, Henrietta evidently derived her small, ambivalent sense of pleasure and value by sleeping with white boys, having already developed some repute among Yale undergraduates, we later learned.

Rob, who had become our emissary to the mental health service on students with whom we needed help, reported that Henrietta had already negotiated and rejected individual and group therapy. She, like a number of our students, exhibited symptoms too grave to respond to occasional therapy. The psychiatrist felt that our total therapeutic environment had a far greater chance of 'reaching' Henrietta than therapy hours. In the meantime, of course, Henrietta was straining our environment.

The psychiatrist further suggested that Henrietta had adopted a pattern of preempting rejection by rejecting potential parents. The very fact that she seemed so frantic in her efforts to end her relationship with us indicated to the psychiatrist that we were already 'reaching' her. Needless to say, the staff were greatly cheered upon realizing that they were succeeding and that such were the rewards of success!

Before hearing this diagnosis at the tutor meeting Wednesday, we encountered a parallel episode with Hank Chase Sunday night. Sending the students home for the weekends to give the staff a chance to rest was turning out to be a mixed blessing, for the students would return noticeably upset by their brief reencounters with the different cultures represented by their families. One could argue that the emotional recalibration required each week of the students permitted them over time to choose clearly which kind of environment they wished to create in their own lives; but, however correct such an argument might be, it felt academic to the staff when the weekend's rest was dissipated on Sunday night.

Hank had told Rob during the first week at camp that he had no intention of making any friends at the programme because he had tried too often without success, and here failure was guaranteed since we would all be parting so soon. This Sunday evening he managed to hitch a ride to campus with another family when his mother couldn't be bothered to drive him because her boyfriend was visiting. No doubt hurt by this sign of rejection, Hank set out to heal his wound by forcing us to reject him as well. At least he could force the environment to respond consistently, he no doubt hoped subconsciously. During the early evening he ran through the halls and courtyard screaming. At 2 am, just after the staff had managed to quiet him and the rest of the campus,

he placed his record-player in his third-storey window facing the courtyard, turning the volume as loud as possible. Around 3 am he began playing an electric guitar and singing in the corridor. Intermittently, he would burst into my room, located on the first floor of his entryway, to interrupt discussions and swear at us all. Still later he entered my darkened room to shine a flashlight into my eyes until I opened them.

Up until this time, one staff member at a time had returned Hank to his room, talking to him till he quieted. Now I woke Greg in the next room, found Rob still pacing the courtyard, and the three of us insisted that Hank meet with us in my room until we could be assured his disruptions would cease. Confronted with attention but not rejection, Hank alternately joked, threatened us and tried to talk seriously. We rather ruthelessly cut off the jokes and threats, telling him bluntly why we thought he was acting as he was and challenging him to accept or reject our analysis directly. Twice we restrained him physically from leaving the room because we felt he was avoiding the issue. When he said he hated us, we invited him to show us how much by hitting the sofa cushions. This exercise evoked his rage, and he ended huddled on the sofa, weeping and swearing at his mother's boyfriend. Relaxed and quieted, he headed for bed at 5.30 am.

As Gene Renfroe, his tutor, reported at Wednesday's meeting, 'Hank was really nice the last two nights and let us get to sleep at 3'. He did not create general disturbances again that week (although later he and some of the other white boys began using airplane glue to get high). He approached me Monday morning with a good-natured hello and, to my surprise, an apology for his behaviour. He even promised to serve as guard to ensure that no other students disturbed my sleep for the rest of the week. Without wishing to look a gift horse in the mouth, but fearing his offer would be more likely to create than prevent disturbance, I joked seriously that successfully patrolling himself would be significant enough an accomplishment. Deciding to share the joke, he agreed and reported his self-patrol efforts to me each morning for several days.

The tutors were still struggling to meet these strains constructively. In fact, in addition to a variety of preplanned seminars which started the second week on topics such as 'The Existence of God' and 'Shakespearean Literature', several tutors took the initiative at the outset of the third week to offer French, math and swimming lessons. At our Wednesday tutor meeting during the third week, the agenda included such unresolved issues as:

(1) when to sleep;

(2) what to do about students missing clothes and room keys;

(3) how to tell which students *really* had morning medical appointments;

(4) what to do about students not living in their original rooms;

(5) how to arrange the evening gate schedule so that the same tutor was not always stuck with the unenviable task of ushering out guests;

(6) who should ride with the bus to the up-coming Newport Folk Festival;

(7) exploring discrepancies in ways of handling given students;

(8) how to relate the core curriculum, which that week dealt with 'Freedom and Conformity', to our problems of living together. The whole staff acted aggressively to consider all eight of the items, sharing information about 15 specific students in the process.

Restructuring the school

Nevertheless, by Thursday night a number of us were so dissatisfied with the lack of academic progress in the programme that we found ourselves turning an informal conversation into a full-scale plan for restructuring the school. Tutors would be asked to attend breakfast with their students to ensure they really got to class in the morning, and only then return to sleep if they so wished; writing tutorials would be formalized into writing workshops at 11 each morning, to combat the looseness of repeated individual arrangements of meeting times; a staff member would be given specific responsibility for overseeing the athletic activities in the afternoon; there would be a midnight curfew. Also, I felt something would have to be done about Douglas' core class; it simply was not working. Student response to his lectures and strained questions had quickly progressed from disenchantment to disappearance. But I doubted that he would be open to, or capable of, changing his teaching style overnight, so I was unsure how to deal with the problem.

At Friday afternoon's faculty meeting, I presented the new plan, amid considerable discussion about how many students would or would not respond to a more formal writing workshop, about how many of the post-midnight conversations were important moments of education, and about what requiring breakfast meant (must the students actually eat?). Weary staff members anticipated ways in which students might be able to circumvent each aspect of the proposed structure. I agreed that each aspect was, in fact, subvertible and that this plan would not magically reverse their unregulated pattern of life. But I argued that the parts of the revised structure would tend to complement and support rather than counter one another.

At this point, Douglas burst into the conversation angrily. 'You've been saying all along what these youngsters aren't accustomed to doing. Now *you* go around their neighbourhoods. I doubt you'll see a light on at 1 am. Dad's going to work next morning and he'll be damned if he'll have noise or TV. And this stuff about saying they do it at home is a bunch of crap. Some rules is what they're asking for.'

He found support from Regina's, 'I know. I think this has been an extra-ordinary picnic so far.'

'Come on down, man, the water's fine!' Douglas mimicked a student.

'Yeah,' Tim countered, 'But I think the way we were talking last night was, if we had done this initially it would have met with a lot of resentment, resistance and things of this sort. But now I think that most of the kids realize

that this can't be the scene permanently and that *they* want more structure now. The first or second week they would have rebelled.'

'Oh, they've been having a great time rebelling,' Douglas returned with gleeful sarcasm.

'I don't think post-mortems are the point,' Bert Wilkerson mediated severely. And I tried to move on, 'In either event...'.

Douglas: 'Let's tell them "Lights off!", *insist* they be off, *insist* they go to breakfast, and *insist* they stay up all day.'

Accepting what Douglas said as agreement to the new schedule, rather than investigating his anger, I outlined our ideas for new daytime hours. For half an hour we explored every possible way of arranging the daytime hours and rearranging the class groupings to give us some new leverage with the students we weren't reaching.

During this time Douglas let off another angry blast, this time at the way students avoided their obligations. I began to realize more fully that Douglas' lack of success was frustrating him as well as his students and that he was looking for some place to lay the blame.

Corky Potter, the vivacious vice-principal of one of the local high schools who, unable to join our regular staff, was interviewing our students to discover their reactions to the programme, provided support from time to time by reporting her positive impressions of our impact on our students. She felt that we had already changed the attitudes of 45 of the 60 students towards their own education. She also reported that when she asked students what adult they felt closest to, whether in their family, school or community, almost all named some staff member in the programme.

David volunteered to take all the most difficult students into his core class, distributing the five students who were already working well for him among the other classes. Tim Weston identified two students whom he wasn't reaching for David's class, but wished to continue with the other 10 and a couple of David's 'good' students. Likewise, the Wilkersons and Anna identified a student or two for David.

Douglas approached his larger problem at once openly and obliquely: 'One kid came up to me and asked to change, and I gave him my best wishes. Right now I average about six a day in core class, but I would say three of those six are not with it because they're sleeping or something. One of the girls that I consider pretty sharp is pulling the same antics here that she did in school last year. And some other kids are pulling the same antics here that they did in school last year: evade classes, wander around unattached. They don't like to be driven, but they won't cooperate.'

Next, *I* tried approaching his longer problem at once openly and obliquely, as indicated by my hesitations and incomplete sentences: 'I wonder whether — you know, one thing I had in mind as we were talking last might — I had a sense and maybe you can verify or negate it — that, as far as the core classes and teaching in general was concerned, that the two people I felt weren't being

used completely—to their satisfaction completely and to their full use—were Anna and Douglas. I thought that the other people were very much involved in their core class, and Anna I think is quite involved in her core class, but I just thought that you—'addressing myself to Anna who was visibly reacting, 'that's why I was thinking of having you coordinate this writing business...'

'That's a complete surprise to me,' said Anna, drawing the focus away from Douglas, as I must subconsciously have hoped. 'Where did you get that impression?'

I told her I was concerned that she had to wait around during the middle of the afternoon without doing anything until her late afternoon Shakespeare seminar. 'And Douglas I know—I've heard—that you're not completely satisfied with your core class by any means and you're not, of course, able to use any of your scientific abilities.' He did not reply directly, but a little later he interpolated, 'I like tough nuts to crack. I like tough kids—kids who just don't like to cooperate the way proper students cooperate. But how can you get some of these guys to cooperate when you can't get your hands on them?' This plea sounded to me more like an excuse than an explanation in the context of the greater success of the other core teachers.

Someone else suggested starting a science class, and I agreed we ought to consider this: still no contribution from Douglas towards a solution.

Now the conversation turned to the general meeting before core class each morning, at which I tended to hold discussion of general school issues. David and Greg attacked its usefulness, while Mary and Anna suggested that better discussions about the same issues might occur in the core classes. I suggested that I relay the relevant issues to the core teachers during the 10 minutes before class each day. We quickly agreed.

In order to bring all the diverse pieces of the conversation together into a coherent, shared understanding of the revised structure, I took a more forceful role and turned back to Anna and Douglas. 'There are still two questions I'd like to resolve: Anna and Douglas. Now I'd like to get—I'd like to feel you were more involved, Douglas, and satisfied with what you're doing and I'd like to work something...'

'Well, I had one person mention to me that the introductory physics that she took last year, that she'd like to do more of it,' he offered tentatively. 'Now the problem with this young lady is to corral her.'

'Who is she?' I asked.

'Shattuck.' A sympathetic murmur followed his naming of our dear Melinda. Kevin volunteered to help Douglas, and they named three other students they thought might be interested. I said that even if there were only five or six students altogether who chose the science course, I would still support doing it because it would be a better use of his and their time than what was occurring now.

'I actually would love—I really think I'd be accomplishing something.' replied Douglas, enthusiastic for the first time that week.

Trying to provide still more backing for the idea, I added, 'Some people

have said they don't think we ought to have one special alternative to the core class, but in this case...'.

'The core's a wonderful thing...' interrupted Douglas in a loud exasperated tone, obviously leading up to an emphatic 'but'.

'But you and it don't fit together very well,' I interceded.

'No,' he denied, 'it's been the cooperation of the people in my group. I think I have some leaders in the group, some people who ignite things here after hours and these people are exhausted in the morning.'

From there I closed out the meeting with the suggestion that we review the changes in structure and the reasons for the changes with our classes the next morning, using the opportunity to approach the dilemma of freedom and conformity from the perspective of our own community.

Structural or interpersonal change?

Listening to the tape of that meeting for the first time four years later, I have found myself reflecting about several issues. One issue is the relative impact on organizational effectiveness of increasing the coherence of participants' shared conceptual structure as compared to increasing the competence of participants' interpersonal styles in a situation. The faculty meeting certainly had no impact on Douglas' or anyone else's interpersonal style. Douglas' tendency to lecture, then ask heavy questions after he had already lost students' attention, would remain unchanged. On the other hand, the meeting had significantly altered the school's structure. To use Douglas as an example again, he would now be teaching a subject he knew and would be teaching fewer students. Thus, he was likely to be more confident, open to challenge and informative and, to the extent that he still fell short of other teachers' skill, he would be affecting fewer students adversely. Not only did this seem a significant change for the better, it was accomplished far more easily than increasing Douglas' interpersonal competence would have been, as indicated by his unwillingness to take the initiative in exploring how his own style contributed to his ineffectiveness. Furthermore, changing the structure of the school seemed to make everybody feel competent and united, whereas changing a person's interpersonal style might create feelings of incompetence and division.

Do these considerations add up to the conclusion that *structural* changes provide more organizational leverage than *interpersonal* changes? Obviously, as they stand they do. But they are incomplete. We need to consider also what actual impact these structural changes had. Unfortunately, the answer must be: virtually no positive impact and some definite negative impact. That is, we were not noticeably more successful during the fourth week at getting the students to bed at midnight, up for core class or involved in afternoon activities. And at the same time, the writing workshops turned out to be a disaster. Far from increasing attendance by their regularity, they syphoned off attendance by their comparative impersonality relative to the tutorials.

The sense of unity and mission the staff had developed through the meeting

at the end of the third week collapsed into a sense of defeatism towards the end of the fourth week.

These results suggest that what *really* needed changing was our expectation of the pace at which we could move with the students. And perhaps we also needed to overcome our tendency to focus away from ourselves towards structural issues when thinking of change. But both of these changes require awareness of the quality and limitations of one's interpersonal competence, so we are brought full circle.

Chapter 6

Chaos or Creativity? (II)

After this long sojourn in the land of the staff, let us return to the events that were making a difference to the students.

The happiest memorable event of the third week was the blossoming of a relationship between John Darius and Dale Manning, a white girl. In the beginning, our first interracial couple caused considerable consternation among the white students, especially Frank, who could still not accept or act on his feelings for Carmen, and Gil, who himself had been courting Dale. But over several days' time John's and Dale's easy enjoyment of one another became the strongest reconciling force between blacks and whites. The white students did not enjoy their minority role in the programme, but John was well liked, and his caring for Dale seemed to soften the overall indifference and hostility the whites felt from the blacks.

The following weekend once again provided a catalytic event for the succeeding week. A full-page story on the programme appeared on the front page of the second section of the Sunday edition of the New Haven *Register*. We had known it was likely an article would appear, for a young reporter had spent a couple of days on campus during the preceding week.

When the reporter had first called about doing the story, I had been apprehensive about its effect. First, I had never seen a newspaper capable of grasping and imparting the essence and excitement of a constructive process. Nor should this be surprising, since construction involves integrating the formerly disparate over time. No event at one moment in time, on which newspapers with their daily deadlines tend to focus, reflects this process. Consequently, newspapers tend to focus on destructive processes, which can occur in an instant.

My second fear about the article derived from the nature of our programme. I realized that the collaborative, organic learning environment we were trying to create was foreign and threatening to most people. I feared that either the reporter or his readers might recognize only chaos in a depiction of the programme and that we might suffer from the bad publicity. Finally, the New Haven *Register* had a considerable reputation for indifference and hostility to the black and the poor populations in town, so I feared serious distortions.

These fears were in large part allayed by the reporter himself, for he, miracle of miracles, understood them and agreed that they were real dangers. From that point, I knew that he would be guarding against them. As to the possibility

of distortion, he said he could not be sure that the paper would run an article on this topic at all, but that his article would not be altered without his approval. . . .

When someone brought me the article on Sunday morning and I read it, I was pleased by its liveliness and fairness. It was no whitewash of the programme, presenting events and opinions by staff and students that could be read as negative, but it presented the positive as well and even managed, I thought, to communicate simply the relatively unfamiliar philosophy of the programme. If someone concluded on the basis of the article that the programme was no good, I felt I could refer to the same article in an argument with them.

My fears quieted, I was unprepared for the storm that began to gather in the late afternoon as students and their parents started to return to the programme. We had invited parents to return with their children each Sunday night for a programme which included a movie and informal conversation between them and the staff. Five parents became regulars at these occasions, but, after the first Sunday when we had gone to the camp, no more than 10 parents altogether appeared on Sunday evenings. Until this Sunday. By seven o'clock 20 parents and as many students were locked in angry discussion with the staff in the common-room. The topic: the article.

The white parents were upset to see in print that the programme was two-thirds black. Moreover, friends were making them exceedingly uncomfortable by rushing over with the paper and asking in horrified tones, 'Is *this* the programme Gil is in?'. Several felt they must withdraw their children immediately.

The black students were angered by what they considered to be racial slurs in the article. These included identifying one student as 'Negro', when the accompanying white student was not identified as white, and describing John Darius as a 'husky youth', the term 'husky' carrying connotations of plantation slavery.

All, whether black or white, parent or student, were also wounded deeply by two references to poverty—'a poverty program' and 'poor families'. Whereas I always preferred using the term 'poor' to the terms 'disadvantaged' or 'deprived', which struck me as at once awkward, patronizing and euphemistic, these parents and students hated the term 'poor'. In this case too, a number of parents stated their intention of withdrawing their children because they didn't want them associating with 'poor' children.

As in the case of the conversation unleashed by Weiss' appearance, the article seemed to ignite a deep anger in students. This time the conversation was further complicated by the presence of the parents, who were less volatile and emotionally straightforward than the students, and by the introduction of the possibility of taking direct action by marching on the newspaper plant about a dozen blocks away. Thus, the staff was essentially trying to carry on and reconcile three distinct conversations: one with relatively closed parents, initially determined to withdraw their children from the programme; one with extremely volatile students whose language seemed likely to finish off the parents who were already distributed by the article; and one with students

who had reached the point of controlling their anger into organized action, but not the point of choosing rational, effective action.

This time the conversation continued not only late into the night, but sustained itself for 10 days. No parents withdrew their children; no students marched on the newspaper plant. Instead, our conversation evolved the strategy of inviting the reporter to the programme to be confronted by students and parents about his first article and challenged to write another. Students were slow to buy this strategy because they were convinced the reporter would not respond (a) because he was clearly a villain, and (b) because they could not imagine themselves having the power to influence an institution in a constructive way.

So, the telephone call to invite the reporter became a highly formal, tense occasion. Elaine was chosen by informal consensus to make the call because of her editorship of our weekly paper (ironically named 'The Ghetto') and her acknowledged ability to speak well. About 20 persons, students and staff, crowded into the school office for Elaine's call. She had the genuine good fortune of actually finding him in at his office. She told him in a formal, polite voice that his article had evoked strong reactions in the programme and that we would like to present these reactions to him. He apparently expressed surprise and concern, and accepted Elain's invitation to a meeting the following Wednesday afternoon. This result elated the students, and they immediately set to work preparing for the occasion.

Diverging lines of development

In the meantime, the first days of the week were running along two diverging lines. The continuing conversation about the newspaper article probed, tested and influenced students' self-concepts and sense of political realities. It turned out that for them the term 'poor' carried all the negative connotations that it might for a wealthy, conservative, 'self-made' man. It meant being 'irresponsible', 'slovenly', 'messy', 'uncaring'. Students and parents, who continued to drop by in one's and two's throughout the week, would point out that they wore good clothes, owned a television set, owned a car, kept their apartment neat, fed their children well, worked nights. . . . How could they be called poor? No amount of straightforward argument would make them accept 'poor' as a descriptive term, meaning, by Congress' definition, 'earning less than $3,000 a year for a family of four'. When these conversations moved, they did so via the 'detour' of examining the self-hatred implicit in students' and parents' acceptance of the negative connotations attached to 'poor', and the socio-political culture in America that created these connotations in the first place. In other words, the conversations moved when someone present could make them directly educational in personal and social terms.

The other line of development was the more formal, academic programme. One might have thought that the core topic that week—'The City'—would easily have leant itself to examining the many facets of the existential situation

created by the appearance of the newspaper article. And, in fact, to the extent that academics ever claimed the students' attention that week it was in relation to the article. One of the writing workshops organized a questionnaire to administer to all students to gain a more objective sense of student opinion about the article and to serve as a basis for the questions the panel would ask the reporter during the following week. This project was carried out efficiently and enthusiastically, the students unabashedly consulting staff members about how to spell words and phrase questions.

But, for the most part, the core class and workshops dragged terribly. I can attribute the lack of success of the core curriculum to several factors. First, Douglas, who had taken primary responsibility for the overall organization of this week, had scheduled speakers each morning to address all the students at once, to be followed by discussions in the core sections. The fact that we decided at Friday's meeting that my meetings with the whole student body were ineffective didn't influence his planning. So, many students slept through the first 'lectures' and then ceased attending. Moreover, the lectures in no way connected to the on-going events of the programme.

Second, the 'physiological' factor once again interfered with the academic in that each day, after the lecture, one core section went to the health department for complete physical examinations. The physical examinations turned out to be of great value in themselves, but they continued into the workshop period and, as the week went on, took students from other core sections who had, for some reason, not gone on their assigned day. These effects destroyed our effort to create a stronger norm of regular attendance at the morning classes.

Third, the core teachers were caught by surprise by the commotion around the newspaper article and seemed unable to integrate this event with the curriculum. In a few cases, they turned their attention to the article, but in a way that distracted attention from the curriculum rather than enhancing it. This does not mean that such conversations were devoid of educational content. But they suffered from being identified as 'bull sessions' *rather than* 'learning' by the students. And this unchallenged polarization between 'life' and 'learning' leads the students not to seek and, in fact, to overlook the most important kinds of learning.

The mock panel and the real one

I've forgotten who first conceived of the idea of a mock panel discussion as preparation for the real confrontation with the reporter. It may have been Rob Gilman. In any event, one evening Rob met with about 10 students to discuss the upcoming event and, concerned that it become a more coherent occasion than the school's meeting with Weiss when there had been a similar intensity of feeling, he suggested that the students role-play the occasion.

Carmen became the reporter, five others became the panel and the rest became the audience. Carmen answered the first questions at some length, coolly and collectedly. Now she was explaining to the panel that she had intended no slur by using the word 'poor', that they would have to agree,

wouldn't they, that in objective terms they *were* poor. Her coolness and ability to turn the questions back on her questioners began to infuriate the panel members and audience, who had probably assumed that they would be able to flail away at the evil reporter without resistance.

Several of the students began to interrupt one another in efforts to speak. And they began to swear at 'the reporter'. In return, Carmen began to berate them in the same cool voice for interrupting one another. 'You poor in the other sense too. Good kids don't interrupt and swear. Why, you all can't do civilized conversation!' She knew she'd hit upon a good tactic. For the next several minutes, as the exasperated panel members ought to regain the upper hand, she would simply reflect their unruly behaviour back at them. 'A person don't finish what he say 'fore you in'rupt him.' 'You don't even care for one another; you just fight among yourself.' 'You questions ain't organized at all (the student poll had yet to be analysed at this point). I planned *my* article.'

Finally, Jimmy, whom we counted among the 15 we had yet to reach, stepped out from the audience, turned towards the panel, and took over. 'You not together a-tall. We got to play this straight. We needs a chairman for the panel, and don't no one talk less he nod to them. And the audience don't make a sound. We goin' to have the old lady here, right? Now, how you goin' to act? No one get in this room without he agree to keep quiet.'

With that, Jimmy became chairman of the panel—surely one of the last persons in the programme I would ever have imagined for the position—and word went around the campus that the only way we were going to get across to the reporter was by playing it cool.

Would the reporter really dare to show up? At 1.30 of a sweltering afternoon on Wednesday of the fifth week, the Pierson Common Room was jammed with 60 students, 20 staff, at least 10 members of our advisory board and almost 30 parents. The panel consisted of Jimmy, three other students and Mal Helal, the tutor who had initiated the poll. They were holding their list of questions, sitting carefully dressed on straight chairs that formed a V with an easy chair reserved for the reporter. A noticeably subdued hum of conversation rippled across the room.

For the first time during the programme lateness and non-attendance were no issue. The tension seemed all the higher to me for being so concentrated and so controlled. I began to fear that the reporter wouldn't show. I walked outside and immediately found him looking blankly around the courtyard, wondering where everyone was. It was no easier for him than for us to imagine the programme quiet.

He and I had already talked over the phone during the preceding week, so he had some idea what he was walking into. He was actually very pleased by the opportunity to meet with us, for this had been his first major article on poverty—racial issues, and he was interested in pursuing this line of work. He wished to represent the facts accurately and welcomed this chance to get the students' reactions. Had he been any less open, the ensuing event could easily have become a fiasco.

In the 30 seconds Jimmy had allotted to me I had welcomed everybody to

this 'important event which symbolizes so well what we mean by learning from experience'. Then Jimmy took over and, in formal tones, explained the structure of the meeting: the panel was to question the reporter for about 30 minutes without interruptions from the audience, then the floor would be opened to questions from members of the audience recognized by Jimmy. With that, he launched into the first question, a long involved summation of evidence of racial slurs in the article, followed by 'Do you agree that this is what you did?'.

'I didn't *intend* to cast any racial slurs,' replied the reporter agreeably, precipitating angry rustling and murmuring which was instantly stilled by a dozen 'Shsh's'.

'I didn't ask whether you *intended* racial slurs,' returned Jimmy coldly and legally, 'but whether you *committed* them.'

'Well, I guess that depends who's speaking, doesn't it?' answered the reporter a little less comfortably. 'They didn't sound like slurs to me' (another angry hum, stopped by Jimmy's glance) 'but they evidently did to you.'

Jimmy nodded to the next panel member, and the questioning proceeded for half an hour, and then another 45 minutes from the audience, all in an atmosphere of tense, formal silence, threatening eruption at any minute. By the time I had overcome first my preoccupation that an outbreak of un-controlled hostility would end the programme forever and next my amazement at the unparalleled self-control of these 'short-attention-span, volatile' students, I realized that the tension had dropped. The reporter agreed he had made mistakes in the article and had not been aware of how his writing would affect his subjects; the students complimented him on his openness and friendliness; and all agreed that he should write another article about the programme during the final week.

And so he did. During the seventh week he reappeared, this time to be swamped by students demanding interviews, showing him the most recent edition of 'The Ghetto', inviting him to class, or taking him for a tour of our outdoor art gallery. His second article began on the front page of that Sunday's paper and offended no one. I must say that I also found it a bit flatter than the first— perhaps a little too calculatedly inoffensive—but please don't say I complained.

During the following year, I was interested to see that the reporter became the newspaper's main link to racial and poverty issues, his competence and commitment evidently influencing the paper to give more attention to such questions.

And other meetings

Members of our advisory board had turned up at the meeting with the newspaper reporter because we had held a meeting with our advisors the day before. One or two had maintained regular contact with the programme throughout the summer after their participation in our spring planning meet-

ings. But we had not specifically invited them to the programme. Andrew Wilson suggested to me that a meeting would help create understanding and support for the programme within the Yale community. He felt this would be useful because most information about the programme circulating at Yale was negative in tone, coming from Weiss or the master of the neighbouring college, who intermittently complained about the amount of noise we generated late at night.

The meeting turned out to serve much more than merely a public relations function. We asked about half the staff and a number of students to join us for the lunch and early afternoon meeting, playing tapes of several meetings with students from the beginning of the programme and more recently. We impressed ourselves with the change in the students that could be observed by listening to the tapes and hearing their live comments at the meeting. Now, in small groups, they seemed capable of addressing one another rather than merely shouting; also of listening to one another, developing a definite heme in conversation; and also of carrying out some cooperative activities (the advisors were shown the questionnaire and analysis prepared for the meeting with the reporter). The advisors were impressed by our work, which provided us with much-needed reinforcement, especially for those staff members who were least clear that we *were* accomplishing anything.

One advisor from the Community Action Agency later returned to make a tape of student comments, the flavour of which he first picked up at the advisory meeting, about the kinds of organizational and interpersonal differences between this programme and their high schools—differences which made them try to work with the system at Upward Bound but against the system at high school. This tape was used repeatedly at in-service teacher training sessions during the succeeding year, when two out of the three high schools erupted in riots.

The students themselves had, in turn, first become aware that their experiences constituted a coherent and persuasive critique of the school system just that Sunday evening. John Holt, who had been invited to visit the Yale Summer High School that weekend, turned up unexpectedly at the Pierson gate on Sunday evening. So we asked the students in the vicinity to join him for conversation in the common-room. Typically, rather than talking to them about education, Holt tried to find out from them. I don't believe he did anything during the first two hours but ask questions which showed he had heard what they just said and wanted to probe their experience more deeply. Reversing the usual trend, more and more students joined the conversation as it proceeded. Although once again they were dealing with a topic that touched deep anger and pain, the students maintained a kind of detachment and humour about their stories that increased the power and precision of their analyses. Holt, who had planned to drop by for 20 minutes, remained four hours. Whether it was primarily the supportive context that he provided, or a readiness by the students to enter another stage of relating to their feelings in public that caused the new tone to the conversation, I don't know. Like the advisors two days

latei, Holt ended the evening impressed with the programme, while we, in turn, ended impressed by him.

If the *specific* restructuring accomplished by the staff at the end of the third week had proven utterly ineffective by the end of the fourth week, the *principle* of restructuring nevertheless caught on. We dismantled the workshops and returned to the tutorial system. The intervening week had permitted us to determine more precisely which students felt related to which staff. Thus, the new tutorial relationships were not assigned arbitrarily as the initial ones had been; instead they were determined on the basis of existing relationships. As a result, although we had virtually lost a week, we ultimately reached about 10 more students during the final three weeks of the programme.

In another arena, the students themselves were initiating a new structure. At John Darius' initiative, the Discipline Committee underwent a painful week of self-examination. Three judgments emerged from this process. First, the Committee was frustrated by the number of disciplinary cases it continued to have to hear. It felt it was failing to help the school evolve a higher sense of community than cops and robbers, simultaneously failing to become a respected authority in itself. Second, Committee members acknowledged that they were learning more from participation on the Committee than anyone else. This acknowledgment was achieved with some difficulty, for its immediate corollary was that others should have the opportunity to serve on the Committee too, in order to share in the experience. But members enjoyed their interaction and their feelings of prestige in belonging to the Committee and did not like the idea of being replaced. Third, the Committee increasingly found itself making new rules and taking creative rather than disciplinary actions. So, it really ought to have been named something like a 'Governing Committee' rather than a 'Discipline Committee'.

These considerations suggested that a new Committee, reconstituted as the Governing Committee, ought to be elected by the students for the second half of the programme. However, several members of the Committee felt that John was the key to whatever prestige and effectiveness the present Committee had developed (the first clear evidence of direct positive support of one student by others that I can recall). They argued against restructuring. The argument consumed two whole evenings, one at the end of the fourth week, another at the beginning of the fifth. The final decision was to restructure, based largely on John's argument that if the whole structure did depend on him alone, then it probably wasn't worth sustaining anyway. Led by him, almost every member of the Committee had been forced to examine the relationship between his personal behaviour and motives on the one hand, and the structure and welfare of the community as a whole on the other.

The new Governing Committee, elected during the middle of the fifth week, never did accomplish anything memorable. With the programme nearing an end, it had a lame-duck quality to it. It did, however, give another 10 students the sense of grappling with power and responsibility.

Decisions determining the purpose of the summer

During the sixth week, the formerly implicit issue of whether to emphasize social therapy or academics became a central concern on the staff. First, we had to decide whether to throw out several of the white students who were hooked on glue, endangering themselves by such acts as walking out on the roof and falling from a window (luckily first-storey) into the moat, and not participating in the academic aspects of the programme at all. Those in favour of stressing the academic quality of the programme argued in favour of suspension. Greg counterargued that this summer was devoted to trying to develop a community together, with no preexisting authoritative assumptions about the nature of that community. Moreover, he pointed out that a number of black students were equally guilty of breaking our rule against drugs. If we were going to use suspension as our way of enforcing our rule, he would have to recommend the dismissal of a number of black students. Since it was clear that such a harsh tactic would destroy the coherence of the programme, the staff decided not to dismiss the white students.

(When the news of Greg's threat leaked out to the black students, several of his former friends assiduously avoided him for a few days. Then, noting his tendency to drink a cocktail some evenings off campus at a restaurant, they confronted him on his inconsistency. He advocated throwing them out for breaking the drug rule, yet he himself broke the rule against liquor. He reminded them that the rule prohibited liquor or drugs *on campus* for the good of our community, but said nothing about what students or staff did off-campus. The students in question took the hint, reducing the amount of drugs on campus during the last two weeks. They also readmitted Greg to friendship, presumably on the basis of his leadership in beating the system. I don't think they ever realized that his recommendation to dismiss them was also a ploy to beat another system, the conceptual–emotional system of some staff members.)

Then, around the middle of the week, some staff members suggested that we consider inviting only those students clearly interested in academic work to return for the seventh week of the programme. In this way, went the argument, we would not be expelling any students. Moreover, the non-academically inclined students would probably quite straightforwardly prefer not to take part in an intensive week of academics anyway. And we would thereby have the uninterrupted chance to serve the serious students.

The argument sounded inviting, and many of us bought it quickly. Only Sally Graham disagreed strongly, still using the counterargument that no one had the authority to divide the community during the first summer. To do so now, she maintained, would undo all the trust built during the programme with the least academically inclined students. Such a decision would reassure them once again that they really were second-class citizens whose concerns we had pretended to take seriously only so long as we hoped we could convert them

to our value system. Because she could not be persuaded that this idea permitted us to accelerate our timing and lay a foundation towards next summer's programme, and because a number of staff members were not present, we adjourned the Wednesday staff meeting and agreed to return to the discussion the following afternoon. In the meantime, Sally continued the debate and somehow helped many of us to change our minds. Suddenly and surprisingly, the whole issue was decided easily the following afternoon in favour of *not* adopting the proposal. The usefulness of not simply outvoting a committed minority was thereby strongly confirmed.

These decisions against dismissing the glue sniffers and against restricting the programme during the seventh week had an apparently negative consequence of bringing to a climax the conflict within the staff about how the programme should be defined. After weeks of relative silence at staff meetings, Regina, followed by Tom, Susan, Gail and Douglas, expressed her indignation at the decisions during the staff meeting at the end of the sixth week. Soon the discussion shifted to their sense of having been excluded from staff decisions throughout the summer. A few staff members were viewed as having preponderant influence with me. Greg and Rob first and foremost, then Tim, David, Ray and Luther. I agreed with this ranking of who had most influence, as well as with the observation that a split had developed within the staff. I wondered, however, to what extent this pattern represented a conspiracy against the minority point of view and to what extent the minority itself had helped to create it by passivity. Sally's different posture as a minority the two days before suggested strongly that a minority could potentially have influence within the programme. The actual outcome of this open identification of conflicting factions was rather positive—a sense of reconciliation and reunion within the staff in preparation for the final week.

Once the final week got underway, we had more reason to be pleased with our decision not to split the programme. A summer's worth of artistic work created by the students under the guidance of Gail appeared on the walls and porches of one corner of the college. In addition to the intrinsic talent and the colour it conveyed, it awakened the staff to one kind of productivity that had been going on all along unnoticed under our noses. It was an unexpected dividend. Moreover, Gail had seemed the least assertive, least visible and therefore least valuable staff member throughout the summer. She, too, therefore, appeared as an unexpected dividend.

Our composition contest also stimulated an astounding splurge of writing by students during the first three days of the final week. They could be seen sitting around the campus bent over their work as never before. And they reworked their pieces three or four times with the help of the staff. The results ranged from fiction to political essay to philosophy to poetry, including the following comic summation of the summer by Henry Aston:

My Dream in the Grass

While I was lying on the ground,
I think I heard Bill Torbert's sound;

Someone laughing at me like a fool,
Someone dropping on me something cool;

Someone rattling on a bush —
John Darius gave it a push;

The rustling of the trees
Gave its sound in the breeze;

Seth Phillips saying 'Oh God!'
A symphony which is quite odd;

I hear someone walking through the grass:
It was a folk singer going to class;

I hear some birds;
Their melodies merge;

Something crawling on me—
I believe it was a bumble bee.

When I got up everything was different to me:
Where I dreamed before, now I could see.

On the final day, I busied myself with preparations for the evening ceremony to which we had invited all the parents. Were the certificates we had had printed ready? Were the students chosen to read at the ceremony practising their pieces aloud? Would the refreshments appear at the right moment?

As the day progressed, more and more students complained about 'having' to attend the ceremony. I began to fear that our final act would be only too typical of the disorganization which had characterized us throughout the summer. Melinda, who had been asked to read her essay on Black Power, vociferously refused to take any part in the ceremony. Repeatedly throughout the day she charged up to me, for one hour attacking me from various sides astride a bike she had picked up somewhere, exclaiming triumphantly that she would not under any circumstances read her essay. The occasion was a sham, she shouted, just as the summer had been. Then, half an hour before the event was to begin, I found myself tackled from behind, Melinda once again screaming, this time maintaining that I had no right to discriminate against her and prevent her from reading.

By twenty past eight, the common-room was crammed with students and parents, all, to my utter surprise, dressed in their best clothes, just as they had been on the first afternoon. Melinda, Henry Aston and six other students read their work to thunderous applause; awards in writing and art were made; and each student received a certificate to further applause.

The college emptied.

Saturday morning the staff gathered for a final relaxed argument about whether the primary purpose of the programme had been therapeutic or academic.

Chapter 7

Developing a Communal Sense of Identity

The end of the summer session ushered in a far more reflective phase of the programme. I dragged myself onto a plane to meet my mother at a small country farmhouse she had recently bought in Italy and spent up to 18 hours a day for the next three weeks sleeping. During my absence, New Haven was erupting in riots, setting the tone for a bitter year of disruptions in the city's high schools and of assassinations in the nation's political arenas. It was as though we at Upward Bound were being offered a chance to compare the results of our way of operating against the results of the 'usual' way of operating in our country.

Our way seemed to involve high psychic costs as we proceeded, testing persons in often extreme ways, but then seemed to result in good feeling and, as we learned later, significant positive outward changes in our students. At the end of the next school year three-quarters of our students had improved their grades (directly contrary to the ordinary trend), and only two had dropped out of school. New Haven's drop-out rate for tenth graders was cut in half from the year before—from 140 to 70—and I can think of no other factor besides Upward Bound that might be responsible for a large proportion of the change.

The 'usual' way of operating in our country seemed to involve minimizing immediate testing of persons as well as minimal effort to recognize and transcend personal limits, but seemed to result in violent contradictions in the long run. I began to think of our way as a pay-as-you-go plan, as opposed to the dominant American buy-now-pay-later philosophy.

Of course, at the end of the first summer these long-term results of 'our way' had not yet occurred. Consequently, the benefits and even the definition of 'our way' were still unclear to us. As fall, winter, spring and a second summer succeeded one another, the violent mood in New Haven and the country seemed to represent the ultimate test of 'our way' more often than a clear contrast. For, as later chapters will show, this violent mood very much affected the atmosphere of the programme during the second spring and summer.

I have been surrounding the phrase 'our way' with quotation marks because the most obvious yet confusing characteristics of 'our way' were precisely the uncertainties surrounding the terms 'our' and 'way'.

During my three weeks in Italy, I would occasionally turn to some efforts by staff members to define and evaluate 'our way'. I had asked them to describe,

among other things, what principles, if any, they perceived as in practice guiding the programme, and what degree of contradiction they experienced among the principles. Parts of some of their answers follow:

Ray: ... I see this school operating on principles that the students can understand. They can see that the rules are made for them and not some other group of people. I think that it would be fatal to the program if principles were imposed upon students without the students understanding them ...

Regina: ... We have been, in principle, attempting to prepare the students for re-entering the school system, but at the same time we have been, in principle, bucking the system we have been preparing them for ...

David: ... I perceive the program as operating under a general principle of self-discovery ... A key question which has never been answered this summer involves the conflict between freedom of the individual and his infringement of the freedom of others. Not in any sense when is a student receiving more freedom than he *deserves*—I do not believe an individual can become responsibly free through the punitive denial of freedom—but simply, when is a student receiving more freedom than we can afford to give ...

Bert Wilkerson: ... I think our main principles have been, in order of priority in practice:
voluntarism for the students
supportiveness
creation of a *community* (running a poor third)
learning
I would note that this list is exactly the reverse of the priorities expected by the students, at least initially.
Voluntarism allows individuals to disrupt the community. While our community institutions, primarily the Discipline and Governing Committees, were valuable, I don't think they ever succeeded in creating the sense of community that in itself inhibits disruption.
Unfortunately, supportiveness and voluntarism conflict with learning, for the latter requires disciplined work ... Our assumption that support for seven weeks was a prerequisite to real learning based on self-motivation was, I think, correct, and, if it is correct, then support was the more important principle.

Although I did not feel that any of these ways of thinking about the programme was categorically right or wrong, it was interesting to ask myself what the consequences of each way of thinking about it were. For example, tension and contradiction seem more pronounced in Regina's and Bert's thinking than in Ray's and David's. Why so? If we compare Ray's and Regina's comments, we see that Ray treats the programme as an end in itself without reference to the outside world, whereas Regina interprets the programme as fundamentally a means to another end. Comparing David's and Bert's comments, we see that David develops a single principle as central to the programme, whereas Bert counterposes four different principles to one another. I hypothesize from these examples that an organization member will feel less tension and contradiction as he or she increasingly succeeds in formulating a single aim which interpenetrates an organization's activities, giving them meaning in relation to one another rather than simply as means to some external end.

Let us look further at differences among these evaluations. Of the four, Regina's is the only one that proposes a direct self-contradiction within the programme between ends and means. Ray's does not describe any existing conflict, only a potential one. David's and Bert's describe ironies, ambiguities and problems, but not in the form of utterly hostile contradictions. Regina's evaluation also differs from the other three in not describing with any specificity the character of community development within the programme. I hypothesize from this correlation that an organization member will feel less contradiction in an organization's activity as he or she increasingly has a sense of developing community. We can reason that persons without the sense of developing community would tend to be less aware of a possible complex, internal, developmental logic confirming the organization's responsiveness to the outside world *despite its apparent contradiction of it*. Just such a logic is in fact enunciated by Bert when he speaks of support as a prerequisite to real learning. Thus, a process contradictory to that of the school system may nevertheless help students to learn in school. We see, too, that Bert's developmental sense, relating support to learning over time, helps him to reconcile the contradiction he originally generated between 'support' and 'learning' by his narrow definition of 'learning'.

I do not wish to deny that our programme may have suffered *actual* contradictions, but rather to emphasize the extent to which a person's *conception about* and *investment in* what is happening influences his experience of contradiction and stress within that activity. In fact, I might plausibly continue this argument by suggesting that *actual* contradictions can derive from *perceived* (of conceived or felt) contradictions.

A flash-forward

I was once again reminded of the subtle relationship between actual and perceived contradictions during the winter, when the core staff did some research on itself. All seven members, including myself, answered the question, 'What do you perceive as Bill's aims as leader of this group and programme?'. My answer was shortest and simplest: 'To increase self-directed learning in myself and the other members.'

No one else's answer contradicted mine, but the other answers either touched on only one side of my answer, or else presented several sides without integrating them. For example, Grace saw my aim as purely self-oriented: 'To see if he can use in a real situation the things he has learned.' Patricia saw me as other-directed: 'Altruistic, highly principled to improve life for people.' Rob Gilman saw me as balancing (not always appropriately) several aims: 'To fulfill his responsibilities to the staff and students; to try out some techniques for dealing with interpersonal issues; to research the organizational behavior of a school.'

In all, Grace focused on the personal side of my aim, Patricia, Valery and Ray focused on the other-directed side, and Rob and Tim Weston on several

sides. And this division among the one, the three and the two replicated itself in other terms. Grace participated on the core staff as a volunteer mainly on the basis of a personal attachment to me; the three who focused on the other-directed aspect of my aim were the most distant of the six from me and the least familiar with the idea of 'self-directed learning'; Rob and Tim, who focused on several sides, took the deepest theoretical interest in the programme. Moreover, the three who focused on the other-directed aspect of my aim also seemed to share a common concern about whether this aim was congruent with the overall purpose of the programme. That is, they did not directly link my aim as they perceived it to learning as they perceived learning. On the other hand, Rob and Tim, having focused on several sides, expressed most concern about whether different sides contradicted one another.

I doubt that my behaviour could have been too grossly one-sided or self-contradictory, since the different members perceive several different sides and only one stressed contradiction. But my behaviour may have been less well integrated than my statement of aim. If so, my *intellectual* capacity to integrate may have blinded me to the unintegrated quality of my *behaviour*. On the other hand, some or all of the apparent contradictions could result from a lack of intellectual integration on Rob's and Tim's parts. If so, they could waste energy trying to resolve what they perceive as contradictions outside themselves, while overlooking the need for continued development of their own capacity to discover abstract themes integrating concrete activities.

In the absence of shared abstractions to interrelate different events and roles, a person or programme can achieve a sense of identity only by repeating the same behaviour over and over again. In this case, a sense of identity is gained by a programme at the cost of its becoming less responsive to the outer world, and thus ultimately less capable of adapting to and surviving in the world. The core staff research undertaken during the winter was intended to help us consolidate an identity-by-abstraction rather than fall into an identity-by-repetition.

My own evaluation of myself

But the reference to the core staff research has taken us ahead of the story. The process and results of this research will reemerge in later pages. Now, I will return to the evaluations at the end of the summer session and, in particular, to my evaluation of myself. I wrote:

I am going to begin taking more initiatives to structure the environment now that I have gained more confidence in certain principles and we have some common experience to refer to. The past summer was as total an experiment as most of us have ever experienced or even heard of. No doubt my inexperience made it more disorganized than 'necessary': in any event, I feel as though I have become clearer about the direction we must follow. As a result, I believe I will be able to distinguish between decisions which I wish to reach collaboratively between staff and students and decisions which threaten the framework of collaborative decision-making and which I will not tolerate except in matters of routine or emergency.

I have been helped to see another difficulty we had together as a staff this summer; although I in some *formal* sense encouraged all of you to discuss problems you experienced about the school with me, both my personal bearing and leadership style in some cases precluded the kind of friendship which *actually* makes such discussion and support possible. That is, I was more concentrated than relaxed and more busy than available in relation to the staff. As a result, friendships and personal loyalties sometimes had to be expressed off the job rather than within the job. Maybe our experience this summer and the fact that our students are already with us can help us to plan more relaxing, meeting and thinking time for next summer, and maybe my awareness can work on my personal style.

In the context of my analysis of the other evaluations in the previous pages, I can now see that my first paragraph suggests a 'sense of developing community' on my part. The experience of the summer had not changed my fundamental ideas, but rather, in the very process of confirming them, had provided me with enough confidence to stand more firmly on them. Or, to put this another way, my sense of 'collaboration' had matured from trying to make every decision in common to differentiating between decisions which ought to be made in common because they broke new ground and those which I would take responsibility to make individually because they supported already chosen directions.

As I looked back on the summer, I saw it as a period when the most fundamental principles and commitments of the programme were being hashed out in practice. No single decision had sustained itself for long during the summer because there was no agreement about the fundamental aim of the programme. But, through the summer, I felt we had attained a common sense of aim. Some persons had worked the issue through in their heads and could now articulate a subtle understanding of the paradoxes of self-directed learning. Others had lived through the experience deriving a sense of self-enhancement and a new dedication to learning, but without necessarily being able to articulate this quality. Still others had seen enough to persuade them that the direction of the programme was not for them (Douglas was one of these). In short, the programme, however confusing it appeared from day to day, nevertheless developed a very definite and powerful identity for persons connected to it.

Ironically, it was just this sense of developing community which was hardest to articulate and indeed remained least articulated. The reader will recall that none of the four evaluations by the staff members treats the problems of community in a developmental, historical sense. Bert treats the issue of *learning* in this dialectical fashion, but none of them mentions the early stage of development of the community as a whole as responsible for the problems they cite concerning the balance of freedom and order. For example, whereas Bert sees the creation of community running 'a poor third' among our list of priorities, one wonders whether this *appearance* may not rather result from the greater visibility of chaotic voluntarism (if it is not suppressed) while a community *generates* a common sense of purpose. Later, the quality of community among persons with a shared aim might become more tangible to an outside observer than the quality of voluntarism, even though the members of the

community might experience their capacity for voluntarism as having been enhanced rather than diminished in the course of developing shared purpose.

I have suggested that two factors which increase one's sense of belonging to a coherent organization are (1) the formulation of a single aim embracing the organization's activities, and (2) the recognition of a historical process developing community. The two factors do not seem to be independent. In my case, certainly, only the confluence of the two factors, through my thinking and through my experiences of the first summer at Upward Bound, seems to have given me a sense of coherent organization.

Reflections at a staff weekend

A weekend meeting of the full summer staff later during the fall (to reassess the previous summer and members' continuing relationship to the school) provided an example of the inability of one of the two factors alone to sustain in a person a sense of coherent organization. The resident tutors who, during the summer, had made the kind of investment necessary to feel themselves part of a developing community, now felt disconnected from the programme because their role no longer automatically threw them into action every day. They had little sense of an invisible developmental logic towards an abstract aim to draw them forwards now that they no longer had the support of definite roles in a visible community. The physical dispersion of the community had dispersed their commitment as well.

That the tutors had avoided the work of developing an abstract sense of the developmental logic and aim of the programme is not merely a supposition of mine. They said a number of things during the weekend which led me to this diagnosis. They reported that, during the summer, their jobs had made so many immediate demands on them that they rarely paid attention to administrative directives, to staff decisions, or to any theoretical discussions. As Sally Graham put it: 'We couldn't listen to you this summer because we had to define our own positions, and you were asking us to take responsibility for the whole.' Or, to quote Gene Renfroe: 'Our role was to be in with the kids. That's how we measured success. So, if we were in, that was all that mattered. It didn't matter what the staff said.' (Ironically, these two were among the most willing to think abstractly during the summer.)

During the winter, some of the staff members of the previous summer took the initiative to define new roles for themselves, but most did not. Of course, some staff members simply had too many other commitments to devote continued, voluntary attention to the programme. I can't believe that this can be the whole explanation, however, since the very best staff members, who had plenty of other demands on them, were the ones who evidently had enough sense of the aim of the programme to be able to fashion a new role for themselves in the new circumstances. Ray Flowers arranged to assist the programme part-time on work-study wages funnelled through his college, helping particularly in the recruitment of new staff members. Tim Weston

worked with the core staff virtually full-time for a trivial sum of money (all we had to spare) while going to night school. David pursued his strong interest in educational philosophy and strategy by joining us on occasions such as the National Meeting of Upward Bound Directors in Washington, DC, paying his own way. Sally Graham maintained her personal contact with a number of students and participated regularly in our meetings with the students every other Saturday morning.

The winter work of the core staff

In the meantime, the core staff began defining, arranging, exploring and rearranging its work for the year. Initially, the core staff consisted of Rob and Valery working full-time and Patricia Stuart and myself working part-time. Eventually, Tim and Ray added themselves, as did Grace Porter, who volunteered to help in the office.

If organizing had been difficult during the summer when we were all within shouting distance of one another, it sometimes became agonizing during the winter. We tried to initiate a number of projects that never got off the ground. A study hall at the office with a staff member ready to assist drew five students for about a week and then trickled into oblivion. Tutors were recruited from Yale to work with individual students, but, despite two training sessions, their inability to generate personal relationships with the students as well as appointments missed by both sides led that venture too to trickle down to a mere three or four stable relationships. Another venture which started on a rather large scale but achieved success only on a very small scale was to train our own students to tutor elementary school children for pay. In theory the pay and prestigious role were attractive but in practice missed appointments on all sides terminated all but two relationships, if my memory serves me.

I tried to meet with a group of our students at each of the three New Haven high schools once a week, but the schools' schedules were so often influenced by unforeseen events that the agreed-upon periods were frequently unavailable for one reason or another. After a few exciting and enjoyable conversations, during which we role-played various common school situations that bothered the students, these meetings foundered. Still another frustrated effort was our attempt to find and remodel an Upward Bound Center. Our office, on the third floor of a Yale office building, was neither inviting nor close to any of the neighbourhoods in which the students lived. We thought that remodelling some building condemned by the urban redevelopment programme would create a centre of gravity for the programme, but each inquiry led us into a blind alley after laborious bureaucratic watertreading.

Not every initiative ended so negatively. Rob, Valery and eventually Tim divided the three New Haven schools among themselves and visited them regularly—sometimes every day of the week. They developed positive relationships with the faculty and administration, enabling them to help our students and their friends through innumerable bureaucratic hassles. Tim

negotiated a Black history course at the school he visited. And both he and Rob helped avert greater violence during riots at their respective schools later in the year by virtue of their close personal relationships to both students and faculty when the two camps were otherwise polarized.

With Rob as his consultant, Carlo Tithers developed his own tutoring programme in which he and four friends alternately tutored one another and discussed their life hopes throughout the year. Rob also organized a weekly meeting among five sets of white parents (among them Hank Chase's mother and her boyfriend) to discuss their ways of dealing with their children. Although this conversation subsided after a couple of months, it was so fruitful during its existence in terms of improving family relations that it felt like a success to all of us.

Planning with the students

Our meetings every other Saturday morning drew an average of 20 students. As one would expect, there were about 10 regulars and about 10 students of the 60 who never showed up. Although the focus of these meetings varied from conversing with the National Director of Upward Bound, who visited us, to planning a New Year's Eve party, the primary recurrent topic was the upcoming summer. The students present at the meetings participated in, and often initiated, all major decisions, from the type of location we should seek to the kind of disciplinary structure we should create.

These decisions were qualitatively different from those of the previous summer. On the one hand, they grew from the context of our previous experience together and, on the other hand, they committed us for the future summer. By contrast, the decisions of the first summer had been very present-oriented, deriving from no past common experience and reversible the next day.

The staff role became qualitatively different, too. It changed from a primary emphasis on clarifying students' feelings and bringing them into confrontation with one another or ourselves to a primary emphasis on directly confronting and supporting students with regard to their own intentions, in order to bring coherence to their behaviour over time. This change was visible at our Saturday meetings. The students themselves developed and then rejected various alternatives, as in the case of types of location we might seek for the following summer. When the preponderance of opinion favoured locating outside New Haven, but several girls still objected because it would take them too far from other people they knew, the students themselves helped the girls explore how much weight they ought to place on those feelings, and, without condemning them or exerting pressure on them to conform, led them to join in a unanimous agreement to locate outside New Haven (all this in a group of 30 persons!). Interestingly enough, the pragmatic argument of avoiding distractions carried less weight in the final analysis than the philosophical argument that trying unfamiliar things is central to a commitment to learn.

The staff took an active role only at the following meeting when students

at first did not recognize or acknowledge this decision as their own. (I believe this lack of acknowledgment resulted from several factors: [1] the presence of a number of students who had not participated in the original decision; [2] incomplete internalization by those who had participated of the logic which had led them to a decision which few of them would have made on the spur of the moment; [3] continued difficulty in believing that they could possibly be the authors of announced decisions.) Rather than permitting our previous agreement to dissolve in confusion, and rather than simply insisting on the agreement, the staff renegotiated the logic of the argument for locating outside New Haven by asking students who had been present to reconstruct it. In 15 minutes unanimous acknowledgment and agreement had once again been achieved.

The same pattern recurred later in the spring when students carefully and painfully decided that the staff should have full control of discipline for the second summer. This decision was linked with another decision to make the programme more academic and more disciplined in general, so that students could concentrate sufficiently to really improve their basic skills. The arguments for staff control of discipline were (1) students wanted to focus less of their energy on just keeping the programme going, and (2) they predicted that the staff would sometimes need to be 'tougher' on them than the previous summer to get them to do what they themselves ultimately knew was good for them. Needless to say, the second argument was both extremely subtle and extremely trusting. The two students who voiced it most directly, with assent from the rest, were saying in effect that they would not always be as reasonable as at present and that at such times they wished to trust the staff more than themselves, even though at the time of confrontation they might deny it. They even role-played the kind of response they hoped to get from the staff: 'When I shout at you "You betrayin' my freedom" you got to say to me "You betrayin' yourself".' At the next meeting, the students were scandalized to hear that, as they put it, 'someone' had decided that the staff should have full control of discipline for the second summer. Again a retracing of the argument, this time in small groups of five to give more members a chance to participate actively and thereby to increase the likelihood of their commitment to, and memory of, the decision, resulted in a reaffirmation of the decision.

Individual students and our community as a whole seemed to be entering a new phase in which definite goals could be set on the basis of a trustworthy common history. But it was a threatening phase for the students because it required of them a clear commitment to an alien enterprise—book-learning— at which they had experienced little but failure. Moreover, they had little but their own intentions and our presence to support them. Their school experience, their own behaviour patterns and their friends—in some cases even their friends in Upward Bound who were less regular participants at our meetings— still tended to deter them from so overt and so dangerous a commitment. In this atmosphere, a new kind of behaviour was called for on the part of the staff. Their job now became to maintain and strengthen the programme's

aim and coherence, firmly and confrontingly if necessary, rather than to encourage any and all exploration. Increased staff control, then, grew from a series of collaborative decisions which increased the definition of what was right for this group of people in this place at this time. Thus, the new phase was a subtle expression, rather than a blatant repudiation, of our collaborative form of working together.

Others' views of Upward Bound

The new phase of increased self-definition of our community could be felt in other ways too. Our actions in relation to external institutions and their images of us became much more definite. Informal gossip among the high-school faculties in New Haven the previous spring and during the summer had tended to derogate and ridicule Upward Bound, dwelling on the sexual orgies undoubtedly occurring at the programme or speculating on its im-minent collapse. During the fall, and especially after the winter riots at two of the schools, an at least grudging respect developed for Upward Bound's unique ability to work with the very students to whom the schools had earlier found it impossible to relate. Members of the core staff were invited to partici-pate at in-service teacher training seminars, and a number of students who were viewed as trouble-makers were eagerly recommended to us for the follow-ing summer. Our students themselves were responsible for much of the change in attitude among high-school staffs towards Upward Bound. First, they were present at school more often. Second, their presence no longer automatically led to disruption. Third, they actually took initiatives to meet the teachers' demands. (Some role-playing episodes at the end of the summer had persuaded a number of the students that developing personal relations with their teachers could be beneficial—whether from the cynical perspective of buttering them up or the more sincere perspective of breaking mutual stereotypes and improv-ing communication.)

I have already alluded in passing to the National Meeting of Upward Bound Directors held in Washington, DC, during October. This became another occasion for feeling and communicating the strength of our uniqueness as a programme. We were shocked by the opening speech of Tom Billings, the National Director, in which he indicated that experience had proven 'un-structured' programmes to be less helpful than 'structured' ones to the kinds of students with whom Upward Bound dealt. He also advised admitting only students who could be prepared for college in two years, so that we could improve the percentage of students going on to college, which he regarded as the programme's central goal. And he warned against 'naive political activity' by local staff members that might lead to embarrassing Congressional questions. During the ensuing question period, Billings first retreated into vagueness, then, in the face of a direct question, acknowledged that a definite policy shift had occurred towards a more conservative position in order to make the programme more saleable to Congress and 'the little man in Kansas'.

Confrontation between value systems

His entire position so contradicted our own experience of the past summer, our ideals for the programme and our impressions of what kinds of programmes were most successful (admittedly based on a small sample of about 10) that Rob and I and Jack Door of the Yale Summer High School spent most of the afternoon writing a response which we circulated among all directors the following morning. After reviewing Billings' points and noting that his articulation of Upward Bound's aim was 'uninspiring to us and would be to our students', we wrote:

We sensed the implication that political realities demand that O.E.O. sell Upward Bound on the basis of its success in meeting conventional public standards, such as percentage of students accepted to colleges. Only such a strategy can achieve political safety for Upward Bound. This position strikes us as internally consistent, but as true only within an emasculated definition of political reality. The political reality which characterizes a healthy democracy and towards which we educators are especially bound to strive is public self-education, not public relations, not selling. The criterion of success cannot be to meet conventional public standards, but must be to transform them. In this political reality a program's liveliness is judged not by its safety, but by its willingness to take risks.

The war on poverty does not make sense to us except in relation to this educational view of political reality. We feel (and believe we are supported by data, theories, and events) that poverty must not and cannot be eradicated by selling our society to the poor and manipulating them to fit it. If we practice this kind of politics, we are indeed, as someone has suggested, waging war on the poor. Instead, we must question the way we structure our society and the organizations within our society because these structures and the assumptions we make when operating through them are now primarily responsible for poverty ... Upward Bound hardly seems worthwhile if it serves merely to push some of its students into college ahead of Kevin, the C student, who could have made it too had *he* been helped.

We went on to assert that universities were likely to be less responsive to the new Upward Bound policy because we believed that their commitment lay in the direction of social and educational experimentation—the purpose of a university being to discover, consolidate and communicate new knowledge. We continued:

... It is an inadequate conception of our task to believe that pre-structuring the relation of students to our staffs and their programs will successfully move students up a social ladder to middle class success. The function of our programs is precisely to *develop* appropriate structures through interpersonal relationships. A successful structure is one which provides a student with enough trust in himself to seek independence and enough trust in his teacher to seek interdependence. Such a structure is liberating for our students, but the very freedom it promotes will encompass the possibility that the liberated student chooses his own goals, and these may not include college ...

Our response jolted some and was immediately attractive to others at the meeting. The conflict between Billings' position and ours keynoted conversations for the remainder of the weekend. On the evening of its appearance about 30 people gathered to discuss its implications. It turned out that a number of national staff members based in Washington had also opposed the policy shift, but had never articulated their position as forcefully as we had.

We later learned that our response became a symbolic reference point in national staff conversations that year. Billings himself joined the conversation the following day, and it became evident that even if we had not succeeded in reversing the policy we had at least impressed enough persons with the clarity of our position and the degree of our commitment to assure us the leeway necessary to plan our programme as we wished. Billings made a special visit to New Haven later in the fall, engaging us in long, personal explorations of the philosophy of Upward Bound. I came to respect him highly for his willingness to engage in dialogue, while at the same time I feared whatever events had, over the years, served to split his private ideals from his sense of the politically possible.

Only much later did I learn an ironic postscript to this incident. According to one of the national consultants to Upward Bound, the real reason for the shift in policy was not that 'unstructured' programmes did not work, but rather that, although in a few cases they were among the most successful of the programmes, the national staff feared that the local staffs of most of the programmes did not have the competence to pursue this path. Thus, they wished to discourage any widespread trend towards our type of programme. This point of view seems very reasonable to me, and dealing with it at the National Meeting would have been exceedingly educational for most staffs. I think. Yet, the national staff apparently assumed that to raise it directly would be too confronting and derogatory. Thus, it is not surprising that the national staff was unwilling to confront Congressional standards of success, since it was not willing to confront its own programme staffs.

And further confrontation

Another ironic sequel to this incident developed during the following spring. Suddenly I found myself in the surprising position of making the same argument about educational innovation *to* Yale that I had expected *it* to offer to Upward Bound. In retrospect, it escapes me why I should have thought that a university necessarily approximate its ideals any more closely than a governmental agency.

During the spring both we at Upward Bound and our friends at the Yale Summer High School had to spend considerable energy searching for additional funding (we because 20 per cent of our funding had to come from non-federal sources, they because only a small part of their programme was federally funded). At some point we began to hear rumours that Yale was about to receive a gift of $ 100,000 for a socially relevant educational programme. Then we heard rumours that President Brewster had asked a member of his administration not noted for any experimental attitude towards education to begin organizing still another new programme to use the money. We wondered why a new programme was to be set up at such a late date by a person not known for innovative ideas, especially since both our programmes had already shown their willingness to innovate, to evaluate the results and to spend a whole

year planning for continued innovation, and since both our programmes still needed funding. So we tried to determine whether the rumours had substance. Early inquiries resulted in administrative denials that anything special was afoot.

Then, the directors of various education-related programmes on campus received an invitation to a meeting with President Brewster and some other administrators. At the meeting it was announced that $100,000 was to be given to Yale specifically for a new programme directed towards preparing New Haven black students for entrance to Yale, if we could show evidence of our capacity to organize such a programme within the next month. Given the shortage of time, it was hoped that the other project directors would help the man appointed to head the new programme (the rumour had been correct about who it was to be) with the various necessary contacts, as well as with constructive criticism about his plans for the programme.

We asked why we had not been informed of this new project earlier, whether the administration was definitely committed to the new project, and how the idea for the new project had developed. The answers were exceedingly fuzzy and mutually contradictory. No, the administration was not definitely commited; we were to be part of the decision-making process. But yes, due to limited time we should either do this project or none at all. Yes, the specific idea had been proposed to the donor by Yale, and no, the donor could not be influenced to use the money in any other way. Only because the project was so new had we not been informed, but, on the other hand, they had wanted to wait to inform us until the new director could determine whether it was feasible.

Our questions put the administrators on the defensive, and they rushed on to the presentation of substantive plans for the programme. In response to this presentation, we asked more basic questions. How would the programme contribute to Yale's purpose as a university, or would it just drain our resources further? (We have already found difficulty attracting competent Yale faculty to our programme.) Wouldn't a programme for blacks to enter Yale create an unbearably invidious comparison for those blacks in Upward Bound who would almost certainly not attend Yale? Would it not make Upward Bound appear to be a second-class programme at Yale? What was the educational philosophy of the programme? Weren't Yale's resources already strained in supporting educational programmes? Where would the money come from after the first year? The head of the Yale Summer High School had been promised considerable help in finding funding, but had in fact received little help. Would not the New Haven community become further alienated from Yale if we sponsored a programme for only a short time period? Would the programme be planned collaboratively with the community? (So far it did not appear so, yet Yale had just announced, in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination in the spring of 1968, its commitment to collaborate with the community on all decisions that directly affected the community.)

These questions, too, evoked vague, defensive responses. We were assured

that the various programmes would be 'coordinated' with one another and
with the community. Then the administrators began to question us, implying
that we were showing disloyalty by our negativity to the programme as a
whole.

Two members of the New Haven Board of Education made comments that
to me sounded quite negative about the programme, but I now doubted
whether the administration was willing to hear such negative feedback, so I
asked President Brewster what he thought these two people had said. He
looked uncomfortable, then asked me what *I* thought they said. I replied that
I didn't know whether to trust his perceptions, so, as a way of checking, I
would prefer to have him say what *he* heard and then check with the speakers
to see whether they felt he had heard them correctly. I'm not sure whether he
understood me or not. In any event, rather than sharing his perception of
what had been said, he next asked the most recent of the two speakers (who
was the senior of the two) what he had said. The speaker, now tensed by the
confrontation, retreated into blandness and vagueness, qualifying his first
comment to the point of meaninglessness. Afraid that perhaps *I* had misheard
his original comment, frustrated that the interaction had by now become so
complicated that further checking and analysis would only generate more
confusion, and probably also scared of confronting the president too strongly
and offending his dignity, I did not pursue this stand. (After the meeting the
junior Board of Education member berated the senior member for becoming
a marshmallow, and he admitted that he had changed the meaning of his
statement to sound less negative.)

After the meeting we were invited to write down our reactions to the pro-
gramme. A number of the project directors wrote strong negative statements.
My own focused on themes raised during the meeting, rather than on sub-
stantive facts. I wrote:

1. Yale does have limited resources; therefore this program will be done *instead* of
something else.

2. It cannot even be argued that a chunk of money has been given solely for this, since
the donor was led to this idea by someone who could lead him to another idea if this
someone were convinced of it.

3. Adding a new program in no way leads to more collaboration within the university
on educational matters, since it in no way advances a unifying sense of purpose, in itself
does not emphasize the collaborative (as opposed to the all-too-pervasive disintegrative)
possibilities in the institutional framework of the university, and does not enhance the
collaborative abilities of the participants.

4. To view collaboration as 'coordination' and to see such acceptance of interdependence
as an imposition on individual freedom is one side of the coin, the other side of which
involves a tacit commitment to piecemeal, unintegrated programming—responding to
immediate pressures rather than raising fundamental questions about aims and effects.

5. 'Co-ordination' also distorts the idea of collaboration in other ways that struck me
at today's meeting and afterwards: 'loyal', 'lively', members are expected to give hearty
approval along with possible tactical caveats, but not to disagree on strategy issues;
'consultation' is aimed at gaining consensus on a decision already made (although it is
not announced as such).

6. The possibility of collaboration is of course central to all forms of trully experimental

education—that is, to education founded on the belief in, or better the experience of, experimentation as a primary human motive.

7. Most criticisms of contemporary schools focus on their systematic (because systemic) distortion and destruction of children's sense of experimentation, yet most compensatory education programs essentially repeat the coercive, conformity-producing structures rather than in any way curing them (which is not to deny that Yale's forms of coercion can be far more pleasant and genteel than schools').

8. The expanding riots make it clear that, socially, we will not gain true peace until the top truly recognizes the bottom—until authority becomes fully transactional. Now top and bottom, elites and masses, rich and poor, white and black, do not speak the same languages, and it is not clear to me who should, or can, teach whom. It is clear, however, that there is a lot to learn.

9. These last comments are intended to raise serious questions for any school that can choose its destiny today. It is incredibly difficult to assume the posture of a learner in a society which rewards right answers rather than meaningful questions—especially if one is an administrator charged with the responsibility for doing something right. Nevertheless, I cannot conceive how a program which does *not* in some way test this direction of collaborative questioning could be in any way helpful.

For several weeks, our relations with the central administration remained strained and formal. Then we heard that a decision had been made not to pursue the new programme. By that time, of course, it was too late to persuade the donor to give his money for another programme. But it is not clear that the Yale administration would have wished to persuade the donor anyway. Although President Brewster repeatedly complimented the Yale Summer High School and Yale Upward Bound programmes in his talks to alumni, it was not clear to us that he had any genuine understanding of, or commitment to, the collaborative principles which, each in our own ways, we were attempting to explore.* In fact, if anything, the process of decision-making around the proposed new programme indicated just the reverse.

In these varied ways—through staff reflections, meetings with the students and contrasts to practices in the public schools, at National Upward Bound and at Yale—an abstract sense of our communal identity gradually coagulated.

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* My negative reaction to Brewster in this encounter and in regard to this critical educational issue does not prevent me from regarding him as the best college president whose work I'm familiar with.

Chapter 8

Commitment and Conflict within the Staff

During the fall, the core staff members worked independently for the most part. We would meet once or twice a week to plan, coordinate and discuss particular students, but other than that each member structured his own time. Valery and Grace could be found at the office more often than the others, working on the books or talking to a student. Tim could be counted on to be at the high school to which he served as our liaison in the mornings. In the afternoons, he often visited members of the downtown school bureaucracy, exploring potential curricular or structural innovations. Rob was more likely asleep during the morning, grappling with graduate work in the afternoon, visiting students' families in the early evening, and perhaps drafting a programme proposal late at night. Patricia would take occasional hours from her other jobs as voice and dance teacher to counsel particular students, such as Sheila, for whom she found a place at a boarding school, and Seth Phillips, who was driven to autistic withdrawal and lying by his family's crude pressures to do college-level work.

Four years later, when I returned to review the files to learn what had happened to our students since the first two summers, the amount of work we did then is reflected by the number of journal entries in each student's file recording this trip to the doctor, that intervention with a teacher, or some work/study project we worked out with him to earn some money. Since then, with the exception of an end-of-the-summer evaluation or a form letter to a college admissions office, the files are bare.

My strongest relationships were with Rob and Tim. I shared an apartment with Greg and Rob, so Rob and I saw each other at all times of the day and night. Tim and I would often drop over for coffee at the restaurant near the office, and more and more often I would appear for dinner at his home, enjoying the warmth of his family. Occasionally, we would make the train trip into New York together, he to attend an evening graduate class, I to attend some meeting. With both Tim and Rob talk flowed easily, since all three of us shared a range of interests and languages, from our particular students, to the politics of the New Haven community, to personal and educational philosophies.

With Valery I tended to feel more distance. She seemed less defined, more delicate. I feared imposing on her, overpowering her. Our relationship began to grow stronger later in the year, with each of us gradually taking more

personal initiative, but then seemed to atrophy again over the second summer. She always performed well, but not with the kind of creative initiative that I could take for granted from Rob and Tim, so I think I kept a distance between us partly because I feared I might unfairly compare her work and thought to that of Rob and Tim.

There was no need to fear that one might overpower Patricia. Beautiful and dramatic, her presence could always be felt. In fact, I kept a distance from her as well as from Valery, but for the opposite reason—a fear of being somehow consumed by her if I ventured closer. I also feared that her philosophy and style were more authoritative than collaborative and thus did not mesh well with our programme. At the same time, she was confident and effective with students, so I did not wish to be narrow-minded about what philosophy and style worked best. In the early fall she confronted me, at Rob's urging, about why I had seemed to avoid her during the summer session, and we discussed all these issues, thus easing the tensions I felt.

Beginnings of the research

After Christmas, as we began to feel more immediately the need to recruit a new staff for the following summer, we began to become more aware of work that we ourselves, as a core staff, needed to do in preparation for recruiting. A number of themes contributed to this awareness. We all felt that we must do a better job of training the new staff than we had been able to do the previous spring, yet we were unclear how to do this. Another theme, shared strongly by perhaps half of us and less emphatically by the others, was the belief that we must come to learn more together as a group if we wished to serve as a model of self-directed learning for the new staff and the students. A third thread, again shared less evenly, was a sense that some of our relationships within the group needed repairing if we were to be effective co-workers. In particular, Tim's relationships with both Rob and Patricia seemed strained.

We devoted a number of occasions during January to researching our own relationships and planning a staff recruitment process. We devised questionnaires for ourselves and taped our meetings in order to be able to analyse and improve our group skills. The question about my aims for the programme, discussed in the previous chapter, came from one of these questionnaires. We also each filled out and discussed a job application form we were developing for potential new staff members. One of its questions asked the applicant to describe the strengths and weaknesses of his or her interpersonal style. This question led to a conversation about Valery's style, when Grace asked what our reactions were to a phrase Valery had included in her application, to the effect that 'in general I am silently agreeable'.

Tim responded, 'My reaction was that I agreed she was silent, but I wondered whether she was agreeable. To mention something I feel guilty about: in the past most of her time has been spent with books, forms, etc., and my feeling was, how easy to let her do it.'

'I was comfortable on that point, Valery,' continued Patricia, 'because I thought you were hired to do all those things, to be a sort of secretary, and I couldn't understand why you were dissatisfied.' (This latter point referred to a meeting the past week, when, in redividing our jobs for the winter and spring, Valery had said she would prefer not to continue handling all the bookkeeping.)

Valery laughed nervously, as Patricia finished, 'So now, months later, I don't know what you were hired for'.

A pause yielded no further response from Valery, so Tim asked, 'Do you expect to continue to be silent?'

'No,' she offered. Another pause. 'You are being,' from Tim. Another pause.

'What I can't imagine now' (this from me) 'is not so much your being silent as your being agreeable. That is, I hear a number of conflicting things being said about you. I don't see how you could agree with all.'

'I thought I'd made that clear: I said in general I'm agreeable, but then there's this.'

'Yes, that's a good point,' I replied, somewhat uncomfortable because my rather patronizing attempt to help her see a pattern in her behaviour had misfired. 'I'd be interested in hearing what you saw yourself hired for, what you saw as our original agreement, and how you felt about me.'

'When I was hired, it was really unclear,' she replied immediately, as though liberated by the specificity of my questions. 'You were out there, I was in here—it had to be done—there was no one else to do it. But I thought this was just a matter of beginning, as I think I told you. Then, partly because we had no secretary ... and I had started it, and no one else really wanted to do it, and who *was* going to do it? Now I'm working with the students ... How I feel about you? Well, I guess I answered that.'

'No, I don't feel you did. I heard you say "I was stuck with it" and I can infer "I was stuck with it by Bill". But that's not the way you put it. I wondered what your feeling was towards me.'

'Well, initially yes, "by you", but other people came in and could have done it—little things...'

'Yes?'

'Valery,' began Grace.

'I'm sorry, I want to hear *this*,' I cut in.

'...it was so strong, and no one else would do it, and it was necessary to do it. There's some things that you just have to do.'

Grace reentered: 'I wanted to ask how did you feel when I came into the office and said could you teach me this stuff. You probably thought I was unteachable. I was anxious to take some of it off your shoulders.'

'Well, at that point, well, it was about the same thing, Grace. There were some things you were less interested by and you said let's do them together. Which is about the same thing as doing it by myself, because that's just how I see it.'

Now Patricia: 'I want to apologize first of all because I have certainly

treated you as if you had this job. Specifically last week, for instance, I made a request of you about changing my check.'

'Right.'

'You know why I'm sorry, Valery? That you couldn't say to me, "Patricia, that's not my job, but here's who you contact and you do it."'

'That's why you needn't apologize,' replied Valery, 'because you're not the only one, and I didn't really correct that.'

Then Tim: 'What bothered me was that I just carved out my job as I wished it and I couldn't say I didn't know what Valery's job really was.'

And Rob: 'As a matter of fact, when Greg interviewed me for the job he asked could I type, and I said not well, and he said *would* I type, and I said I would, and he said "because we don't have a secretary", and that's the basis on which I first came. I do remember that I did some typing, but you clearly were doing more work on the books.'

'Were you all working on the books?' asked Patricia.

'No,' replied Rob, 'Valery was alone and the issue was never raised. And I'm not sure it was just her job to raise it. I got the impression—obviously wrong—that you liked doing the books. When I asked you the other day and you said "No", it was the first time I was aware of it. Since you had been doing them, I assumed you didn't mind.'

And me: 'I've said all along that I couldn't stand working on those books and would do whatever I could to arrange the organization so I wouldn't have to. But I'm not interested in *imposing* the job on another either. On the other hand, I've felt I've ignored you in your job of doing that because I was so disinterested in it and probably because I didn't want to get too close and find you weren't interested in it and have to arrange something else. On the other hand, I've felt that I have made efforts to raise issues with you at various times and I feel that the "silently agreeable" problem is a real one. In other words, other members of the staff *have* carved out jobs for themselves, and I guess I feel more comfortable with that than I do about the situation with you because I feel that your attitude invites us to impose on you, when you say "Some things have to be done". I don't regard the world that way. I don't think anything *has* to be done. I mean that in the broadest possible sense.'

Patricia turned it another way. 'I don't know if this would make it easier for you to tell people how you feel about your job: I think of you as a very kind, human person and I think the rest of us feel now in a way that we don't like to feel—guilty and apologetic and unhappy. Maybe if you know this you will not want to put us in this position—it will become easier for you to tell us.'

Reflectively, Valery concluded the meeting with, 'I didn't set a path for myself when I came. It was there and I took it and I guess it should have been my responsibility to say to Bill, "I want to change it".'

After this meeting her job did change. During the spring and summer she coordinated work on the books rather than doing it all herself and she took on primary responsibility for student admissions in the spring and for contact with parents during the summer.

Other signs also pointed to her continued questioning of her 'silently agreeable' style. She entered into some long conversations with me about her status within her family and whether she should move away from home in order to permit herself to consolidate a greater sense of independence. In the spring she began doing her hair in the Afro style. And it was my impression that when she spoke at meetings her contributions sounded more definite, stronger.

Her level of participation at meetings remained as low as before (even at the above-reported meeting at which she was the centre of attention she spoke only 6 per cent of the total number of units). Which may be no more than to say that the rest of this highly verbal staff continued its pattern of making it difficult for her to enter the conversation.

Patricia's drama

At our next meeting the group's attention shifted to relationships with Patricia. Responses to the questionnaire showed that other members of the staff estimated a higher level of conflict with Patricia than she did with them. Her first response to this finding was to suggest that the source of this discrepancy must lie in the other staff members, since it was true that she felt no conflict with them. I noted, however, that the other staff members showed no consistent tendencies to over- or under-estimate conflict in relation to one another (except for Valery, who tended to estimate *more* conflict with others than they estimated with her, confirming again that her silence was not always correlated with agreeableness). I suggested that since Patricia and Valery were the two whose patterns of conflict with others were consistent, they probably had more control than others over changing those patterns if they wished to Valery agreed with an easy nod of the head on the basis of our conversation during the previous meeting. But Patricia was more resistant. One example of conflict mentioned seemed to her a historical matter no longer relevant. Another example seemed to her a 'disagreement' rather than a conflict.

Finally, it was Valery who hit the issue head on rather than remaining 'silently agreeable'; 'With me, I think it is a conflict. I don't know whether to bring it up. You seem to always to be so dramatic that I don't know when you're being Patricia.'

'Well, that's Patricia,' replied the latter in a loud, dramatic, final tone of voice.

'Well. . .' Valery tried to start again, searching hesitantly.

'*I—am—a—dramatic—personality*,' enunciated Patricia, slowly and forcefully.

'But it's still hard for me to decide whether you're being real or not.'

Patricia now leaned forward and, in a sincere, strong, demanding voice, asked, 'How do you feel this? In what way do you assess me as being dramatic?'

Valery, probably overwhelmed by Patricia's forceful dramatics, yielded a weak and vague, 'Well, in every way'.

Patricia plunged ahead loudly, 'My speech. . .' then, after a pause, she

continued more reflectively, as though with more attention to her actual experience than to her way of presenting herself, 'People have brought this up before—my speech terribly offends and bothers many people. I can't hear my speech and I don't know if I should change my speech to please people. I don't know if this is something one should ask me to do.'

'No, I don't think so,' said Valery, retreating now that Patricia had shown vulnerability.

'My tone—and David brought this up last spring—my tone of voice—I don't know how one would describe it...'

Touched by her exploration, I tried to give her some immediate feedback, 'Your tone of voice to me is different now than it was a few minutes ago'.

'I have a great range,' inserted Patricia, somehow feeling a need for a comeback.

'It seems to have softened and deepened,' I continued.

'It's still Patricia though,' Ray, who was present at the meeting, put in, as though I were denying it.

'Do you feel it's *more* Patricia?' I asked. 'I have a more sympathetic reaction to this tone of voice than to the other, although...'

'This is certainly a more relaxed tone of voice because I'm trying to talk to Valery. When I'm trying to insert something in a more anxious way it may not be the same voice.'

Rob: 'Excuse me, Valery raised a problem about her relationship with you and how you're *less* anxious?'

Patricia, somewhat more guardedly: 'Well, yes; I can understand, because somebody else has said that my voice bothers them.'

Rob, trying to press his point somewhat argumentatively, since his leading question didn't work: 'But I don't see how you can be less anxious when somebody has focused on the problem they're having with you than you were in general.'

'*If* this is *my* problem; I can understand if I were sloppy, raucous, obnoxious in speech, then I would feel there was something I should do about it to be more educated. But I am wondering, if my tone bothers Valery, whose problem is this? Is this something *I* should change?'

Patricia was back on the defensive again and stayed there for several subsequent exchanges.

Neither she nor we were allowing that crucial moment for comments to sink in so that we could respond from our centre to their centre. Instead, each of us was trying to use tangents to penetrate the other's centre without risking our own.

I asked her if she would remain silent for a few minutes and just take in what we said to her. She agreed and succeeded through three comments. The first two agreed that her voice was not in itself the issue. Then I tried one of my world-defining comments.

'Maybe I could get at it. Because I think you said it yourself a minute ago. That is, that there is a connection between your feeling of anxiety and using

your dramatic voice. You've said that to me before, about actually being uncertain when you sound most authoritative. So I saw your change in voice before as occurring because here finally was the issue. There was nothing else but the issue. And then when Rob asked his question of you I heard your tone change again. It seems you are using your voice sometimes to avoid anxiety, and what it does to us—before we get to know you, because I don't feel it anymore—it raises a question about your effect on people when they first get to know you. I guess the way I used to feel was "Gosh, it's going to be difficult to confront her on this issue".'

Rather than letting what I had said sink in, Patricia took control, stating. 'You felt intimidated, afraid of me'.

Startled and confused by her rapid entry, uncertain whether to respond to what she had said or how she had spoken, I paused, 'Not afraid of you . . . but afraid to raise this issue with you'.

This time Rob jumped in, rather than allowing a silence for assimilation. We continued for another half hour without any further progress on the issue.

Patricia seemed too threatened by the implications of her dramatic style to acknowledge it as a dilemma.

At the same time, so close were the rest of us to verbalizing the dilemma as we felt it that we seemed to pressure her; we tried to convince her. We tried to show her the pattern we saw before she developed a clear commitment to seeing the pattern and a full trust that we would not persecute her for being that way.

Although our third meeting focused more on Rob and Tim, Tim at one point reformulated the problem he felt with Patricia in terms of her tendency to tell people authoritatively what they were feeling, rather than letting them tell her. To which she responded mock-dramatically, 'Give me a knife and I'll cut my jugular'.

Towards the end of the third meeting she defended her style more directly and, therefore, more touchingly. 'I always think, "People will like you, Patricia, when they get to know you, because you're lovable. Until they get to know you, you're not so lovable!"' (This last with a faint Jewish accent that drew us to laugh with her.) '"You know you're strong and you've *had* to be strong, by God." And I cannot be a soft, feminine, retiring creature because I have got to be a strong, silent, taking woman because I've got two kids and I've raised them since they were babes.'

The research meetings had reawakened, without resolving, the incongruity between Patricia's dramatic, authoritative style and the self-questioning, collaborative thrust of the programme as a whole. She had been a fine drama teacher the summer before and appeared to relate well to a number of the girls in her role as counsellor, so I had felt it important to keep trying to work with her despite the special investment of time it had required of us both to overcome our differences. Now, however, I began to feel that the differences between us constituted a liability both to the programme and to her. During the next month she and I spoke several times at length, but each conversation

yielded only increased misunderstanding and anxiety on her part. Finally, with the agreement of the rest of the core staff, I suggested that both of us might be more comfortable if she joined the Yale Summer High School staff instead. She did so and had a fine summer, working well in the more structured environment they created. And I found myself having negotiated the for-me-traumatic experience of having fired someone with the to-me-surprising result of vastly improving both our lives.

We had much the same sort of conversation just reported with Valery and with Patricia with almost all the other members of the core staff. At some point during the three long meetings we devoted to these issues, some response to a questionnaire or something that a person said would seem to another member of the group to epitomize that person's way of dealing with problems, so it would be discussed. As the conversations centring on Valery and Patricia also illustrate, these issues were inherently delicate and hard to learn about. Our interpersonal style is so deeply habitual to us that however much we may dislike some, sides of ourselves we usually take them for granted in the midst of action. In fact, our interpersonal style *determines* how we work with and learn from other people. How, then, are we to learn about that quality which itself frames how we ordinarily learn? Obviously it's not easy, and obviously this kind of learning is qualitatively different from learning 'out-there' facts and theories.*

Learning about one's interpersonal style requires a deep trust in oneself and in the group one is working with—a trust that one's value as a human being and the group's respect for one are not based on how well one's present style 'works' in every situation, but rather on a more fundamental (and sometimes hidden) *striving* to live well. This depth of trust does not exist in most work groups because most persons' interpersonal styles do not encourage such trust. Argyris (1969) found that all the organizational groups he studied (in business, government and education) had created an interpersonal world:

> ... where individuals tend to express their ideas in such a way that they support norms of, concern for, or conformity to, ideas ... Individuals do not, nor do group norms, support their owning up to their feelings, or being open to others' feelings. There is almost no experimenting with ideas and feelings and almost no trust existing in the groups. Rarely do individuals help others to own up to, be open with, and experiment with ideas and feelings. (p. 846)

So the problem is that learning about one's own interpersonal style requires an atmosphere not present in most groups.

Ironically, the very group process which encourages this kind of learning also increases members' trust in one another. Argyris (1969) found that a few sensitivity groups he studied were able to create an interpersonal world different from the low-trust world described above. In these groups,

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*Argyris and Schon (1974), Bateson (1972) and Torbert (1972b) characterize these qualitatively different kinds of learning in much greater detail.

... Feelings are expressed, risks are being taken, helping others to own, to be open and to experiment occurs, and ... norms of conformity and antagonism become less potent while the norms of individuality and trust become more potent. (p. 846)

We come to the circular formulation that groups need the very sort of trust that learning about one's interpersonal style generates in order to enter upon such risky, personal learning in the first place.

Our core staff had worked together for nearly a year and had apparently been more open towards than manipulative of one another, so we had enough trust in one another and enough occasional experiences together with interpersonal learning to make our 'research meetings' more helpful than traumatic. Analysis of our behaviour during these meetings showed that we approximated the second pattern more than the first. Sixteen per cent of our comments were feelings, as opposed to 1 per cent or less in most organizational groups. Only 11 per cent of our comments supported a norm of conformity, as opposed to up to 75 per cent of comments in the organizational groups Argyris studied. Three per cent of our behaviour involved helping others, as opposed to less than 1 per cent in the other organizational groups. And 1 per cent of our behaviour was experimenting, as opposed to 0·001 per cent in the other organizational groups studied.

I felt very good about my own and others' commitment to, performance during and learning from these meetings. I believed that the staff as a whole (and especially Tim and Grace) were rapidly increasing their competence to help create trusting group atmospheres.

Now we wanted to create a staff selection and training process that would help our new staff colleagues gain this sort of interpersonal competence too, since it seemed so central to success in working with our students. But, of course, staff selection and training posed even trickier problems than our own 'research meetings', since selection involved emotion-laden decisions, since the whole process involved many more people and since these people had not worked together before.

The selection process

In fact, I took most of the initiative in devising the selection process, although it was done in consultation with the other members of the core staff. The more reliable sense of shared purpose and process that I derived from the core staff research, combined with the other events that increased our corporate sense of identity, emboldened me to take a stronger lead in structuring the selection process. Up until then, ever since Greg and I had sacrificed the details of our dream school early the previous spring, I had treated a large part of my ideas and aspirations as primarily relevant only to my own action.

The plan called for applicants to fill out the application which the core staff had pretested on itself. The application asked them to explore what they hoped to contribute to and learn from the programme, and also asked them to assess their interpersonal strengths and limits.

Then the applicants would be invited to a general meeting, the primary purposes of which would be to describe the aim of the programme and at the same time to disconfirm their expectations of ordinary, bureaucratic procedure. We wished to make explicit and emotionally unavoidable the need for staff members to develop higher levels of interpersonal competence if they were successfully to exhibit collaboration and encourage self-directed learning.

We expected to accomplish this second task by asking the applicants to provide solutions to a typical group problem of the summer. We would then dismiss their solutions as inadequate, but use the very behavioural strategies they had suggested in the act of dismissing them. In other words, if they suggested lecturing to the students, we would respond by lecturing them on why lecturing wouldn't work. Then we would ask them how they felt about our behaviour and reveal our strategy. We would attempt to link their probable negative feelings towards us to the effects that their own strategies would be likely to have on students. We would also emphasize that the feelings of manipulation and distrust created by our manipulation forced all of us together to learn how intentionally to build trust amongst ourselves (rather than falsely assuming it was there to begin with, or regarding trust as irrelevant), since we wished to reach final decisions about who was to be selected in *collaboration with the applicants.*

Next we would arrange a half-hour interview between two of us and each applicant. The core staff would analyse the applications for dilemmas or incongruities (such as contradictions, unwillingness to assess limits or discrepancies between claimed values and written behaviour) and present these to the applicants. Also, of course, the introductory meeting would have provided a major relational dilemma to be worked on during the interviews. The two core staff members would attempt to respond as openly as possible to the applicant's behaviour. Then they would attempt to assess each candidate's self-directedness and interpersonal competence on the basis of his or her application and his or her behaviour during the interviews.

On the basis of these assessments, applicants would be assigned to four small groups at a general meeting. One group would be composed of 'strong' prospects, one of 'weak' prospects, the other two of persons who shared some behaviour of which we were uncertain. (It turned out that one of these two groups was composed of persons who seemed either reluctant in their expression of feelings or else expressed their feelings in a controlling or condemnatory manner. The other group was composed of people who seemed so vague about their personal aims or the aim of the programme that they might use them as a defence against examining their own behaviour ['After all, I was only trying to help!'], rather than as a standard for their behaviour.)

At these meetings members of the core staff would offer applicants all the information and evaluations we would have generated, along with the opportunity to discuss them and begin taking whatever steps applicants would like to take to change their status. This was to be the prime opportunity for applicants to evaluate the work of the core staff, assimilate or confront our

selection criteria, and come to full partnership in the subsequent process. They would face the dilemma of shedding their status as the-evaluated for the status of collaborative decision-makers. Again their self-direction would be called into play, as in the interviews, and core staff members would try to identify behaviour they saw as self-directing during the course of the meeting, while themselves also modelling such behaviour.

At a final meeting, I would present some alternative procedures and decision-making criteria for the final selection, among which we would choose by collaborative decision, and we would continue to work until a group of resident tutors was chosen. At this point, core staff members would function primarily as resources who could help structure specific learning experiences through which discriminations among applicants could be made (unless the collaborative decision vested them with special authority). We developed a certain repertoire of structured learning experiences through our own experiments while devising the above process.

The actual process

The case we presented at our initial meeting with 45 applicants illustrated a typical dilemma which a staff member might face during the summer. The applicants were to imagine themselves meeting with their tutor groups, as well as with another tutor group and its tutor, for the purpose of selecting a student to represent them on the Governing Committee. A popular student is at once nominated and without discussion seems about to be elected by acclaim. The other tutor seems to agree with the choice, but you are less sure that the candidate is really committed to handling the difficult job of representing the groups and working through issues with them. What would you do?

The applicants' proposals all seemed to have one of three qualities in common. One solution was to *manipulate* the situation covertly to get a better result. For example, one solution involved asking that everybody have time to think about the issue before making a decision, then trying to influence the other tutor and individual students before the next meeting. Another approach was to *intellectualize* the issue. Thus, one proposal was to begin a discussion of the importance of the office in order to generate a greater awareness among the students of what was at stake. A third tendency was to *avoid* the issue. One proposal illustrated this tendency by recommending that the students learn from their mistake, if indeed it was a mistake, rather than having the tutor 'impose' his wisdom.

Rob and I attacked all the solutions as containing these qualities, but did so in a *manipulative, intellectualizing* manner, *avoiding* any direct confrontation between us and the applicants when it threatened to occur. At the same time, we proposed our own solution to the dilemma we had constructed for the applicants. This solution was for the tutor to say directly that he felt railroaded into a decision and wished instead to discuss the matter further. If the groups reacted positively to this comment, one would go ahead to the discussion;

if the groups reacted negatively to the comment, the tutor would have the opportunity and challenge of questioning whether the group intended to create norms of coercion and conformity in its decision-making. This solution would present the tutor's feelings in an open-ended, non-manipulative, non-intellectualized way. Thus, we were advocating a position that directly conflicted with the pattern of our behaviour as we were advocating it.

None of the applicants confronted us about this discrepancy, but the discussion at the meeting became increasingly tense as Bob and I attacked their proposals and they defended them.

Then we asked everyone how they felt. The atmosphere changed: tentative responses gathered momentum as we nodded our acceptance of criticism and gestured for more comments without defending ourselves. By the end of the meeting the applicants had expressed their frustration with us, we had explained why we had acted as we had, and a few of the applicants understood the usefulness of the exercise while others remained confused and mistrusting, but definitely stimulated.

By the time of the second general meeting, a week after the above exchange, all applicants had been interviewed, and the core staff had split them into four groups ranging from strong to weak prospects. The interviews had seemed like significant occasions, quickly going to the important issues about the programme and the individual applicants, fuelled by the applications and the unresolved issues of the first general meeting. Core staff members felt challenged and elated, and discussed the specific interviews with one another, trying to experiment with more effective behaviours and to contact more regularly their immediate feelings in the midst of interactions. In general, the intimacy of the interviews seemed a positive experience for the applicants as well, stimulating and reassuring them after the more impersonal experience at the general meeting. Afterwards I felt very good about the groundwork that the original meeting and interviews had laid for our first hard work together at the small group meetings.

My feeling was reinforced by the applicants' responses to a questionnaire which gauged their views of the selection process after the initial meeting and again after their interviews. After the initial meeting they had perceived the process as more intelligent than stupid, more deep than shallow, more sincere than insincere, more open than closed and more effective than ineffective, but at the same time, not surprisingly, as more untrusting than trusting, more autocratic than democratic and more cold than warm. After the interviews, all the positive impressions became more positive and the other impressions were reversed. Now the selection process was viewed as very trusting, democratic and warm.

Besides this general confirmation of the effectiveness of these early events, interesting differences emerged between the responses of the applicants evaluated as 'strong' and 'weak' by the core staff.* Those whom we evaluated as

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* Our evaluation occurred before these data were analysed.

'weak' perceived the general meeting as significantly more negative (e.g. tense, upsetting, muddled) than did those whom we evaluated as strong (Mann-Whitney U. test, significant beyond 0·00003 level). Also, the change of perception from the general meeting to after their interviews was greater among the 'weak' candidates than among the 'strong' (Sign test, significant beyond 0·03 level). These data may correspond with the finding that persons who focus merely on concrete aspects of situations are initially less accurate in orienting themselves to new social climates, and then change more on the basis of additional information than persons who focus on abstract relationships (Bieri, 1961). A more specific indication of the plausibility of this interpretation is that, unlike the strong candidates, those whom we evaluated as relatively weak saw the initial meeting as very unprincipled and very unclear, but changed their views greatly after the interviews. They were apparently incapable of seeing our principles initially because of the complex, paradoxical structure we had created. So it seems that the core staff's initial evaluation succeeded in differentiating between persons more and less capable of self-directed learning.

I met with the 'weak' group because other core staff members felt embarrassed or not sufficiently competent to meet with those whom we had evaluated most negatively. The meeting certainly was confronting for those involved, but several were very open about trying to digest the purposes of the programme, to assess our evaluations of them and to determine how they could influence the selection process. The two persons who most impressed me returned the final week, while the others decided not to continue.

Although I considered my meeting a success, I now realize that it was a terrible mistake for me to have been meeting with that group at all. I should have been meeting with the 'strong' group, since I was the most competent member of the core staff to develop a trusting learning atmosphere in a group and since the members of that group were the most likely to become future staff members. Bob was to have met with this group, but had to leave town at the last minute. Instead of asking that group to meet with me at another time, I asked a friend whom I knew to have group skills and who was himself an applicant in the 'strong' group to lead it.

This decision resulted in a confusing, inconclusive meeting for that group. It also turned out that the other two small group meetings lost their focus relatively early, but these turned into discussions about the programme which seemed to be of interest to most applicants. Nevertheless, the small group meetings failed to begin the process of developing a consciously trusting learning atmosphere among the potential new staff members.

The final meeting and decision

The week after the small group meetings the final selection session was held. By this time a number of the 45 original applicants had eliminated themselves, but over 30 were still interested in the 15 available positions. A question-

naire before the final session indicated that candidates saw the selection process as more ambiguous than definite, but as increasing their internal commitment to the programme.

At this final meeting I asked for a collaborative decision among three possible selection-decision processes, ranging from a fully collaborative decision within a framework devised by the core staff to one in which the core staff made the decisions however it wished. After an extensive debate during which the benefits and limits of collaborative decision-making were explored, the group chose (by majority straw vote, ratified by the rest) to have the core staff decide however it wished.

The core staff immediately eliminated some applicants from consideration on the basis of our evaluations after the small group meetings. This decisiveness on our part seemed to surprise the applicants, who may have assumed that our interest in collaborative decision-making correlated with an inability to make decisions.

The final act in the process occurred late the same evening and involved another small group meeting with those applicants about whom we were still uncertain. The core staff fed back its impressions and uncertainties about each applicant, and applicants attempted to provide additional data about themselves, confronted one another or experimented. As I had found in my meeting with the 'weak' applicants, the various participants differentiated themselves in terms of their propensity to engage in self-directing, experimental, mutually helpful behaviour. This made our final choices easy, since we wished to hire precisely those people who could be self-directing, experimental and helpful in tense, ambiguous situations.

This summary, however, conveys none of the ironic and foreboding flavour of the final selection meeting. Dave Brown, one of the prospective tutors, wrote about the occasion as follows:

> The final selection meeting ran from 4.00 P.M. until late evening. Bill began by raising the issue of decision-making processes, making clear his own commitment to collaborative selection of tutors as a means of practicing collaboration and giving non-punishing feed-back. Discussion ensued, primarily aimed at Bill. Eventually I suggested that Bill was defending collaborative process against everyone; a quick check of hands indicated that about 70% opposed collaborative evaluation, and slowly consensus emerged in favor of listing the twenty-odd candidates currently favored by the staff, allowing others to stay on if they wished. Control over the rest of the evening's activities was surrendered to the staff.
>
> After a collective supper in the lounge, Bill fed back some data gathered in the afternoon session, and then began to discourse on the helping relationship. The response of the tutors to both topics was minimal; I found myself withdrawing, bored, and on the verge of sleep. In retrospect it seemed that we had regressed considerably in surrendering the decision-making power to the staff, and were now passively awaiting the axe. Eventually, thoroughly nervous about the possibility of offending Bill, I interrupted his discourse to remark that I was bored and didn't understand the jargon he was using, and thought others were in similar shape. Some mild confirmation from others followed.
>
> Then Bill raised the issue of selection criteria, and shortly the tutors were sniping at him and the staff enthusiastically. Renewed tutor interest in controlling the events of the evening, with an eye to discomfiting the staff, led to a decision to meet without them for

half an hour. An *hour* later the tutors returned from two group meetings to announce various resolutions about the program, most of them involving demands and accusations of the staff.

In general, the tutors were very pleased with their meetings, seeing them as the source of much more closeness than had yet been attained within the program; the mechanism for attaining the closeness seemed largely that of defining the staff as an external enemy and devoting the group's energy to planning strategy for dealing with them. Out of the anti-staff harangue from these meetings came the somewhat paradoxical decision to give the staff complete control of tutor selection. In spite of the staff's 'manipulation', 'lousy criteria', and 'unwillingness to take charge', the tutors forced them to take responsibility for evaluation and selection. They devalued the staff's ability to make decisions and then ducked the responsibility themselves, avoiding the responsibility while leaving an out if they were injured—the staff's incompetence. My experimental intervention to the effect that we might be ducking an unpleasant but useful task sank without a ripple, and I drifted along with the tide.

One final session with people still considered marginal by the staff led to perhaps the most open meeting to date. For some time passivity reigned, but the staff's openness about their reservations compelled some tutors to demonstrate new behaviors, several very successfully. Confrontation as individuals instead of as a group helped the meeting get off the ground, and probably the fact of eight hours of meeting before that left all of us exhausted contributed to the lowering of the barriers.

The selection process ended with one case of significant disagreement among the core staff. The disagreement occurred over Mal Helal, the person whom we knew best since he had been on the staff the previous summer. In many ways, Mal had performed well in his role: he had been dedicated to the students, himself having come to Yale through the Yale Summer High School from a poverty background; he had overseen production of our school paper, 'The Ghetto', and the reader will recall that he also played a prominent organizing role in the incident surrounding the first newspaper article. Ray and Valery now strongly urged rehiring Mal.

Tim and I felt equally strongly that we ought *not* to rehire Mal. We regarded him as increasingly rigid, brittle, dominating and hostile in his relations to others and therefore likely to be more destructive than constructive in the context of our programme. We cited a number of incidents suggesting these qualities. One was his temper tantrum the summer before when some students had playfully grabbed his cap off his head and had begun playing keep-away with it. When they had seen that his dignity was actually wounded by their humour, they had taken a further step, picking him up writhing and screaming furiously and gently depositing him in a large bush. Mal had spent the next two days in a vile temper, impotently threatening the students to return his hat and imploring me to take some sort of strong action against them.

Another troublesome issue was his implacable hostility to Tim, carricaturing him privately and publicly in Black Muslim rhetoric. Furthermore, he publicly disavowed the central aims and procedures of the programme and in private showed no openness to feedback about his impact on others. Finally, his withdrawal from two courses at Yale during the fall term suggested to us that he was ceasing to act effectively even in conventional terms.

Ray and Valery accused Tim and me of opposing Mal on racial and political

grounds, since his black militancy was increasingly evident. Rob mediated, but tended to favour rehiring Mal despite reservations. Fearing that I might indeed be rejecting Mal because of his conflict-oriented personal style, I finally agreed to rehire him, thereby taking my customary conciliatory role. I have regretted ever since that I could not sustain the conflict and insist on Tim's and my view. For later events were to convince me again and again that we had been right.

The spring meetings

Spring vacation intervened between the end of the selection process and the first meeting of the new tutors.

The day before the meeting, Martin Luther King's assassination also intervened.

Black groups called a meeting on the New Haven Green.

When I reached the Green an hour before our own meeting was to begin, a strange, schizophrenic scene and mood greeted me. The crowd of several thousand was perhaps two-thirds black, the blacks concentrated around the rostrum, the whites scattered around the fringes. Only blacks spoke and, for the most part, their rhetoric was the most incendiary I had ever heard. A fierce sense of unity, a menacing elation, seemed to grip the blacks, making the isolated white mourners feel all the more misplaced.

When I reached our own small meeting, no blacks were present. Subdued and paralysed by their absence, we discussed the assassination in sombre, purposeless tones. Cylia, whom I saw as vibrant and skilled, but still tentative about what she could bear, spoke in wilted terms of resigning because it was inappropriate for a white girl to be a staff member in a predominantly black programme.

Forty-five minutes later, most of the black tutors and a few more whites arrived, the meeting on the Green having dispersed. As Dave Brown remembered it:

> The meeting really began with a rejection of a white offering by a militant black tutor. The whole issue of the assassination seemed to inspire the blacks and depress the whites, and the atmosphere was not one in which it was easy to be really open about feelings. To some extent it became a sort of a black inquisition into the white feelings, an uncomfortable situation at best. Bill raised the issue of black nationalism's effect on the program, and I suggested, in connection with early interchange in which I saw whites being punished by blacks, that the issue of continued communication across racial boundaries was crucial to me. My comments were seen as an 'admission' of weakness by some of the black tutors, but we were unable to explore the dominance–submission implications of that perception. At least for this meeting, the authority issue was submerged in the issue of racial boundaries; the spectre of guerilla warfare in the cities and perhaps in the program was raised . . .

Tim, who was to lead the weekly meetings of the new tutors, began the second meeting by saying that he sensed uneasiness among the new tutors about their degree of involvement in the planning of the programme. He therefore suggested that they might want to discuss what they wanted to do, both

during the spring meetings and during the summer. This evoked a series of questions: what are the students like? what decisions have already been made? are there any written materials on the programme? what are we going to do? Tim responded briefly, characterizing the students and their new, precarious commitment to academic learning, noting the division of responsibilities among the core staff (Rob was to work with the teachers, Valery on student admissions), and indicating that the teachers would be meeting separately from the tutors for the first part of the spring, so that the former could concentrate on structuring the curriculum while the latter focused on structuring the non-curricular aspects of the school.

Whether this response was too concentrated, too abstract or too anxiety-provoking, it did not end the questioning. Tim's answers may have left too large a territory of uncertainty and freedom of choice, and the tutors' continuing anger at and distrust of the core staff might have prevented them from trusting Tim. Or perhaps, given their continuing unfamiliarity with collaborative decision-making, as well as their recent difficulty and inconclusive brush with collaboration in the selection process, they simply did not know, and preferred to delay finding out, how to begin working collaboratively. In any event, the next five tutors who spoke asked the very same questions all over again, while Tim tried to emphasize that they themselves could work out answers to the questions.

Several tutors began at once to mutter further questions in a more antagonistic tone. Tim, responding more, I think, to the tone than to the content of the questions, capitulated with a resigned 'Oh, okay', and gave a much longer description of the students, with examples. This encouraged a further string of questions from the tutors, until Zack, who seemed to combine brash confidence with a willingness to acknowledge confusion directly, turned to the others rather than to Tim and asked, 'How are we going to reverse the (public) schools' process and free these guys' intelligence without their running wild?' Other tutors responded. It was suggested that the students ought to be given responsibility, that one ought to find out what *they* wanted to do, that one had to discipline them strictly.

For the first time the tutors were talking to one another rather than at the core staff! But once again, as during the first spring's meetings, staff members were advocating freedom for students while unable to use constructively the freedom they had at that moment.

The tension increased as tutors emasculated one another's contributions by interruptions and competitive, dogmatic statements such as 'You've got to meet the kid where he is', 'That's not true', 'All right, hold it'. And when Tim was asked whether the previous summer had been successful, he raised the tension still further by returning another question about that person's criteria of success. Hostile laughter from the group indicated they viewed Tim's question as a put-down, so he tried to show his genuine concern by following with 'I'm serious. Yea, it worked, depending on what you mean by "work".' With this encouragement, the tutor who had asked the question in

the first place formulated several criteria of success, but was interrupted by other tutors before Tim could respond.

Eventually, Tim reviewed the issues that had been raised for those tutors who had entered the meeting late. Someone suggested trying to decide how to handle some problematic situations involving students, but was superceded by another tutor with 'I'd still like to know what decisions have been made'.

This comment finally succeeded in breaking through Tim's constructive orientation, and he replied, not with direct anger, but with heavy, antagonistic sarcasm, 'Given the vast importance of the question of decisions, we can go into that now, though I'm very unclear about what other decisions have been made'. He then gave an evolutionary history of our way of working with the students in the programme.

Role-playing

When several tutors suggested pat solutions to practical problems that Tim mentioned of getting students to bed at night and out of bed in the morning, Tim challenged them to role-play their solutions. He himself would take the role of a student. Zack volunteered to try, hesitated, stumbled, and immediately gave up as Tim put his head down on the table, showing no intention of beginning to cooperate with Zack's effort to arouse him. 'The only way I'm going to get you out is hit you and I don't want to do that.' To which Tim responded confidently, 'Go ahead. I can probably take it, and if I can't my two roommates will get you.' This led to an interchange about the occasional need for charismatic forcefulness to prevent violent forcefulness. Zack concluded with dejected openness, 'It's really something I'm going to have to learn'.

Tim pursued the issue, encouraging Zack to use the role-play as a learning opportunity rather than deciding he couldn't do the role-play *until* he learned. Zack agreed to try again, and fumbled around trying to define the situation precisely and rehearse his argument until Tim interrupted: 'Instead of trying to define your argument, why don't you just test it out?' Zack's nervousness about the approaching confrontation evoked laughter from the rest of the group. He barged over to Tim and shook him, shouting, 'Jesus, what's the story! Why...'

'Keep your motherfucking hand to yourself, baby,' Tim shot back in a sleepy but charged tone. A long, shocked silence ended with another, more hesitant start by Zack, the obvious inadequacy of which drew another round of laughter from the group. This led Zack to several denials that such a situation would ever arise.

Other tutors tried to role-play a curfew situation with similar obvious lack of success and similar denials afterwards that such a situation was likely to occur.

Mal attacked role-playing as acting rather than genuinely being oneself. Zack, in turn, defended role-playing as having taught him the scale of the

problems he would have to deal with and the inadequacy of his current approaches. The meeting ended.

During the week I transcribed the tape of the meeting and scored it, using Argyris' procedure. Needless to say, the resulting profile looked much more like the organizational groups Argyris had studied than like our core staff group. Compared to the core staff group, the level of conformity-producing behaviour was high and direct expression of personal feelings was very low. In fact, Tim was the only person at the meeting who expressed direct feelings at any time. If we divide the meeting at the point where Tim sarcastically says, 'Given the vast importance of the question of decisions. . .', we find an interesting contrast. Before that point (the first three-fifths of the meeting), 15 statements tended to generate norms of conformity or antagonism, and Tim contributed one of these. In the final two-fifths of the meeting, 24 statements reinforced norms of conformity or antagonism, and Tim contributed 11 of these. Thus, the tutors really had succeeded in breaking through Tim's constructive orientation.

Of course, it might be argued that the increase in negativity was due to the negative situations that were being role-played, rather than to negativity among members of the tutor group and between Tim and the tutors. But there are several kinds of evidence to suggest that, in fact, just the reverse was true: that the role-playing was not cause but effect, that it became a vehicle for expressing hostilities within the group. These kinds of evidence include: the context of hostility before and after this meeting; the pressure that led Tim to become sarcastic; and Tim's own acknowledgment when we reviewed these findings that he had been out for revenge on the tutors during the role-playing.

Each succeeding meeting seemed to provide some new conflict. The core staff, helped in our own 'research meetings' by some Yale graduate students, introduced these students to the new staff as possible resources. This precipitated long arguments about the irrelevance of research to action. Next the tutors demanded that the core staff propose a structure for the coming summer. We did so, but before we could present it at the next meeting a new conflict burst out. Mal Helal accused the staff of breaking a 'promise' to hire a majority black staff (the staff at this point was 40 per cent black).

The next two meetings sustained the acrimonious atmosphere. The issue of staff composition was settled with a decision to hire more blacks while at the same time recruiting more white students (and creating for me the problem of having to find another $10,000). Core staff members tried to include a discussion of the process by which the issue had been raised prior to making the decision, but this attempt was submerged in a wave of antagonism to the staff's 'do-nothing' policy. (Black staff members recommended additional blacks during the next week, most of them excellent candidates, and five were hired.) Enthusiastic meetings of the math, English, social studies and arts curricular areas followed during the second hour, and mid-week meetings of these groups were set up. The atmosphere at the curricular meetings was much more positive than at the general meetings.

At the following meeting an angry struggle for control occurred between Bob Gilman and Mal Helal, and when Bob was finally able to present the structure for the summer requested by the tutors three weeks before, he found the proposal under attack from all sides. By the following week, however, some kind of digestive process had occurred, for individuals recognized that the proposal did indeed respond to their wishes, and the ideas were easily accepted.

Since the general meetings clearly weren't very constructive, we spent almost all of our ninth and last weekly meeting on May 30 in informal conversations, moving about the room, getting to know one another better. I felt good afterwards because I'd gotten to know three staff members much better and gotten a stronger sense of their diversity from one another and their constructive intent for the programme. Nat, a black social studies teacher, was refreshingly blunt about his incomprehension of, and consequent opposition to, my leadership style. He felt my commitment to my dissertation must be influencing me to hamstring the group's decision-making by raising 'research' or 'process' issues just when a matter was about to be decided. When I talked about the need to learn while doing and to develop shared information for collaborative decisions, he questioned whether it was possible to realize such a philosophy in so short a programme as ours and whether collaboration was a worthy aim. Despite Nat's stout disagreement with me, the conversation was immensely reinforcing for me, both because it was straightforward and because we emerged with feelings of respect for one another. Later in the meeting he checked back in with me, concerned that there was a lot of behind-my-back talk about 'my research' which he thought I ought to confront with others as I had with him.

Process research *vs.* fascist mediocrity

Nat's blunt opposition to my educational philosophy turned out to persuade more staff members of *my* point of view than all my talking ever did. We had agreed to spend the weekend together as a staff to finish work on the structure and curriculum. At the social studies meeting on Friday evening, Rob and Nat got into a long argument about teaching that gradually drew most-of the rest of the staff. Rob wanted to give his students considerable choice over what they studied, while Nat felt it important to, as he put it, regiment them. His argument, with the phrases he repeated over and over in quotes, went as follows:

(1) however nice it might be for students to become individuated, society and public schools do not in fact encourage individual differences, so permitting kids to develop individual differences within our programme would only give them more problems when they returned to school;

(2) this point of view was substantiated by the fact that 'last summer was a basic failure' because we had 'put weird people back into the system';

(3) it followed that to be successful in teaching our students how to survive we needed to create a 'fascist group structure' parallelling the public schools,

only more efficient at structuring basic skills, so our students could catch up with their peers;

(4) in short, he said, scrupulously following his logic to its conclusion, we had 'to make our students mediocre to survive in society'.

When I asked him whether his conclusion could be stated as 'the way to be relevant to a bad society is to be bad', he agreed unflinchingly that it could.

Nat's arguments unleashed a lot of energy in others to generate a coherent philosophy that did not lead to the same conclusions or start from the same premises. Most of the staff returning from the previous summer did not agree that 'last summer was a basic failure' even though we did not yet have the quantitative evidence of our students' improvement in school. But some of them were initially stymied by Nat's retort, 'Why are you changing the structure of the school so much then? If it was a success, wouldn't you be continuing the same way?' I was shocked (but given the events of the spring should not have been) at how few had enough grasp of the ideas of self-directed learning and collaboration or enough sense of the programme's historical development to be able to respond to Nat. Because the core staff were aware of the delicate change in emphasis in structure and staff role being engineered with the students, we had tried to tell the story of our development to the new staff as often as possible. But it became clear to me that weekend that virtually none of the new staff members and by no means all of the returning staff members understood our transition.

In fact, the conversations of that weekend make it clear that there were two extremes of misunderstanding. At one extreme stood some of the older, more conservative schoolteachers who, like Nat, viewed the first summer as a failure and the change in structure as an admission that the more authoritarian approach of the public schools was necessary even if not pleasant. At the other extreme stood a number of white radical and black militant tutors who viewed the core staff as betraying the initial participative, political ideals of the programme in order to keep students in oppressive school systems.

My overall reaction to the weekend reminds me of the ambivalence I felt after the spring staff meetings the first year, only at a much higher level of emotionality and with a much deeper appreciation of the barriers to change in people. The first year I had been pleased at our collaborative decision-making structure, but fearful about the low levels of interpersonal competence on the staff. This year I was pleased by the specific content of the curriculum, daily schedule, job descriptions and disciplinary procedures that had finally begun to crystallize at work group meetings over the weekend. But I was terrified by the gaps in understanding that existed and by most staff members' obvious incomprehension of the possibility of viewing themselves as active learners, examining the impact of their behaviour in each situation and experimenting anew.

In retrospect, it seems clear that the long string of unfortunate coincidences that plagued us throughout the spring was really a destructive spiral. From Rob's unexpected absence during the selection process; to the effect of the

King assassination on our first tutor meeting; to the introduction of the issue of staff racial composition at a moment that blocked the core staff's effort to show responsiveness on other issues; what seemed like bad luck began to plague us. Even in retrospect it is difficult to tell whether it was just bad luck, or an adverse and more powerful political chemistry, or bad decisions by the core staff because we did not really understand or body forth the political chemistry that creates a trusting learning atmosphere. But whatever the explanation, it does seem clear that the increasingly subtle solidarity of the organization began to disintegrate between the time in January when the core staff benefitted so much from its shared research and the time in April when the new staff rejected active participation in whatever 'research' was.

If we could learn to identify signs of destructive spirals, we could at least bail out or try some other utterly non-habitual behaviour in an effort to break the spiral. I now begin to see that at this point in the programme I shared just that destructive trait of which I've implicitly been accusing others throughout this book—the assumption that I understood what was going on, what needed doing, and how to conceptualize it all. It is always difficult to bail out from one's own assumptions, but my assumptions were perhaps the trickiest and the hardest sort to bail out from, because at their centre was the idea that I was *not* right to begin with and therefore needed to learn. Consequently, I tended to believe that I could improve a situation by focusing on what I needed to learn (such as when I gave in on the decision to hire Mal Helal). And my focus on learning led me to believe, in turn, that I didn't make assumptions. But, taken as a rule, my focus on my own learning implied that occasions never arose when I could improve a situation by maintaining a confronting attitude towards others about what *they* needed to learn in order to improve the situation.

The logic of this meta-criticism of myself is reinforced by the perceptions of other members of the staff. At the end of the second summer session a friend of mine interviewed a dozen staff members on their views of the pro-gramme, including my leadership. Their various remarks about me created a coherent portrait of a gentle, responsive person, too often taking personal responsibility for events but too rarely taking programme responsibility for decisions, unrealistically abstract and committed to an unfamiliar (to them) educational philosophy that couldn't work in seven weeks, with no concept of evil or of the need people have for limits, and consequently weak and vacillat-ing when aggressive action was needed. When I originally saw these findings, I struggled with them and partially rationalized them away by feeling mis-understood. Now, after four years of stretching towards an appreciation of the opposite extreme—aggressive initiative (which a colleague's recent remark that I acted in a 'blindly antagonistic' way on a particular occasion suggests I may have achieved)—I can see more clearly how weak my own self-criticism sometimes made me. Even the most self-critical assumption becomes proud and blind by overassertion.

Chapter 9

Endings

We began the second summer with 85 students, 45 out of 60 returning from
the first year and 40 students newly admitted. Despite our efforts to increase
the proportion of white students in the programme, only 17 came, so they
became an even smaller minority than the first summer (20 per cent instead of
33 per cent). With our additional staff hiring and various part-time volunteers,
we ended up with 33 staff members of whom 16 were black. We were situated
at a smaller college campus outside New Haven, a location which we had
chosen with the returning students during the spring.

The daily schedule worked out by the staff was considerably more demand-
ing and skill-oriented than that of the first summer. There were to be three
hour-long periods each morning devoted to math, English, social studies and
tutoring in reading for those who especially needed it. (Students could choose
to take two different math or English courses if they wished to concentrate in
one area.) The afternoon again was somewhat freer, but all students were
required to choose a seminar from a long list developed by the tutors. There
was also drama and art, and the sports fields were immediately adjacent to
the classrooms and dormitories rather than 15 minutes away by car as had
been the case of Yale. During the evenings there was to be a two-hour study
period between 9 and 11, with lights out by midnight.

The staff came together on Friday, July 5, to work out the final details
for the summer session. Students were bused to the out-of-town campus for
a day's orientation on Saturday, then returned to the campus with their belong-
ings on Sunday. Individual counselling sessions on Saturday resulted in the
determination of class schedules by Sunday evening. Classes began Monday
morning.

Our first meal together, Sunday's supper, was ominously delayed in pre-
paration. During the delay I talked to the students and staff gathered in the
cafeteria about the delicate and difficult task we were undertaking together.
At least one staff member felt angry afterwards that I had set such a boring
precedent by talking too long and abstractly when everyone was restless and
hungry.

To my surprise and relief the cafeteria was filled with breakfasting students
Monday morning by 8·30 and class meetings ran smoothly with full attendance.
Tuseday and Wednesday the same phenomenon occurred. The machine was
running itself. Unlike the previous summer, I was not constantly besieged

by messages of imminent chaos. Instead, I could sit in on a regularly scheduled tutor meeting Tuseday morning and afterwards find the time and the quiet to note:

The tutor meeting discussed study hours, the 11–12 free period, and the midnight curfew for quite a while; I managed to avoid saying anything or leading the meeting, and everyone contributed points of view. I think the atmosphere was relaxed, the new tutors gained perspective, and the importance of continuing enforcement of the rules, even though some students are devoted to breaking them, was emphasized. Also an incident between Denise, the black office assistant, and some of the white women tutors was discussed. She had involved herself in a dispute between two students in the dormitory and later felt herself to be interrogated about her behavior by the women tutors. Feelings seem to have tensed very quickly, but I was glad it was being raised in so public a forum for continuing discussion.

On Tuesday afternoon about 10 staff members who had been meeting together since the end of May as a Learning Group gathered to share their experiences and try to learn from them. This group too was to meet regularly during the session, as was a Teaching Group concerned with devising and comparing classroom techniques.

We must return to the previous weekend to pick up a contrasting thread of events developing alongside the constructive skein suggested above. When the resident tutors had received the folders of the students assigned to them at Friday's staff meeting, first one and then others noted that all the members of their groups were of the same race as themselves. It gradually became clear that, without consulting anyone on the core staff, Mal Helal, who had taken on the task of making room assignments during the week before the session started, had placed all white male tutors and white students on one hallway of the dormitory and all black tutors and black students on the other three.

Several staff members immediately supported Mal's decision. Others struggled to disentangle their sense of being tricked by Mal from their evaluation of the merits of his decision. Various staff members had, in fact, seriously discussed the pros and cons of segregated housing for blacks and whites during the spring. Of course, the most prominent argument in favour of such an arrangement was made by black militant tutors who saw the programme as a vehicle for inculcating black consciousness among black students. The argument that made most sense to me was the obverse one—that segregation might permit the minority white students to develop some sense of solidarity as a group. The previous summer seven out of 20 of our white students had ceased living at the programme by its final week. They had maintained contact with us then and during the winter, and several had returned for the second summer, but they had cited a sense that the blacks dominated the programme as a reason for having dropped out. Some of us reasoned that the need for white solidarity in this programme was in some ways analogous to the need for black solidarity in society as a whole.

In any event, the staff provisionally agreed to Mal's decision on Friday night. Saturday morning I found myself accosted by Nat. He was furious with Mal's arrangement, feeling that segregated housing was probably illegal

and in any event contrary to the spirit of collaboration supposed to mark this programme. He challenged me to stand up to Mal and change the decision for the sake of the programme, rather than once again being soft. I asked him why he hadn't objected to the decision the previous evening. Taken aback, he replied that he would be ostracized if he broke black unity. So I challenged him to stand up to Mal for the sake of the programme, especially since I wasn't sure I disagreed with the decision whereas he was sure that he did.

Late that afternoon, after the students had returned to New Haven from our orientation session, the staff met again, and Nat nervously but forcefully launched into a speech in favour of integrating housing. The argument raged in all directions. After the straight pro-integration and pro-separation arguments had reverberated angrily off others' ears, there were a host of variations on the theme: Sheila, our new art teacher, who was no more vocal than Gail had been the previous summer, asserted that nothing would be resolved because the talkers on each side of the issue enjoyed fighting with one another too much; David agreed that the whole question was felt as an issue much more by the staff than by the students; Rob maintained that the definiteness with which all parties argued must be intended to cover anxieties about how things would really turn out. These tangents provided some perspective and humour to the situation. With this relief we gradually developed a total consensus in favour of separating the men but not the women on racial lines in the dorms for the first week, with a discussion and evaluation of the efficacy of the separation to occur at a community meeting at the end of the first week.

Traumas of acculturation

We did not have to wait long to discover how the students would test the limits of their new environment. By ten o'clock Monday morning, Jake Whittier, the business manager of the college, had called me from his office to say that most of the furnishings were missing from a luxurious new dormitory just behind our men's dorm. The guard could not understand how this could have happened, since he had toured the outside of the building several times during the night and the doors had always been locked, as they were in the morning when he entered and found the place ransacked. Jake proposed to enter each of our student's rooms and recover all the missing chairs, lamps, cushions and end tables. I persuaded him to let us take the initiative instead. By Wednesday morning the guard was able to report all furnishings replaced in the same unfathomable manner as they had disappeared.

(Already we were beginning to experience many disadvantages to the spatial arrangements of the campus. We had thought of ourselves as choosing our site carefully to provide advantages which the Yale residential college of the previous summer had lacked. And indeed the campus *was* well away from in-town distractions; the rooms *were* less luxurious than Yale's, minimizing damage costs; the athletic fields *were* directly adjacent to the dorms. On the

other hand, we had no natural centre of activity, as the common-room and courtyard had provided at Yale. As a result, people became invisible to one another, and spontaneous activities did not organize themselves. Second, the many other summer programmes on campus not only created distractions for our students but lowered our sense of identity as a programme. Third, the very inexpensive construction which we had expected to be a virtue turned out to be a curse. Ceiling tiles could easily be punched through, with spectacular results and the added advantage of providing access through the attic and another splintered tile into the rooms of other students. But this feature of our environment only became noticeable later in the summer.)

By Thursday afternoon another test of the limits was in the making. The faculty Discipline Committee met with two students who had missed enough classes and been caught outside the dorm after midnight enough times to warrant suspension for two days, according to our discipline procedure. We realized that the first suspensions would be another critical point of our acculturation process, since there had been no suspensions the first summer. By supper time I knew that the outcome would not be decided by quiet reason alone. Tim, who was one of the four members of the Committee, reported that Jimmy had appointed himself defence attorney for the two students, while Mal had maintained that suspensions were not a good idea, thus subverting the laboriously arrived-at staff consensus in front of students. (Mal later denied this allegation. From what I could reconstruct he had at one point said 'Oh, sure, suspensions are a great idea!' with what to others seemed like smirking sarcasm.)

After supper we were to hold our Community Meeting in the cafeteria. We had asked the teachers to stay over for these weekly affairs with the students and tutors. I very much looked forward to the discussion of separated housing. The first week had yielded numerous minor incidents in which white students reported feeling intimidated by black students. Some staff members maintained that the atmosphere of intimidation was encouraged by separate housing. On the other hand, there had been several very useful hall meetings of the white students and tutors to discuss their feelings and actions. In fact, the reports of intimidation had arisen from these meetings. Thus, it was unclear to me whether more intimidation was occurring than the previous summer or whether more of what was occurring was being reported. Moreover, the tutor groups had never coalesced into supportive units the first summer, whereas they had already done so during the first week this summer. The second interpretation may be corroborated by the fact that only two out of 17 white students eventually dropped out of the programme during the summer as compared to seven out of 20 the first summer, and this despite (or because of?) the constant open racial tension throughout the session.

The separate housing arrangement remained intact after the Community Meeting, not because everyone agreed on its validity, but rather because it was never discussed. As I attempted to gather the well over one hundred students and staff members in the cafeteria into a meeting, Jimmy burst through

the door, climbed onto a chair and began declaiming against the 'unjust' disciplinary decision to suspend the two students that had evidently just then been reached.

Several first-year students and returning students who had not attended our winter meetings regularly began demanding that the evidence in this case be brought before the Community Meeting because they doubted it. They also questioned the absence of any defence for the students charged. They impugned the legitimacy of the Committee because there were no students on it. They wished to appeal the case. All these points were made with great rhetorical effectiveness. The meeting was difficult to control, with people speaking loudly, jumping on tables to interrupt or being cut off in mid-sentence by someone louder.

In general, staff and students seemed to agree that it made sense to include some students on the Committee, to consider a procedure for defending a student and a procedure for appeals. But the emotional atmosphere and rhetorical coerciveness, as well as the demand for appeal of this particular case, complicated matters, indicating on one side a lack of trust of the whole intent of the programme and on the other side a lack of trust in the genuineness of the students proposing the reforms. A few staff members tried to confront this 'trust gap', but they tended to do so indirectly, such as by arguing against a retroactive appeals procedure. Other members of the meeting remained silent, apparently because they did not feel the conditions favourable for rational discourse.

Eventually, unable to generate anything approaching a coherent consensus on the issues and feeling that many members of the meeting were not speaking their feelings, I called for a vote on whether student representatives should join the Discipline Committee. It was determined that two boys and two girls would be selected, and they were duly nominated and elected. Then I said that I now felt that appealing this particular decision would be a mistake, but that more people had been arguing in favour of an appeal than against. I invited others to contribute to the argument against an appeal because I did not wish to assume sole responsibility for enforcing my point of view if other members of the community could not understand my reasoning and were consequently hostile to my judgment. After a silence two other staff members spoke in support of my position, but hesitantly and inconclusively. I called this question too to a vote, and the vote was to appeal the case. The meeting ended.

Later in the evening I found divergent views of the meeting. Some students felt that the democracy of the community had been proven. Others felt that too much of a point had been made of the particular case; they distrusted Jimmy's and others' motivations in doing so. Some staff members felt that by permitting the vote to appeal the case I had eroded the base of staff authority in the community for the summer and that students would now feel free to disregard rules. One member of the Discipline Committee spoke of feeling doubly betrayed, first by Mal, then by the Community Meeting. Other staff

members felt that the particular case had been handled hurriedly enough to give some ground for appeal and that, in any event, the whole process of the Community Meeting discussion, even though it was not a model of openness and trust, brought many students to a sense of more active involvement in and commitment to the programme.

As usual, I managed to rationalize my way to an optimistic view of the proceedings the following morning in writing about them. I came to the conclusion that:

> The extent to which intimidation has been felt as an issue this past week—between blacks and whites, between boys and girls, and between students and staff—is a measure of how far we have to go before we experience and value learning rather than power, authentic relationship rather than dominion and submission. On the other hand, the extent to which all these issues have been raised and discussed in meetings and informal conversations suggests to me a fundamentally positive flow.

Shifting currents, changing tides

Students left for the weekend late Friday afternoon, and the staff commenced its weekly meeting promptly at 6. A number of staff members said they had felt betrayed by me the previous night because I had not stood up to the students. I replied that I also felt betrayed by their lack of support when I was running the meeting. Then some tutors focused on their feelings of betrayal by Mal because of his relative leniency and because of his appearance of siding with the two students in his testimony the previous evening. Both Mal and I appeared relatively open to these criticisms, making it possible for us all together to turn our attention to improving the situation, rather than having the meeting degenerate into accusatory bitterness.

So the meeting continued, and continued, and continued, for four and a half hours, despite our fatigue. We tried to determine how we could repair sense of cohesion and purpose as a staff and, in particular, how we could evaluate and change, if necessary, the previous night's decision at the Community Meeting.

Gradually we decided to change back to a staff disciplinary board. We felt this return necessary to preserve the sense of structure and academic accomplishment with which the staff had infused the programme at the outset. In short, we distrusted the students' self-direction in relation to the academic goals of the programme. A noticeable slip in observance of the curfew Thursday night and in class attendance Friday morning seemed to confirm our distrust. We decided to trust our own intuitions about what was possible and right, especially given the short, seven-week period of the programme and the mandate from some of our students during the academic year meetings.

Having discussed the tone of intimidation that had characterized relations at the school during the first week, we realized that students might view our reversal of the Community Meeting decision as one more instance of betrayal and intimidation. It was noted that insofar as the staff actually felt a sense of glee and revenge at being 'back in the driver's seat' the students would be

right to make such an interpretation. We spent considerable time trying to understand why our decision would be right for the programme as a whole and not just convenient for the staff. We decided to communicate our decision through tutor group meetings in the resident halls on Sunday evening, in order to allow plenty of time for discussion of the decision and in order not to recreate the tensions of a mass meeting.

Sunday night's meetings occurred quietly, apparently successfully. My only doubt derived from their quickness. At the two I visited, the tutors did not seem to encourage discussion. At the other extreme, Ray Flowers, who had already moulded the most cohesive and serious tutor group among the men, took two hours to meet with his group, occasional shouts penetrating to other wings of the men's dorm. It seemed unlikely that his was the only group which needed to work that hard in order really to digest the staff decision.

Incidents

Tuesday, 12·15 am: just after curfew the fire alarm in the girls' dorm started shrieking. Everyone piled into the area between the dorms. Before I could find out what had set it off, I found myself surrounded by angry students, demanding that the rules of the school be changed and that they have a role in its governance. I now discovered the value of Ray's meeting the previous night, as Henry Aston and Marvin Tully, both members of his group, first insisted that everyone quiet down enough to listen to my responses and then gave credence to what I said. They turned the unforeseen outburst into the genuine conversation about the school that most tutor groups had not had the previous night. So, while the fire truck arrived from its station five miles away to shut off the false alarm, and the business manager of the college fumed sleepily at the din from his car, and several of the women tutors tried to figure out what to do about Milly Parson and the two other girls who had announced, upon seeing the demonstration, that they had set the alarm because of the programme's injustices, I agreed to meet the following afternoon with anyone who wished to work out some mode of student representation.

Nine students and I spent three hours Tuesday afternoon rehashing all the arguments made during the academic year meetings, as well as discussing the sequence of events of the past week and the resulting level of trust among us. We decided to create a Student Planning Committee with an elected member from each dorm floor, which could present proposals to the staff with an understanding that the basic framework of classes, study hall, curfew and enforcement was not negotiable. I called and ran a Community Meeting after supper, despite several staff members' belief that someone else should run it because I had lost the students' respect by performing poorly at the previous meeting. I described the agreement we had reached that afternoon, along with its historical background, and then, rather than inviting general discussion, asked each dorm floor to hold discussions leading to the election of one member to the Student Planning Committee. Within half an hour the

new Student Planning Committee had retired for its first meeting, selecting Marvin Tully as its chairman and devising a preliminary list of proposals to be discussed with the hall groups during the week.

Thursday, 1·30 am: Milly Parson shouting and banging at my door, demanding that I take her home immediately because nothing was being done for her at this programme. (The two previous nights her tantrums, commencing with the false alarm, had ended between 3 and 5 am with her and a staff member 15 miles away in the emergency ward of the New Haven hospital, she suffering from severe respiratory difficulties.)

Thursday, 4·30 pm: Melinda insisted she would kill Jane's three children if they continued to bother her (Jane, our office manager, was living in the women's dorm with her children, serving as a point of reference for the women tutors, just as I did in the men's dorm). Several of the girls had reportedly resorted to intimidating Jane's children over the past few days, making Jane exceedingly tense and fearful. But no incident had been observed by anyone but the children and the girls in question, and the girls insisted each time that the children had provoked whatever occurred or else that they were lying. Now, I told Melinda that since her attitude made it impossible for her to live with them, she would have to leave the programme. In her usual way of beating me to the punch, she suggested haughtily that I take her home. I agreed in a very emotional voice that that might be the most reasonable solution, but said I wanted to take a quiet moment by myself to be sure that solution felt good. I returned a minute later and told her I had decided to suspend her immediately. Surprised by the sequence of events, she said it was her decision. I dialled her mother as she spoke, luckily finding her at home, and explained why I would be bringing Melinda home shortly. The ride home was spent in quiet conversation, Melinda insisting I was lying whenever I spoke of what she would have to do when she returned because she had no intention of returning after the two-day suspension. The following Tuesday she was back.

Friday, 6 pm: The Student Planning Committee met with the staff to present five proposals, concerning such items as changing the time for study hours. The atmosphere was still delicate because most students doubted that the staff would respond to a committee with so little power. But, in fact, the staff agreed to four of the five proposals. Finally, we had been able to complete a cycle, turning a crisis into constructive resolution. (Of course, whether other students besides the Committee would digest this event and thus complete the resolution was still unknown.) From then on the Committee turned its main attention away from negotiations with the staff to initiating meetings of dorm groups where students confronted one another on issues such as self-destructiveness, lack of discipline and long-range goals.

The third week

As racial and authority issues receded into the background, new conflicts regarding the quality of the internal and external environments presented

themselves. The conflicts regarding the quality of the internal environment began among the staff but quickly spread to the students.

These conflicts concerned who was doing his job well and who was not. As the least academically-oriented students began to miss class more frequently, teachers began to blame tutors for leniency while tutors blamed teachers for ineffective, uninteresting class sessions. One black student, who had appeared ready to work on raising his reading level significantly, attacked Nan, who was his reading teacher, for trying to turn him into a 'white devil'.

Accusations among the staff began to be framed in racial and/or political rhetoric: the black militant tutors were subverting the programme; the white teachers could not possibly teach black literature. I decided we should end the week a day early and hold a full-day staff meeting to try to reverse this tide on Friday. By that morning Mal's and Tim Weston's relationship had deteriorated to the point where Tim wanted nothing more than to punch Mal into a pulp, the most recent contribution to this attitude having been Mal's apparent, unauthorized use of the school vehicle throughout the night, making it impossible for Tim to drive home.

Someone later characterized the atmosphere at the meeting that day as 'honest hate'. Many of us felt that the differences and feuds, even after they had been brought into the open and we had struggled through a painful process to their resolution, would reopen again within a day or two. None of our solutions seemed to match the power of the disintegrating forces among us.

Over our whole discussion hung the pall of Jake Whittier's declaration to me the previous day that he would make a recommendation to the college president to remove Upward Bound from the campus. A series of incidents following the first night's raid on the new dorm and the false fire alarm had been usurping more and more of his energy: ceiling tiles in the dorms punched through; window screens bent out of shape by boys struggling to enter the girls' dorm after hours; one of our students reported to have been rampaging about the classroom building one evening threatening persons with a knife; complaints from the cafeteria personnel that our students 'talked back' to them; simultaneous complaints from one groundsman to Jake and from two of our students to me that the other party had molested and intimidated the complaining party.

Jake had also received calls from the police after two white girls rode their horses across the playing field and exchanged taunts, angry words and threats with some of our students, resulting in the arrival at dusk in the far parking lots of two carloads of white youths brandishing guns and chains. I identified one car's licence, and the youths were arrested. And finally, on Thursday afternoon, Jake decided to call it quits when a full-scale battle nearly broke out between the football team and two truckloads of groundcrew members with picks and shovels contending for possession of the football field. As usual, both sides were equally convinced that the other had caused the fracas, and could point to several agreed-upon examples of provocation.

Jake had not anticipated having to devote more than cursory attention to

the programme all summer, and no one else on the college staff had any active commitment to the programme whatsoever. Consequently, he was being blamed by the college staff for bringing in this troublesome programme, when he had simply anticipated making some money for the college by using the facilities for this and a number of other programmes over the summer.

I appreciated the incredible bind Jake was now in and the efforts he had made on behalf of our programme, but at the same time I felt that the college administration was largely to blame because it had not accepted our repeated offers throughout the spring to devote time to preparing the members of the college staff who would have contact with our students. John Darius and Marvin Tully staved off immediate dismissal of Upward Bound from the campus by arguing powerfully and with great sincerity when they joined me in a conversation with Jake and one of the vice-presidents of the college that afternoon. However, the vice-president set the condition that there be no more incidents whatsoever between the college staff and the students, as though we were solely responsible. This condition generated great tension within the programme as soon as the students returned Sunday night: the glass panel in a door was accidentally cracked, and John Darius immediately began collecting money from students to have it repaired; Henry Aston met with some other students and decided to form the SUB Club (Save Upward Bound), the purpose of which was to concentrate on modifying the students' own behaviour (he drew about 50 students to his first two meetings during the four weeks, but his serious, almost moralistic tone and the resolution of the immediate crisis led to dwindling attendance thereafter); the black staff held a family meeting which generated the suggestion that we insist on a meeting between representatives from all constituencies in our programme and all constituencies of the college staff; Valery relayed this suggestion to me.

Institutional politics

Feeling quite supported by these events, although still unable to sleep at all because of anxiety since Whittier's first mention of ending the programme, I insisted to Jake in a conversation we had on Monday morning that a meeting be held along the lines suggested by the black staff.

The meeting was arranged that afternoon. The college was represented by a dozen persons, from the president to two members of the groundcrew. Upward Bound was represented by eight persons, including John Darius, Marvin Tully and Micky Robertson. The president, an old immigrant about to retire in a month's time, opened the meeting by asking our students why they didn't appreciate all that was being done for them, suggesting himself as a model of someone who had started poor but had made it to the top by hard work. Denise countered his patronizing tone with a harsh query as to why the college's staff didn't appreciate our programme enough to curb its prejudice, especially considering that we were their foremost source of income that summer. The lines having been drawn, our students and the groundcrew members proceeded to surprise one another by describing themselves as

harassed by the other. Then, positive proposals to improve our relationship suggested by me and several of the college faculty overrode Jake's assertion that all there was left to do was for us to pack up and leave. Micky made a long, impassioned speech about the value of Upward Bound to its students through our open, conflict-laden approach to one another and ended by bringing himself and almost everyone else around the table to tears. One of the college secretaries suggested that we ought to create regular small meetings between our students and the college staff, so that they could get to know and appreciate one another, rather than simply fearing one another as alien. The meeting ended with an agreement to meet the following morning to come up with concrete proposals.

One of the vice-presidents and two of the faculty members present thanked me afterwards for the meeting, saying that it represented the first sign of social responsibility on the part of the college they had seen. Early next morning this vice-president defended the programme in a small meeting of the president, the two vice-presidents and the business manager. Faced by negativity towards Upward Bound by the other three, he ended the meeting by agreeing that the programme had best leave the campus, not because it had failed but because the college had failed.

At our meeting that morning the president stated that he would not agree to the proposal that several members of the college staff share responsibility for relations with us (one of the concrete proposals). He did not believe in group responsibility, only personal responsibility. In this case, he said, Whittier was that person, but Whittier felt Upward Bound should leave. Hence, he saw no alternative but for Upward Bound to leave. He listened impassively as the director of another programme which was also using the campus during the daytime compared this solution to a high school's discharging its problem students rather than coping with the problems. The president and Whittier suddenly left at noon without any resolution. The situation seemed hopeless, but I suggested we meet one more time that evening.

In the meantime, the whole programme was engulfed in gloom. The only question being discussed at meals and, as I learned, in classes as well, was whether we would have to leave that day. Both students and teachers stopped preparing for classes, convinced that our last moments were at hand.

To my surprise, both the president and Whittier showed up for the meeting that evening. After brooding in silence for the first 15 minutes, Jake said that he was going to say one final thing and that it was going to be nasty and mean. He then proclaimed that he was really the only friend Upward Bound had on that campus, the only one willing to sacrifice time and energy on our behalf. He lashed out at our recent supporters on the college staff as talkers rather than doers. Perhaps carried away by his own rhetoric, he proceeded to pledge himself to work as hard as necessary to keep Upward Bound at the college, without asking for the raise or vacation that other members of the college staff had asked for when it had been suggested they share active responsibility for Upward Bound's presence.

The president glowed approval.

Stunned Upward Bound members tried to accept the fact of our sudden salvation.

Only Marvin retained his sense of political acumen sufficiently to ask with appropriate coyness whether Jake's commitment was likely to sustain itself this time.

'Forever,' responded Jake. And, although 'forever' turned out in fact to include only two more weeks, he lived up to his word; for when we finally decided to end the residential portion of the programme a week early it was at our initiative, not his.

I am still unsure just what balance of forces produced the alchemical transformation in Jake's attitude towards us that evening. I suspect that both a cynical and a straightforward explanation played some part. The cynical explanation is that with the president retiring Jake's job security was very shaky. Thus, he was involved in what became rather complex jockeying to build his own and undercut others' credibility with the incoming president. Upward Bound's presence first appeared to be a feather in his cap, then a black mark, and then, when other members of the college staff came to its defence, once again a feather. The straightforward explanation is that he really did care about Upward Bound, but found it an unforeseen drain on his energies and on his relationship with his own colleagues and subordinates. When the meetings influenced the attitudes of the rest of the college staff sufficiently so that he could expect support rather than grief from them, the prospect of working with us once again became more appealing.

Fragmentation

The atmosphere surrounding the possibility of the programme ending during the fourth week did more to disintegrate our efforts than the belated decision to stay could counterbalance.

As each problem at a given level was solved, deeper or more far-ranging problems seemed to emerge.

The fifth week turned our attention towards the internal wounds of individual students and towards the destructiveness of persons altogether unconnected with the programme.

Robert Gore, one of our new students and New Haven's biggest and most promising football player, appeared at my door in a ferocious depression at 1 am one night, told me to take him home, and said he did not want to talk about it. He was tired of this shitty programme and had gotten nothing out of it. On the way home, he said that he did not wish to continue living. He had never believed he was worth much because all his coaches kept trying to shoehorn him through school as though he really were dumb, rather than helping him to learn. He revealed that he had an illegitimate daughter and that he had come this summer to get smart for her sake, so she could have an intelligent father. But now he was sure he really was dumb because his reading teacher had told him that day that he had a sixth-grade reading level, so why

continue trying. We sat outside his home as he wept silently. He decided not to give up, but to return to the programme. (It turned out later that his reading teacher had been trying to encourage him by sharing with him that his reading ability had advanced four grade levels in four weeks of the programme.)

Dennis Hall had been on top of the world for a week because his art work had been featured in the foyer of the college library and then in a photograph in the New Haven newspaper on the Sunday after the fourth week. His room at the college was filled with art work he had completed since the outset of the programme. When he discovered that another student had lifted portions of his ceiling from the brackets, climbed down into his room and defaced all his work, he went beserk, broke into the art-room and destroyed all the work he could lay his hands on.

Each evening carloads of New Haven teenagers began to arrive at the campus, even though it was miles out of town, because word had gone around that a band played for our students during the hour between study hall and curfew. Efforts by the two campus guards on duty, by the staff and by many of the students to get these 'visitors' off the campus only succeeded in generating a guerilla warfare atmosphere.

Attendence at classes and afternoon activities continued to worsen. The staff seemed to be too tired to generate any creative organization. Only Ray Flowers continued to get a good basketball game going each evening after supper. For two afternoons I generated first a student–staff and then a male female baseball game by simply carrying the equipment out to the field and shouting for everyone to join me. Both occasions were great fun, but when on the third afternoon I had a meeting with the Learning Group, the game failed to materialize, even though several staff and students had told me at lunch they would take over organizing it.

The only event that worked regularly the fifth week was the daily meeting between college staff members and members of our programme that had been agreed upon during the crisis discussions of the fourth week. Each meeting was composed of different students and staff on our side and different secretaries, cafeteria workers and groundcrew members from the college. These meetings succeeded in replacing the previous negative atmosphere with an aura of goodwill.

I decided before the staff meeting at the end of the fifth week, and the rest of the staff agreed at that meeting, that we ought to end the residential aspect of the programme a week early, at the end of the following week, and instead conduct daytime sessions in New Haven during the seventh week. This decision was based primarily on the fact that the small damages to the dormitories had continued to the point where it would cost the equivalent of the last week's rent for the programme to pay for the necessary repairs.

The three endings

Since we could foresee the advisability of ending the residential portion of

the programme early, why did we not end it then at the end of the fifth week? Why did we not move right into the church auxiliary in New Haven that became our 'little red schoolhouse' during the seventh week? The daytime sessions could have been as productive as they became the seventh week, with none of the headaches of residential living for two weeks. Instead of preparing the 20 students who did pass make-up exams at the end of the summer (compared to a mere four the first summer), we might have succeeded with as many as 30 or 40 (had we worked in town for two weeks). I guess we didn't do it because ending the residential phase felt like an admission of failure that we (especially I) dreaded making. Also, we assumed that absenteeism would be even worse when students were not physically proximate to the classroom as they were on campus, whereas in fact students suddenly seemed to become intensely motivated to continue working with the staff as soon as we became physically separated that last week.

The fact that the mutually hostile subgroups of staff members could work separately that last week reduced immediate, visible conflict. Some of the militant black staff members preferred to work in the neighbourhoods talking with and tutoring the less academically inclined students. At the same time, the part of the staff that organized and manned the little red schoolhouse made it clear that they could do a much better job if core staff members would stay away. As one woman tutor told Tim Weston one morning, 'Why don't you stay away and give us a chance? You botched *your* programme. We don't need your help.'

A much more harrowing ending preceded the above events during the sixth week. Although we had set special closing exercises for Friday night of the sixth week, inviting parents and beginning to plan various productions and presentations of literature and art to generate a positive atmosphere of expectancy, these efforts foundered against the continuing fragmentation.

Students removing ceiling tiles, climbing through the attic to others' rooms and stealing valuables became such a menace that we tried posting a tutor in the attic for a while.

Early Thursday afternoon of the sixth week, I was struggling to find two visitors reported to have spent the night. I was also worrying that this final night might breed chaos and was wondering whether we should end the programme a further day early. To do so would cut off all possibility of feeling good about the summer by ending on a positive note with the celebration of the closing exercises. But several staff members were reporting to me in the final throes of frustration that they were unable to gather students for rehearsals of a playlet and a poetry reading, so it was increasingly unclear that the closing exercise would be such a positive note.

At this point, Sam, one of the white tutors, approached me, his face livid and his whole body shaking. First he stammered angry reproaches at me for not closing the programme sooner. I asked him what had happened. It was all over now, he continued, and he would ask the staff to close the programme that afternoon whether or not I agreed.

Gradually, his story emerged. He had been sitting in his dorm room when he heard knocks on his ceiling. Rather than responding, he decided he would remain quiet and thus catch whoever it was that had been causing so much trouble by stealing. A ceiling tile was lifted out of its bracket, and the faces of the two students who had been suspended the first week of school appeared through the hole. When Sam called out their names, they climbed down into his room instead of disappearing. They were followed by the two 'visitors'. The four then advised Sam not to report them. Sam refused to be threatened, so they began to push him around and then to hit him. He tried to protect himself but did not hit back. Eventually he worked his way to the door and escaped.

Tim immediately called the police, asking them to send a car out to the campus.

Just then the four cockily entered the hall where Sam and I were standing. I told them that they should all join me at the programme car in the parking lot, that the two students were dismissed from the programme for the remainder of the summer, and that their friends could return their clothes and other valuables to them the following day. They replied that there wasn't anything I could do to them. I countered that the police were on their way to the programme at that moment and that I would have them arrested if they did not accompany me voluntarily. They did so docilely. Tim Weston and two other students joined us for the drive in.

The students whom I was dismissing regained some of their aplomb and began to insist that I was treating them unjustly. They said they would retain the black community leader at the community house as their legal counsel. I said I would be glad to talk with him then and there since I was sure he would agree with me that there was nothing to defend.

In the meantime, students at the programme had told Dave Brown after we left for town 'They goin' to git him in there and kill him', so he had called the police and asked them to send a man to the community house. When we arrived at the community house in the car, Tim advised me against entering until he found a black neighbourhood worker whom he trusted. I waited outside the community house for a few minutes, until one of the students called out that the community leader was there. Confident in his ability to maintain order, I went in. Upon entering, I was asked to sit down by the wall until he was free. There were a number of youths in the room, some playing pool at a table in the middle. Several came over to me and began questioning me hostilely. I asked where the community leader was and was now told that he was out of town. More and more of the youths crowded around me, one of them beginning to push me with one hand as he questioned me. What was our programme? Why were we so inhospitable? Why was I prejudiced against blacks? What was I doing in this place anyway? Didn't I know that whites weren't welcome here? At this point, I said I would be glad to leave and began walking towards the side door which was propped open by a chair. Only later did I recall seeing one fellow, just behind some of the others, swinging a

sledgehammer laconically. Persons crowded about me, grabbing for me. Someone pushed the chair from the door as I approached it, and I was barely able to squeeze out before it closed.

I rushed out and down the stairs to the yard, followed by shouts. I looked back, saw the chair, a rock, the sledgehammer and a broom all about to be thrown at me and turned to shield myself as I stumbled down the final stair. Something hit me in the back of the head, knocking my breath out and causing me to begin sobbing and wheezing involuntarily as I made it to the sidewalk. I found the policeman we had asked for at the corner, but could not speak for several minutes through the sobs. By that time Tim returned, having been unable to find the neighbourhood worker. He was simultaneously angry at me and protective of me. We returned to the car. I felt exceedingly stupid and at the same time finally convinced that matters were out of control and that we should simply close the programme immediately. The two students who had ridden in with us rejoined us, deriding Jim for having been a coward and praising me for having been willing to risk my life for the sake of the programme. Enraptured by the trickle of blood from the back of my head, they could not understand why I would talk now, at this moment of triumph, about stopping the programme.

When we arrived back at the campus, we found the staff in meeting and on the brink of making the same decision. We decided to call the parents and tell them to come out as soon as possible, but to wait until the end of supper to tell the students so parents would be on the scene to help avert any negative reactions to the announcement. To my surprise, the most negative reaction to the announcement came from the students who had worked hardest to make the programme work, people like John Darius, Henry Aston and Marvin Tully. They felt betrayed and wanted to believe that they could have controlled matters that final night. Whereas they had been prepared minutes before to believe I was a legitimate hero because they had heard the epic of the community house from the other two students, they now viewed me as a cowardly traitor. This was a bitter final pill for me.

Well, not final. It turned out that Micki Robertson and Seth Phillips had returned to their floor immediately after hearing the announcement and had punched through virtually every single ceiling tile along the hall, leaving a shambles. The following morning the vice-president of the college who had been negative to the programme called in a newspaper photographer, and the debris was spread over the front page of that Saturday's paper along with a sensationalistic article containing several alleged quotes from me, although I had never spoken to the reporter.

Aftermath

When the programme ended altogether after the seventh week, the core staff moved its office to the third floor of a Yale building renovated to house special educational programmes during the academic year. The second night

a fire gutted the building, destroying many of our records as well. It has never been established that the fire was caused by arson. And even if it was, ours was not the only programme in the building that might have been an arsonist's target. Still, the event does seem symbolic of the summer, even in its inexplicableness.

As planned, I ceased directing Upward Bound with the end of the second summer in order to turn my full attention to completing my graduate work.

I had searched for a successor for six months, originally in the hope that he could participate in the summer session; but it was hard to find candidates who met my standards of having developed an articulated educational philosophy and interpersonal competence; and then the Yale administration stalled on the two men I recommended until they took other jobs instead. I later learned that, although the administration did share my commitment to hire a black director, it did not wish to hire a man who would operate the programme in a manner similar to mine. A primary concern for the succeeding summer, shared by the Yale and national Upward Bound administrations, would be to create a more orderly, less troublesome programme.

A black director with a commitment to structured academic learning was eventually hired in mid-winter. By prestructuring the programme from the top down, by avoiding open staff and communal meetings and by eliminating most of the students we had attempted to work with during the previous two summers,* he succeeded, according to informal reports I received, in running a quiet residential session the next summer.

Beyond this achievement, it is unclear that the new philosophy improved the academic results of the programme. In a later review of the files, I found several evaluations of the programme by its faculty, all predominantly negative, of which the following paints the most comprehensive picture:

From the job interview, from friends who knew about the new Upward Bound, and from the orientation sessions, I was given the impression that the overall program was to be structured and skills-oriented and that the algebra classes were to be designed to help prepare students to deal with an algebra class in the public schools in September. During the first few days it became clear that these impressions were not correct. Although nominally required to attend class, to study in the evening, and to observe a curfew, students were not penalized for not doing so. The stated goal of the program became 'personal development'. Almost two weeks elapsed before the first full staff meeting. Whether, given the students admitted and the staff hired, even early action could have changed the course of events is doubtful; as it was, the trends begun the first few days continued until there was no academic program.

In short, staff (at least teachers) came expecting a structured, skills-oriented, academic program; students came expecting an unstructured summer camp like the previous summers; and the staff was not strong enough to bring about a change in those expectations. This inadequacy of the staff caused teachers, tutors, and administrators to blame each other for the failure.

* Whereas 75 per cent of our first-year students returned the second summer, only 30 per cent of the students from the first two summers returned for the third summer. Only 16 per cent returned for the fourth summer, which was their 'bridge' summer between high school and college and thus their final summer of eligibility for the programme.

Historical Stages of Organizational Development: (I—Theory)

From the outset of the Upward Bound story, I have mentioned repeatedly that I was unable to articulate, but increasingly aware of, a certain developmental logic to our organizing efforts. After the second summer, in the hope of gaining further insight into the programme, I studied a number of historical theories of individual, small-group, organizational and national development (Bennis, 1964; Hinton, 1966; Lippitt and Schmidt, 1967; Mann, 1966; Mills, 1964; Piaget, 1962; Slater, 1966). One night a particular way of reformulating Erikson's (1959) theory of individual development occurred to me. It seemed to apply to the organizational development of the programme and, indeed, to each subpart of the programme, such as the staff training periods each spring and the residential sessions each summer.

Later, I discovered an additional source of elegance in using Erikson's theory. I realized that I could also apply his theory to my personal stage of development and thus perhaps come to understand something about how the personal development of a leader affects the development of the organization he leads.

Upon applying the theory to Upward Bound, I also found that the stages could describe the process by which new groups entering an established organization (e.g. the new staff we selected the second year) became acclimatized to it (and changed it). Thus, the theory seemed applicable to three different scales—individual development, group or role development and organizational development—and therefore seemed likely to illuminate the influence of these three scales on one another. Moreover, the theory seemed to have both phenomenological and empirical qualities. That is, the different stages seemed to refer both to changes in participants' experiencing—changes in what was important to them at different times—and to changes in externally observable behaviour. In short, the theory seemed to provide a bridge between regions often isolated from one another in social science and social action—between the regions of the individual and the collective, between the regions of the subjective and the objective, and between the regions of the empirically prevalent and the intuitively significant.

I shall review the Erikson theory and present my reformulation of it in this chapter and then investigate how well it organizes the experiences of Upward Bound in the next chapter.

Erikson's theory proposes that an individual faces eight major social dilem-

mas during his lifetime, which he confronts in a definite sequence, each revealing itself as the individual achieves some kind of resolution to his previous dilemma. If a given dilemma remains unsatisfactorily resolved, then the individual will tend to continue struggling with it as he meets further dilemmas and will, consequently, tend to resolve the later dilemmas unsatisfactorily as well. Erikson names and sequences the dilemmas as follows: trust, autonomy, initiative, industry, identity, intimacy, generativity, integrity.

If a baby's environment (e.g. immediate family) responds trustworthily to his needs, the baby can gradually afford to turn his attention to discovering and asserting his autonomy, rather than having to remain concentrated upon a depriving environment in order not to miss whatever occasional gratification it may offer. Developing a clear sense of his physical separateness, the child can recognize his possibility for testing initiatives in relation to others; and only through such initiatives can competence at playing socially defined games (whether these be recreational, academic, familial, etc.) gradually be developed. This is Erikson's industry stage. If the individual never satisfactorily resolved the dilemma of trust, he will tend to mistrust the environment throughout the autonomy, initiative and industry stages, regarding it as manipulating his supposed self-expression.

If an individual develops a variety of competences, the question naturally arises as to which he will devote his time to, what social role he will take, what identity he will choose. (This question can, of course, become considerably more complex and anguishing than it appears here if the potential roles imply conflicting values.) Given not only a physical but also a social sense of individuality, separateness, aloneness, the person develops both the motivation and the possibility for a deeper relation with others (since a relationship can be no deeper than the individuals involved, the union no more profound than the initial distinctness). From genuine intimacy, that is, from self-transcendence, a creative new result becomes possible. The most obvious example of this process is the conception, amniotic nurturance and birth of a new child. But the generativity stage equally describes creative, artistic, scientific or political work-action. Then, for the person who has explored fully beyond the confines of his preexisting culture and successfully realized these explorations by changing the culture, a new quality of self-definition becomes possible. Erikson names this possibility 'integrity'. The person who achieves integrity can experience and express his role not merely in terms of the current society, but in broader terms—in historical terms, in terms of man's cosmic role on earth.

Before trying to show in any detail how these stages might be translated into organizational terms, I shall describe how I recast them into a matrix which throws into relief some major correspondences and discontinuities implicit in the theory. But the reader may already be able to imagine some of the organizational analogies to these stages. For example, the issues of developing trust between baby and environment may be analogous to issues of capitalization or funding in new organizations. And a child's initiatives may be

analogous to organizational experimentation with different structures or ways of delivering services.

Before I made any such translations from the individual to the organizational scale, I noted some surprising correspondences among various stages. For example, 'autonomy', 'identity' and 'integrity' all seemed to have in common a quality of self-definition, of recognition of the boundary separating oneself from, and relating oneself to, one's environment. 'Initiative' and 'intimacy' seemed to have in common a quality extending oneself beyond one's boundaries, testing new modes of relationship to the environment. 'Industry' and 'generativity' seemed to have in common a quality of producing a product, of enacting a behaviour, of expressing oneself, or of creating something to which the environment responds favourably. I noticed further that these correspondences could be visualized by rearranging the stages into three columns, as follows:
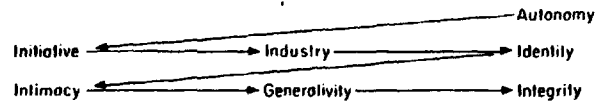
This rearrangement of the stages preserves Erikson's sequence if read from left to right and from top to bottom.

The next question that presented itself to me was whether the columns and rows could be named. Naming the columns seemed fairly straightforward, since it involved summarizing the correspondences among the stages that I had already intuitively noticed I named the left column 'relational experimentation', the middle column 'successful environmental manifestation' and the right column 'self-recognition'.*

Next, names for the rows: the differences among the three stages in the 'self-recognition' column suggested differentiating physical autonomy from social identity from historical or cosmic integrity. This differentiation of physical from structural from cosmic struck a familiar note. In my previous

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*The reader may note something of a correspondence between these terms and the more abstract terms of the dialectic: thesis, synthesis, antithesis. In relational experimentation, the person (or other system) operates in a qualitatively new way, tries out positive new possibilities. In successful environmental manifestation, the person moulds the experiments into a skill that expresses himself and is of use to the environment, thus achieving a synthesis between self and environment. In self-recognition, the person differentiates himself from the environment, determining his limits, recognizing in what ways he is an antithesis to the environment. A second kind of synthesis (or, in Hegel's term, 'Erhebung'—uplifting) occurs in the transition from level to level when the appropriate midwifery is at hand. Thus, movement through this model differs from the classical notion of the dialectic by interposing a second kind of synthesis (perhaps we should call it an 'Erniedrigung'—'a lowering', 'a stepping down') between thesis and antithesis. Moreover, the model introduces a 'vertical' dialectic (among the levels of experience) to complement the 'horizontal' dialectic. For growth, both a 'horizontal' and 'upward' effort through time and a receptivity to a timeless 'downward flowing' grace is necessary on the part of the individual (or other system).

thought (which appears in *Learning from Experience: Toward Consciousness*, 1972b) I had distinguished three qualities, or levels, of experience calling them 'behaviour', 'structure' and 'consciousness'. In particular, using the terms 'social' and 'structural' to refer to the initiative, industry and identity stages seems to correspond to Erikson's emphasis on the growing child's exploration, mastery and self-definition within social structures.

The historical or cosmic level

Using the terms 'historical' or 'cosmic' to refer to Erikson's intimacy, generativity and integrity stages may, however, appear to the reader already familiar with Erikson's theory to stretch or distort his meaning of the terms. He does suggest that the three stages have something in common by naming them 'three stages of adulthood'. But his stages appear to *describe processes relatively common* among adults, whereas my terms 'historical' and 'cosmic' seem to *prescribe processes relatively uncommon* among adults. For example, he speaks of intimacy as follows: '... It is only after a reasonable sense of identity is established that real intimacy with the other sex (or, for that matter, with any other person or even with oneself) is possible. The surer (a youth) becomes of his self, the more he seeks (interpersonal intimacy) in the form of friendship, combat, leadership, love and inspiration' (1959, p. 95). Of generativity he says, '(it) is primarily the interest in establishing and guiding the next generation' (1959, p. 97). Nothing in these words suggests uncommon processes of 'historical' or 'cosmic' proportions.

Only when he describes the stage of integrity does Erikson write in such a way as to suggest that its achievement is relatively uncommon. He begins his description as follows: 'Only he who in some way has taken care of things and people and has adapted himself to the triumphs and disappointments of being, by necessity, the originator of others and the generator of things and ideas—only he may gradually grow the fruit of the seven stages' (1959, p. 98). And, as if recognizing that he has begun to sound prescriptive rather than descriptive, he immediately follows his discussion of integrity with the comment: 'At this point, I have come close to overstepping the limits ... that separate psychology from ethics' (1959, p. 99).

I believe Erikson's problem here stems from a false dichotomy between description and prescription, between science and ethics.* And I believe that,

* In fact, every concept implies both description and prescription, both a measurement and a standard for measurement. Thus, the concept 'chair' describes certain phenomena commonly found around homes and offices *only* if, and to the extent that, these phenomena fit the prescription of a chair implicit in that concept. Now, since chairs are so common and since persons sharing our language and culture tend to agree quite easily about what objects fit this concept, we ordinarily focus on the descriptive quality of the concept 'chair' rather than on its prescriptive quality. Also, since chairs cannot hear us and cannot make choices about future behaviour in response to what we say, we never think of ourselves as making an ethical judgment when we decide that something is or is not a chair. On the other hand, if we say to another person, 'You have no integrity', this may sound

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because he treated this dichotomy as important and wished to avoid appearing to prescribe uncommon standards for others, Erikson offered a less clear discussion of the last three stages than of the others. Indeed, the most striking evidence for this proposition is how much he doesn't say: he treats the three adult stages in four pages after devoting 40 pages to the five earlier ones!

Erikson also provides indications in what he *does* say that achieving intimacy and generativity requires an unusual realization of a historical or cosmic quality in a person. He ends his discussion of intimacy with the following:

> Orgastic potency ... means not the discharge of sex products in the sense of Kinsey's 'outlets' but heterosexual mutuality, with full genital sensitivity and with over-all discharge of tension from the body. This is a rather concrete way of saying something about a process which we really do not understand. But the idea clearly is that the experience of the climactic mutuality of orgasm provides a supreme example of the mutual regulation of complicated patterns and in some way appeases the potential rages caused by the daily evidence of the oppositeness of male and female, of fact and fancy, of love and hate, of work and play. Satisfactory sex relations make sex less obsessive and sadistic control superfluous. But here the prescription of psychiatry faces over-whelming inner prejudices and situational limitations in parts of the population whose sense of identity is based on the complete subordination of sexuality and, indeed, sensuality to a life of toil, duty, and worship. Here only gradual frank discussion can clarify the respective dangers of traditional rigidity and abrupt or merely superficial change. (1959, pp. 96–97)

There are many intimations in these words that intimacy refers not to an ordinary adult relationship but to an extraordinary relationship, indeed to a relationship that transcends everyday cultural dichotomies such as love–hate or work–play and thereby confronts 'overwhelming inner prejudices and situational limitations'. Orgastic potency means more than merely the ability to have sexual intercourse, so much more that 'we really do not understand'.

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like a pure ethical judgment. 'Integrity' probably sounds like a good thing and lack of integrity like a bad thing, and the assertion that someone lacks integrity would imply to many people that that person ought to gain integrity. But it would be true that this person ought to gain integrity (indeed, the statement would make sense) only if all the following conditions are met: (1) the person is free to choose different behaviour in the future; (2) it is his intention to develop integrity; (3) the concept 'integrity' means the same thing to the speaker and the person spoken to (i.e. they agree on the standards and measures for determining the presence or absence of integrity); (4) the person spoken to trusts the speaker's actual measurement in this case.

This little detour suggests several conclusions: (1) although common distinctions are habitually regarded as solely descriptive and uncommon distinctions are often regarded as prescriptive rather than descriptive, all statements concerning human affairs imply both measurement (description) and a standard of measurement (prescription); (2) a person may be so unaware of this and other implicit qualities of statements concerning human affairs that the explicit content of a statement he makes directly contradicts these implications and makes the statement existentially untrue, inoperable in terms of realizing the spirit of truth, indeed a destructive, ultimately meaningless interruption; (3) the statement 'You have no integrity' is not necessarily an ethical judgment (prescription): it may be meaningless; (4) if the statement *is* an ethical judgment (i.e. if it meets the four conditions), it is *also* a scientific statement (description), since conditions (3) and (4) summarize the scientific project.

In his single paragraph on generativity, Erikson's reference to its extra ordinary, or rather extra-cultural, quality occurs in the conclusion to the sentence I quoted earlier as evidence of his treatment of generativity as a common phenomenon. To repeat and complete his statement:

> Generativity is primarily the interest in establishing and guiding the next generation although there are people who, from misfortune or because of special and genuine gifts in other directions, do not apply this gift to offspring but to other forms of altruistic concern and creativity, which may absorb their kind of parental responsibility.

This formulation makes all forms of creativity other than parenthood appear as alternatives which exclude parenthood rather than complementing it. Thus, it makes the creative transformation of culture appear like an unusual process not only in current practice but of necessity. I see no reason why this should be so. Indeed, Erikson's description of generativity would be more nearly analogous to his description of intimacy if he regarded parenthood as exemplary of the stage and proceeded to suggest, as he does in the case of sexual intimacy, that creative parenthood is actually a rare phenomenon.

These investigations and reformulations hopefully provide a clearer context for naming the three final stages in the bottom row of my model 'cosmic' or 'historical'. I may, however, have created one misapprehension that I would like to clear up. My various references to connotations of the unusual and the extraordinary in the terms 'cosmic' and 'historical', as well as in the three stages they are intended to refer to, may suggest to the reader that I mean that these stages are *necessarily* restricted to the rare men and women who win a place in history by virtue of their efforts to enact their own cosmic role with integrity and to help mankind discover and fulfill its cosmic role. I do *not* mean this. I do believe that up until our time only rare men and women have envisioned and practised this kind of effort in their daily lives. I also believe that at any one time some persons more fully appreciate and enact the essence of this effort than others and therefore more successfully share and spread its enactment. And I also believe that, especially in the early moments (years) of approaching this effort, excessive aims and claims can, and often do, kill the (necessarily hidden) ovum within each of us. In principle, these barries do not prevent any of us from struggling towards an understanding and enactment of this effort in search of the cosmic rhythm which enacts us, each step drawing us closer to this vision, and, just as surely, destroying it for a more far-sighted vision. In practice, these barriers may prevent us all from so evolving.

Now we can see the outline of the entire model (Figure 1, top of next page).

Birth, trust and death

The reader will recall that the first two boxes of the top row have not yet been discussed. If we ask what stage occurs before autonomy, Erikson's answer is 'trust'. I did not discuss this stage when I first introduced the model because, initially, the concept of trust does not appear to share much in common

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Model of Erikson's Stages

	Relational experimentation	Successful environmental manifestation	Self-recognition
Physical / behavioural	(Birth) ====> Trust	====> Autonomy	
Social / structural	Initiative ====> Industry	<==== Identity	
Spiritual / historical	Intimacy <==== Generativity	<==== Integrity	
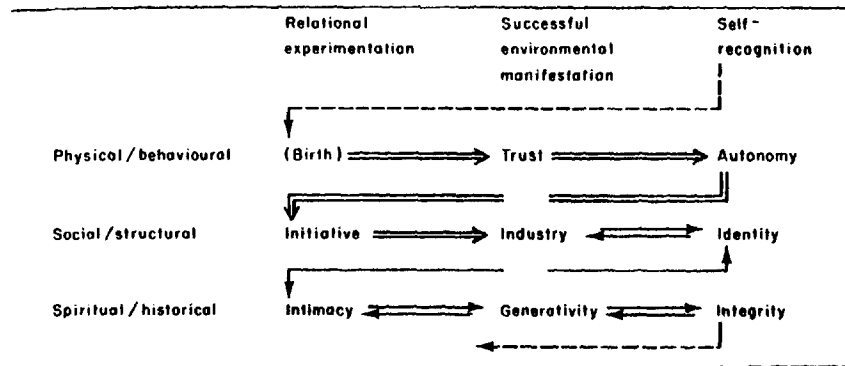
Figure 1. Reproduced by permission of S. Karger AG, Basel, from W. Torbert (1975) 'Pre-bureaucratic and post-bureaucratic stages of organizational development', *Interpersonal Development*, 5, 1–25

with the concepts of industry and generativity (at least, it didn't to me). After all, in what sense can we say that a baby works for his living? What does a baby produce? But once we develop the concept of 'successful environmental manifestation', awkward as the terminology is, we can begin to see that the trust stage may indeed have something in common with the stages of industry and generativity. What is at issue for the baby in the trust stage is whether he can get a favourable response from his environment for his physical needs. Sometimes the baby is regarded as 'utterly dependent' on his mother and thus in quite a different posture from the youth who decides independently to train himself to play baseball well. But, in fact, the youth playing baseball is just as dependent on the preestablished *structure* of the game of baseball as the baby is upon the *physical* presence of his mother. Similarly, I would argue that the generative person, while as free from social structure as the youth playing baseball is free from the physical presence of his mother, is as dependent upon *cosmic* nurturance as is youth upon social structure and baby upon mother.

I would also argue from the other side that the baby is in fact not 'utterly dependent' upon his mother in the dominance–submission connotation of this word. Erikson uses terms like 'mutuality' and 'mutual regulation' to describe this relationship at its best (1959, p. 59). He says that it is not so much the quantitative amount of attention focused upon the baby that engenders a sense of trust in him or her, but rather the quality of the relationship (1959, p. 63). What this can mean was beautifully illustrated for me when a father told me that his five-month-old son enormously enjoyed being danced with to music; held closely, but moved in ever new ways. If the father became lackadaisical and habitual about his dancing, repeating the same pattern, the baby soon tired and began to whimper; if the father became more creative, the baby responded joyfully within seconds. Neither father nor son unilaterally control this process; instead, they play together, each creatively responding

to the other. This quality of relationship may be an important precursor to a man's later possibility for loving his work and generating lovable work, rather than being compulsive about, or alienated from, work.

When we ask what the stage before trust is, what the physical/relational experimentation stage is, Erikson is no longer any help, for he mentions no such stage. It seems fairly self-evident, though, that birth itself qualifies both as the major experiment of a baby as a physically separate being, transcending by this experiment its previous state as organ of the mother's body, and as the introduction to possible experiments with qualitatively new kinds of relationships—relationships with physically external beings and objects.

This last stage, which takes us beyond Erikson's theory, introduces two other ways in which the model I have built can take us beyond his theory. First, the birth stage points back to a pre-physical–behavioural level, the level of the organs, which in the case of the foetus can be divided into the stages of conception, pregnancy (for lack of any obvious word that might better communicate the mutuality of this process) and development of humanoid form with its own subordinate organ systems. 'Below' the level of the organ, we could presumably distinguish further levels, such as the molecular and atomic. At the other 'end' of the model, it is provocative to consider death as introducing the next level of relational experimentation beyond integrity. So, the model points beyond itself.

Second, we know that birth is potentially a traumatic process, with a very high chance of death relative to any other particular time in a person's life; and we know that the quality of preparation by the mother and the quality of the midwifery make a very obvious difference in the likelihood of trauma or death. I believe that these principles operate in analogical fashion at the break-transition between each pair of levels. Trauma and death are less visible at the point of transition between the physical and social levels for several reasons: (1) because thought, feeling and culture are not physically visible; (2) because cultures are generally prepared to socialize children; and (3) because in our culture parents undertake much of the task of midwifery in the privacy of their homes. Still, we can see trauma and social death in extreme instances of cultural unpreparedness, such as Helen Keller's upbringing. Helen Keller was deaf and dumb and totally separated from the social world of language, until the miracle worker arrived with little-known (cultural) tools of instruction and an incredible dedication to her midwifery. Another example is Colin Turnbull's *The Lonely African* (1962), which tells of the disorientation and inward death of Africans torn between tribal and Western cultures. Other scholars recount the social and sometimes even eventual physical deaths of emotionally and physically isolated children whose parents have forfeited their role as social midwives (Bettelheim, 1959; Davis, 1947).

Trauma and death at the point of transition between the social and cosmic levels tend to be still less visible because cosmic rhythms, intuitions and lifetime-forms are not visible to ordinary, merely outward perception (see Castaneda, 1971 and Steiner, 1947 on the difficulties of, and preparations for, spiritual 'seeing') and because, ironically, trauma and death are *so common* at this

transition that birth into a higher reality is virtually unimaginable. For example, the gradual process of rigidification of ideas and feelings into crystallized patterns unchanged by experience which we observe in most persons as they grow older is often taken to be a normal and inevitable process of life rather than a sign of spiritual death. On the other hand, the concept of death in life and rebirth in the spirit is expressed in the original writings of the great religions and in other myths (Campbell, 1949). And, just recently, we have begun to see increasing numbers of autobiographical accounts of efforts and traumas in the quest of the grace of spiritual rebirth (Ouspensky, 1949; Herrigel, 1953; Kazantzakis, 1965; Castaneda, 1969; 1971; 1972; 1974; Reymond, 1971; Lilly, 1972). Without discussing it here, I note that this analysis prompts us to ask what the analogues at the cosmic/historical level are to 'preparation by the mother' and 'midwifery' at the physical/behavioural level.

Why is it that although persons commonly achieve the social level of development they very rarely achieve the cosmic level of development?

The influence of bureaucratic organization

This question directs us for the first time to apply this model to the quality of our culture and the quality of our organizations. When I first studied Erikson's description of the industry stage in children, I was struck by the analogy to bureaucratic organizational structures. At the industry stage, youth compete to win, striving towards superior competence, taking the rules of the game for granted as natural and just. Bureaucracy models itself after such a game, creating a fixed set of rules as to goals, roles, authority and communications patterns for particular jobs, within which the job-holder is presumed to work more efficiently as he questions the structure less. At the organizational scale, we can give this stage the general name 'predefined productivity'. Job-holders who have not developed past the industry stage probably appreciate and perform well in such a structure, but at the same time the structure itself will tend to inhibit further personal development. Meanwhile, to the degree that a person has developed or is motivated to develop beyond the industry stage, he will tend to be frustrated by bureaucratic structures and will withdraw his energies from them or try to change them, thus disturbing their equilibrium from within. Also, to the degree that the external environment is turbulent and changing, it will exert pressures on bureaucratic structures to adapt, thus disturbing their equilibrium from without. But, since the bureaucratic system is open only at the behavioural level and not at the structural level (i.e. it can take in new inputs, new buildings or new personnel and produce some product or service for the environment, but it has no built-in process for restructuring its goals, roles, etc., according to more comprehensive logics), it tends to ignore disequilibria, or to respond inappropriately, or to undergo a traumatic crisis, or, the most recent popular tactic, to develop a leadership which attempts to leapfrog over crises by conglomerating organizations.

Despite these problems, bureaucracy continues at this time to be the predominant organizational form of modern society. Moreover, there are indications that the predominant influences in our culture as a whole can be characterized in much the same way. Certainly, our predominant value and reward systems revolve around the financial and material benefits of playing the career game well. It's whether you win or lose that matters, not how you play the game. From early childhood, middleclass children tend to be socialized to be 'achievement-oriented'. Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' and John Stuart Mill's 'free marketplace of ideas' both support this atmosphere by implying that it is unnecessary to attend to structural and processual variables—they will take care of themselves and of us if we will just take them for granted. Although there are plenty of sophisticated arguments against these positions, their legacy of *laissezfaire* liberalism still permeates many of our presuppositions and attitudes. Furthermore, I suspect that in an ironic way America's long history of relatively undisturbed constitutional government also contributes to our closedness to structural change. At least, one rarely sees fundamental recalibration of our system of government seriously discussed (for an exception see Price, 1966), despite the nominal openness of the constitutional process to such recalibration. The recent restructuring of the Democratic party and its 1972 convention was a rare example of this process in our political history.

We can find further evidence for the social and organizational predominance of structural closedness by turning from a macroscopic to a microscopic level of analysis and observing how people characteristically work and make decisions together. A decision-making process that reflects structural closedness would be one that does not explicitly acknowledge and experiment with alternative possible ways of structuring problems, or with the alternative value systems that alternative structures presuppose, and does not confront and resolve the emotional commitments and reactions of various participants to such alternatives. (Implicit in this argument is the view that people's emotions come into play increasingly as decisions more explicitly concern core values rather than mere questions of utility.) A decision-making process reflecting structural closedness would also create a climate encouraging conformity to the values of the operative but unexamined structure.

Argyris (1969) has found that precisely such a climate—one in which experimenting and statements of feeling almost never occur, and in which conformity is encouraged more than individuality—exists in every organizational group he has studied in business, consulting, government, research and development laboratories and university settings. (I introduced this finding earlier in the discussion of the core staff research, Chapter 8, p. 102.) Moreover, in examining the literature, Argyris found that social-psychological theories were formulated as if this were the only kind of social process possible. Indeed, in another place (Argyris, 1970) he shows that the environments and relationships created by social scientists in order to generate knowledge (e.g. laboratory experiments, questionnaires) reproduce the same kind of social process that bureaucratic organizations do. Thus, social science as it is currently conceived and practised

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itself reflects the industry stage mode of functioning. I have already referred to one symptom of this kind of science when I discussed the belief that description can be dichotomized from prescription, fact from value (see footnote, p. 000).

Considering these various strands of evidence about the predominant quality of organizational structures and the cultural climate, we can understand more clearly why individuals commonly achieve the *social* level of development but very rarely achieve the *cosmic* level of development. Their social milieu tends to pressure them towards the industry stage as children and then retard them from further development thereafter. Because in this mode the given structure is regarded as the basis of order, it tends to permeate the way all activity in the society is organized, rather than yielding to varied modes of organizing, depending upon the purpose or problem or age group involved.

Richard Nixon's thought illustrates how the bureaucratic or 'predefined productivity' becomes a total worldview rather than merely a way of organizing subordinates' work efficiently. In an interview with Saul Pett of the *San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle* (January 14, 1973, A-11), Nixon focused first on a quantitative measure of his own productivity as President: 'I haven't had to miss a day because of illness. I thought that was some kind of record but I find that Truman beat it, except he didn't do it in an elected four-year term. So, I'm the first four-year President who hasn't missed a day in office. ...'

The hint of competitiveness in the former statement is amplified by the next topic to which Nixon turned: 'I believe in the battle, whether it's the battle of a campaign or the battle of this office, which is a continuing battle. It's always there wherever you go. I, perhaps, carry it more than others because that's my way. ... The worst thing you can do in this job is to relax, let up. ... You can't be relaxed. The Redskins were relaxed in their last game of the regular season and they were flat and they got clobbered.' Here Nixon very explicitly expresses his worldview as a matter of personal faith, using competitive situations of low trust (the battle) and predefined structure (the football game) to exemplify life as a whole.

The interview repeatedly shows Nixon's tendency to conceive of reality in dichotomous terms. The most interesting example occurs when he dichotomizes men and women, in the midst of attributing this very same tendency to women: 'To most women, things look black or white: a man tends to roll with events.' The example of dichotomous thinking which often recurs in Nixon's comments during the interview is the division between reason and emotion, between objectivity and subjectivity, between the political and the personal. He believes that these 'opposites' ought to be kept separated and he works hard to separate them in his own life.

It does not occur to Nixon that emotions provide information about one's relationship to the rest of the world which, if treated openly with the other parties to the relationship, can result in reasonable dialogue and ecstatic resolutions. Such a scenario presupposes an ability to develop sufficient trust to risk increasingly singificant degrees of openness. Or, to put it another way, such a scenario presupposes an ability to restructure the relationship. Neither of these abilities belongs within the consciously appropriated experience of a

person operating within the bureaucratic worldview, so it is hardly surprising that Nixon does not envision a dialogue between reason and emotion.

Instead, he says: 'I never allow myself to get emotional .... I find to handle crises the most important qualities one needs are balance, objectivity and an ability to act coolly .... I never watch TV commentators or the news shows when they are about me. That's because I don't want decision influenced by personal emotional reactions .... Decision makers can't be affected by current opinion, by TV barking at you and commentators banging away with the idea that World War III is coming because of the mining of Haiphong nor can decisions be affected by the demonstrators outside. ... I probably am more objective—I don't mean this as self-serving—than most leaders. ... When you're too subjective you tend to make mistakes'.

There can be no doubt that pure subjectivity leads to mistakes. The irony is that when objectivity can be achieved only at the price of eliminating from consideration all 'subjective' responses in oneself and in the body politic, then one has eliminated the very information which politics at its best reasons from. Thus, one retreats from confrontation and dialogue among visions, postures and values to a battle in which one 'bets on' one's own subjective vision and 'backs it to the hilt'. In short, Nixon's kind of objectivity inevitably becomes solipsistic subjectivity over time *as a direct result of his resistance to subjectivity* at any one time.

Nixon may succeed in keeping his subjectivity, the irony of the situation and the ultimate contradiction in his behaviour and thought below his thresh-hold awareness. Even this 'achievement', however, is severely threatened by the increasingly tight feedback loops which emerging cybernetic society provides for public behaviour, as exemplified by the Watergate crisis and televised hearings.

The bureaucratic mode must be treated as a pathological expression of the 'predefined productivity' mode of organizing. For the games to which a youth is introduced are not necessarily closed at the social level as is bureaucracy, even if the youth initially chooses to take their structure for granted. A youth can learn judo by copying and working with someone already proficient, treating the whole exercise as merely concerning proficiency at a predefined outward skill. But the rhetoric and practice of judo is not confined to this level and does not confine the learner to it. It carries the question of how to remain balanced while in motion to each level—the physical, the emotional or intellectual and the spiritual. When the learner wishes to raise such questions, they will not contradict the structure of the game. Instead, encouraged to pursue his questioning, the learner may come to a different sense, appreciation and understanding of the structure of judo.

As one stage of growth, leading from and to other stages, there is nothing pathological about learning to play games well according to predefined structures that one (for the time) takes for granted. In a mature culture, such games will be fully and truly educational. They will help to open the individual to the next stage of growth as he masters the given stage.

But how does a culture as a whole transcend itself? What are the ironic

games through which the cosmos seeks to educate us? The answers may be blowing in the wind, but we shall have to ask the questions as a community in emergency before they are likely to reveal themselves to us. In the meantime, our culture will continue to appear fixated at the mental and emotional age of about 12, and will continue to frustrate personal development beyond that age.

This deductive analysis of the pathology inherent in the bureaucratic mode of organizing is confirmed inductively by Chris Argyris in a career of empirical research, review of the literature and theorizing (1957; 1965; 1972). He argues that pyramidal structures tend particularly to infantilize their lower-level employees, whose jobs are most tightly prestructured. In an earlier study Torbert (1972a) I traced how such infantilization on the job was correlated with impoverished leisure lives and impoverished political expression.

Foundational community—the organizational analogue to intimacy

I have already introduced a discussion of how this model might be applied to the development of organizations by characterizing bureaucracy as a pathological example of the stage analogous to 'industry'. Next, I would like to make some theoretical and practical comments about the organizational stage analogous to the intimacy stage of individual development.

The choice to discuss this stage next is not arbitrary, but rather derives from an insight that has seemed terribly obvious since it occurred to me— that the development of genuine intimacy is the creation of organization.

Each person transcends himself in genuine intimacy with others, experiencing a new form of relationship, seeing himself and the other anew, and gradually in essence, through his fundamental encounters with these others, reconstituting his worldview and values and exploring the concrete realization of new possibilities. The persons who develop intimacy discover—create a shared spirit permeating their different and changing ways of structuring the world. They commit themselves to the subtle stability of the spirit as an ultimate source of individuality and community. Such persons are gradually released from dependence on particular behaviours and structures, as they struggle towards elucidation, reformation and inspiration. Instead, they recognize their everyday lives, together and apart, as particular symbols of cosmic intent. Increasingly, as they learn to remain centred and dispersed in the shared spirit of each act and situation, *they* organize their lives, rather than collusively permitting themselves to be confined (organized) by preexisting cultural categories. Before this, they may appear organized and indeed be organized, but they do not organize.

It is in this sense that intimacy creates organization. It is at this stage that individual and organizational development become coterminous. To give this organizational possibility a name such as 'foundational community' is to do no more than to provide other words for the experience of genuine intimacy. By contrast, at earlier stages of individual development a gap always exists

between subjective experience and the organizational reality. Thus, it is precisely a characteristic of the industry stage that the individual does not directly and fully appreciate the quality of the organizational structures of the various games he plays, but rather takes them for granted.

In theory, then, foundational community is the source and expression of full collaboration. Such collaboration can, in turn, generate liberating symbols, disciplines and structures which increasingly attune the individuals 'within' them to their own potential for restructuring their lives in association with one another—which, in other words, invite others into this spiritual community. These liberating forms evidence an organizational stage of development analogous to the generativity stage of individual development.

I believe that these ideas reflect directly on my experience at Upward Bound. I wished to and tried to create an organization. In a conventional sense I did so. But I never truly succeeded. Some of us touched the edges of a shared spirit, but this tentative centring and dispersal would not hold against the fragmenting demands of everyday experience.

For example, Greg and I had dreamed the school together, but we were unable to share our dream convincingly in the course of our further organizing, so it was considerably diluted in practice. At the end of the first summer, Greg again deeply influenced the way I organized my past and prospective experience when he remarked upon my failure to relate deeply to the staff; but his feedback did not penetrate me deeply enough at the time for a new spirit to permeate my relationships with others. Instead, I made some deliberate efforts to change, but maintained many of the habitual elements of style that kept unnecessary distance between me and others. The core staff in its research and preparation meetings of the second winter again approached a reorganizing sense of shared spirit, perhaps best exemplified by Valery's realization of how she had colluded in developing her imprisoning role and by her subsequent liberation from it. But once again this shared spirit was momentary. Even as it enabled us to generate a powerful liberating structure for the selection of the new staff, the tentative cohesion of the core staff began to disintegrate in the turbulent eddies this structure created.

I had not achieved the intimacy stage in my personal development, nor did I during the course of the programme. Therefore, I could not succeed in creating an organization which fully transcended the polarizations—between black and white, between radical and conservative, between research and action, between individual freedom and communal responsibility, between work and play—implicit in the competitive version of reality posited by the 'bureaucratic' stage.

Openly chosen structure—the organizational analogue to identity

I think that I had, however, completed the identity stage successfully. I had achieved, through a particular synthesis of personal inclination and social opportunity, a socially and personally valued role as an administrator in

innovative educational programmes. Moreover, I was aware, however partially, that my identity represented an intensification, not an ending, to my search for the sources of right action with others—and this particularly so given the role I had chosen and the social era in which we lived. In other words, I already experienced the dilemma of intimacy—the dilemma of how to relate to Others or to an Other, desired yet felt as deeply alien, in a way that enhances rather than compromises or objectifies us. I believe I was detached enough from my identity by virtue of my concern to traverse the distance to others that I could permit others—indeed the programme as a whole—to develop and enact identities different from mine.

Although I did not succeed in creating an organization that fully transcended the deep polarizations embodied within it, I believe my stage of development did enable me to encourage others and the programme as a whole to develop unique identities.* Thus, the second summer session was characterized by a deliberate overall structure and many well-defined subgroups such as the staff black family meetings, the tutor groups in the dorms and Henry Aston's SUB Club. Indeed, the gathering identity-awareness and identity-strength of persons and groups was responsible for their ability to come into confrontation with one another (while the incompleteness and insecureness of their identities was responsible for the relatively destructive character of the confrontation).†

This discussion of the effect of my personal stage of development on my leadership, and of my leadership, in turn, on the stage of development achieved by the programme as a whole, should be seen in the context of the influence exerted by the social environment of the late Sixties. Although I believe that my leadership encouraged the development of an openly chosen structure for our programme rather than imposing a predefined structure, this tendency was certainly also encouraged by the various liberation movements which were springing up about the country and challenging each group of 'oppressors' and 'oppressed' to become more self-conscious, more self-accepting and more responsible for the effects of their behaviour.

This discussion begins to introduce us to the way the identity stage manifests itself on the organizational scale. At this stage, the organization moves from an emphasis on proficient prestructured productivity to an emphasis on defining a particular structure for this particular organization based on its particular history. I shall call this organizational stage 'openly chosen structure'.

Experimental structures—the organizational analogue to initiative

Having glimpsed the organizational analogues to the industry, identity and intimacy stages of individual development, and having characterized these

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* I have tried to provide enough material in the body of the story for the reader to test this judgment.

†See Adam Curle's *Making Peace* (1970) and *Mystics and Militants* (1972) for a simple and lucid description of the role of confrontation in positive identity development and the development of genuinely peaceful relationships.

organizational stages as 'predefined productivity', 'openly chosen structure' and 'foundational community', we can now turn to the earlier stages.

Its legal 'in-corporation' would seem to be a logical 'birthday' for an organization. This proposition, however, immediately confronts us with some additional complexities in applying our model of individual development to organizations. For, according to this proposition, what is the most tangible, physical stage on the scale of the individual becomes a relatively intangible, social agreement—a new appendage to the legal structure—on the organizational scale. Indeed, this language about organizational birth corresponds much more closely to the initiative stage in our model—to a new experiment at the social-structural level—than to the birth stage at the physical level.

This difference in birth stages on the individual and organizational scales makes sense if we look at the three levels or rows of the model as coexistent, even if for a given individual or organization they are sequential. Viewed as coexistent, the physical level is represented by the physically embodied person, the structural level is represented by the legally embodied organization and the cosmic level is represented by the historically embodied culture. Thus, just as physical birth begins the individual dialectic, so structural incorporation begins the organizational dialectic.*

Following this logic, the birth of a new culture corresponds to the intimacy stage in our model. This logic corresponds, in turn, with the language used earlier to evoke genuine intimacy—language such as the transcendence of preexisting cultural categories, the reconstitution of one's worldview and values, and the creation of foundational community.

I shall name the organizational analogue of the initiative stage 'experiments', wishing to evoke the initial tentative experiments involved in social-structural embodiment. For example, at Upward Bound our initial structuring as a total programme occurred at the end of the first week at camp and took effect at the beginning of the second week of the first summer session. In this case, legal incorporation in the sense of the contract between OEO and Yale, based on the porposal I had written following OEO guidelines, had occurred earlier in the spring. In other cases, one can imagine legal incorporation occurring after the development of a working structure.

The earliest stages of organizational development

Given 'experiments' as the organizational analogue to initiative, yet at the

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* There is a long history of scholarly argument about the validity of analogies between organism and organization. Obviously, I find it very fruitful to treat individual and organization as analogous. However, the two are also obviously different, and I believe the distinction I am pursuing here and in the next pages specifies the essential differences between individual and organization. The difference can be stated as a difference in scale and also as a difference in our relation to the phenomenon. Put another way, an individual's body is as crucial to his life as an organization's structure is to its life. An organization can survive the loss of its 'body' (physical plant) just as an individual can survive the loss of an organ.

same time as analogous to the birth of an individual, we return once again to the question, what are the organizational analogues to the three earliest stages of individual development? Having already found a correspondence between the physical level of individual development and the structural level of organizational development, we now look to the prenatal stages of individual development for correspondences to the physical level of organizational development. I earlier named the prenatal stages on the individual scale conception, pregnancy and development of the foetus into humanoid form. Although these stages are invisible on the individual scale (without the aid of special instruments), because they occur within the mother, they are more directly visible on the organizational scale because they tend to occur among persons. Or, to put this another way, although individuals are outside one another's bodies they are 'inside' cultures, and therefore have a better vantage point for seeing new structures conceived than for seeing new bodies conceived. For this reason, it seems appropriate to include the 'prenatal' stages of organizational development in a model of organizational development, whereas these stages remain merely implicit in the model of individual development.

I shall name the first organizational stage 'shared fantasies', implying thereby the kind of conversation Greg and I engaged in (Chapter 1) before the school we imagined became feasible in the form of Yale Upward Bound.

The second stage, corresponding in one sense to the trust stage and in another sense to the amniotic nurturance of pregnancy, I shall name 'investments', seeking thereby to evoke the financial, social and spiritual commitments necessary to transform a concept into a new organization. In the case of Yale Upward Bound, the initial financial commitment derived primarily from the federal government. Social commitments were made by Yale, by the staff who joined the programme (meeting and working throughout the spring without pay) and by the federal government in its decisions to set up OEO in the first place. As I suggest in the story, I regarded the programme as requiring a spiritual commitment of me as a leader and as having a spiritual aim—self-directed learning.

I shall name the third stage of organizational development 'determinations'. At this stage the new organization becomes sufficiently embodied physically, with tools and regular spaces and occasions for meeting, so that persons can feel they belong—that they are members of something. Upward Bound reached this stage when we went to the camp for the first week of the first summer.

Taken together, the stages of organizational development I have named appear as in Figure 2 (see top of following page).

A number of the examples I have offered to illustrate these stages suggest another implicit feature of this model: not only its later development, but also *the degree of success with which a new organization resolves the earliest stages of its development depends greatly upon the stage of development successfully achieved by its leadership or parent organization or culture.* Thus, Greg's and my initial conversations about our 'dream' school were incomplete in that they did not include a sense of historical stages of development such as I am

Stages of Organization Development

	Relational experimentation	Successful environmental manifestation	Self-recognition
Behavioural	Shared fantasies ⟹	Investments ⟹	Determinations
Structural	Experiments ⟹	Predefined productivity ⟸⟹	Openly chosen structure
Spiritual	Foundational community ⟸⟹	Liberating symbols and disciplines	?
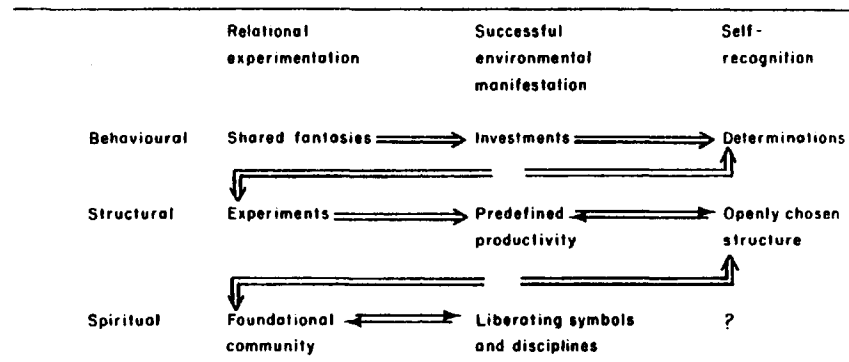
Figure 2. Reproduced by permission of S. Karger AG, Basel, from W. Torbert (1975) 'Pre-bureaucratic and post-bureaucratic stages of organizational development', *Interpersonal Development*, 5, 1–25

now describing. Consequently, when it became apparent that our dream was too ambitious for immediate achievement we dropped it altogether, whereas it might have been precisely the sort of integrated and liberating curricular and living structure necessary for the second summer session. Or, to return to another example, my mention of the financial, social and spiritual investments necessary to transform a new concept into a new organization presumes a leadership, parent organization or culture developed to the point of congruently enacting the social and spiritual levels. Although rhetorically invested in programmes so qualitatively new that they could change the structure of our society, OEO in practice began to formulate policies that inhibited structural experimentation in Upward Bound programmes (Chapter 8). Consequently, the social investment in our programme was of mixed quality and after my departure influenced the programme in general to cease working with the kind of students we had worked with.

To the degree that the social and spiritual investments of an organization's 'parents' are untrustworthy the new organization will be inhibited from becoming truly new, will instead feel constrained and manipulated by its 'parents', and will focus upon financial ('survival') issues to the exclusion of social and spiritual ('growth') issues, thus recreating an impoverished environment for its members.

If the overarching institutions of a society are not permeated by shared spirit, but rather by the competitive ethos of bureaucracy, then new organizations will tend to view their survival as constantly in jeopardy, even if they, their clientele and objective measures all agree that they are meeting real needs. In the case of a governmental programme, the legislative body may suddenly cut off funds for reasons unconnected with the programme's effectiveness. In the case of a school, a new programme may be opposed by some constituencies without ever assessing its effectiveness because it is different from ('and therefore competitive with') the existing programme. In the case of an

industrial plant, its conglomerate parent may sell it (and potentially disrupt its management) whether or not it makes a profit.

Money and all the financial considerations which surround it—the amniotic fluid of society—the expression of appropriate mutuality among and within organizations—becomes viewed as an entity in the external environment upon which the organization is dependent. Many of the organization's decisions may be discussed and made in what are purportedly purely financial terms, in terms of whether the proposed product or service or job candidate or administrative reorganization will make or save money. At the same time, a great deal of 'politicking' will occur in an effort to 'psych out', and possibly covertly influence, the 'powers that be'. Instead of direct confrontation among varying needs and priorities, the 'infant' and 'parent' organizations strive to manipulate one another. These conditions indicate the pathological resolution of the investments stage of organizational development.

Other historical stage theories

We can compare the historical stages I have proposed to two other schemes that have recently appeared in the organizational literature, in order to gain a greater sense of what issues each chooses to focus upon and in what way.

Gordon Lippitt and Warren Schmidt (1967) discerned the following 'non-financial crises in developing organizations'.

	Concern	Issue	Needed knowledge base
1.	Creation	Risk	Leader's short-range objective
2.	Survival	Sacrifice	Community of objectives
3.	Stability	Organization	Leader's long-range plans
4.	Repute	Evaluation	Executive team planning
5.	Uniqueness	Change	Executive team helps subunits set own objectives
6.	Contribution	Share	Management understanding of larger objectives of organization and society

Larry Greiner (1972) has distinguished five stages of historical development in business organizations, which he describes as phases of alternating evolution and revolution.

Phase	Evolutionary management style	Revolutionary management problem
I	Creativity	Leadership
II	Direction	Autonomy
III	Delegation	Control
IV	Co-ordination	Red tape
V	Collaboration	?

The Greiner theory is narrower than the Lippitt and Schmidt one in three ways. First, it depicts conditions of internal management exclusively, whereas the second and the last three categories in the Lippitt and Schmidt theory point to the relationship between the organization as a whole and its environment. Second, the Greiner theory focuses almost exclusively on control issues (only 'Creativity' and 'Collaboration' hint at other possible issues). It describes an oscillation between forces for centralization and forces for decentralization, whereas each of the Lippit and Schmidt categories refers to a distinct issue. Third, the Greiner theory restricts itself vigorously to categories which are empirically observable today, whereas the last three categories of the Lippitt and Schmidt theory venture towards the ideal.

For all these reasons, we would expect less overlap between my categories and Greiner's than between mine and Lippitt and Schmidt's. Both schemes, Greiner's in particular, provide a sense of how conventional bureaucratic assumptions accelerate an organization to the stage of predefined productivity and then resist further development.

The following table suggests a rough sense of the relationships among the schemes.

(Torbert)	(Lippitt & Schmidt)	(Greiner)
1. Shared fantasies	1. ⎤ Creation	1. ⎤ Creativity
2. Investments	2. ⎥	2. ⎥ Direction
3. Determinations	3. ⎥ Survival	3. ⎥ Delegation
4. Experiments	4. ⎦	4. ⎦ Coordination
5. Predefined productivity	5. ⎦ ⎤ Stability, Repute	5.
6. Openly chosen structure	6. ⎤ ⎦ Uniqueness	6. Collaboration
7. Foundational community	7. ⎥ Contribution	7.
8. Liberating disciplines	8. ⎦	8.
9. ?	9.	9.

The categories of both other schemes cluster around the middle of my scheme. The first three stages of my model are lumped into one stage in Greiner's scheme ('Creativity') and two stages in Lippitt and Schmidt's scheme ('Creation' and 'Survival'). The last three stages of my model are only hinted at in Greiner's scheme ('Collaboration') and are lumped into one stage in Lippitt

and Schmidt's scheme ('Contribution'). Thus, I would argue that both these other schemes are considerably captivated by the bureaucratic reality they strive to illuminate.

In general, the sequence of categories in the three schemes appears mutually consistent. The one implicit exception is that Greiner views collaboration as a 'late' organizational phenomenon, whereas collaboration was a hallmark of Upward Bound from the outset. Interestingly enough, he speculates that collaborative procedures may result in psychic exhaustion and withdrawal for top managers of bureaucracies. I would not be surprised if this were so, because to attempt to work collaboratively is to open Pandora's box (if I may be permitted to compare my ascetic 3×3 matrix to that rich mythical symbol). All the issues carefully sealed away under conditions of bureaucratic reality invade awareness at the outset of collaboration, making a shambles of one's previous sense of order if one is at all attentive and responsive. To try to subordinate collaboration to bureaucratic goals is like trying to capture air in a wire cage—a pretty frustrating exercise, although it may succeed in airing out the cage and may even remind the person or organization that a wire cage need not be a home.

Chapter 11

Historical Stages of Organizational Development (II—Application)

We can now ask more precisely how the events at Upward Bound correspond to the theory of historical stages of organizing presented in the previous chapter.

Since I developed this theory after the two years of the programme in order better to understand the sequence of events in the programme, the application of the theory to the programme can hardly be considered a final validation of the theory. Moreover, I shall in some cases use the events to elaborate the theory further, a process which makes the events still less of a test of fully explicated propositions. Because I conceive of the story as an aid to theory-construction rather than as a test of an established theory, I have not attempted to develop a rigorous methodology with inter-rater reliability for categorizing particular events in particular stages of development. The stage theory has received additional empirical verification since this time in further case studies and organizational interventions (Torbert, 1975).

Stages of the programme as a whole

The questions of parentage and conception—that is, questions about the genesis of the fantasies and the initial conversations founding an organization—immediately introduce both obvious and not-so-obvious aspects of applying the theory to events. In an obvious sense, OEO and Yale are the two parents of the Upward Bound programme, with Andrew Wilson (Chapter 1) serving as midwife. The conception of this particular Upward Bound programme, however, occurred to Greg and me (Chapter 1), relatively independent of the government and Yale. Then again, we can say that our ideas were very much influenced by the government and by Yale in that those two institutions helped to create the Yale Summer High School, in which we had spent our previous organizational 'incarnation'. But if we are to trace back to these influences, we must include on an equal par Greg's background in Platonic philosophy and my interest in organizational behaviour. Evidently, many influences besides those directly ascribable to the immediate 'parents' can preside at the moment of conception. Moreover, the individuals who participate in the initial conversations are not to be thought of as the parents of an organization. Instead, other organized structures, whether these be public occasions, ideologies or institutions, parent new organizations. And not necessarily just two, for ideas are not monogamous.

The initial conversations began between Greg and me, spread to include a number of other members of the Yale and New Haven communities, and then became formalized in the first spring meetings of advisors and potential staff members (Chapter 1). The characteristics of this first stage of organizing can be summarized as follows.

1. *Shared fantasies*
    (a) Dreams, fantasies about future
    (b) Informal conversations with friends, work associates
    (c) Diffuse collaboration—discussing or working with others on occasional, related projects because of shared interests
    (d) Episodic exploration of varied parts of the social environment to see how they relate to fantasies, where opportunities exist

Several events occurred during the period following the initial conversations which indicated the development of trustworthy mutuality between the organization and the larger environment, or, in organizational terms, the necessary investments by the environment in the nascent organization. Yale had been hoping to cosponsor the programme with the college which later served as the site for the second summer's programme, but that college decided not to embark upon the venture. This event turned out to be conducive to trust because a prime reason for the other college's disinterest was the lack of prospective financial profits—suggesting no intrinsic concern for the programme itself—and because Yale reaffirmed its concern for the programme, deciding to underwrite it alone.

(The extent of the possible harm done by an earlier affiliation to the other college was suggested by the difficulties which its organizational atmosphere caused us during the second summer when we contracted to hold our session there. In general, this college itself could be characterized as a young organization passing from the 'initiative' or 'experiments' phase [during which it expanded and built a new campus] to the 'industry' or 'predefined productivity' stage [beginning to focus on its academic standards in terms of course offerings and admissions requirements and striving to maintain its campus]. It had no time or real interest for bothersome offspring, relegating responsibility for Upward Bound to its business manager, who was already burdened.)

The second event in the 'trust' or 'investments' stage occurred as follows. Initially, given my youth, I was to have been the programme coordinator, rather than the director, and I was to search out a director. After writing the proposal, I began entering discussion with Yale and New Haven officials about various aspects of the programme, including the question of who might direct it. The problem was that given my concept of the programme there was a very limited population that understood, agreed with and could possibly carry out a truly collaborative project. Moreover, as the search for a director lengthened and I made more and more decisions and contacts, it became clearer and clearer that the designated director would be a front while I would actually run the programme. Finally, a Yale administrator suggested that the way to avoid this possibly distasteful bind was for me to be the director after

all. Yale and OEO both agreed. At the time, this decision seemed to represent an investment by the environment in the spirit of the programme, rather than superimposing a more prestigious director who had no commitment to the experiment as so far conceived. A possible negative aspect of the decision is that my relatively low social status at Yale may have contributed to the relative difficulty of attracting senior Yale faculty to teach in the programme.

Neither of the above incidents exemplifying the 'investments' stage was recounted in the original story. I believe I omitted them for two reasons. First, I tended to be naively uninterested in the 'political machinations' according to which institutions decide to invest in projects. Second, it seemed immodest to present the 'vote of confidence' in my leadership by Yale and OEO. Now the theory challenges me to reassess these judgments.

The use of the early spring meetings to recruit prospective staff members to the programme (Chapter 2) and to exemplify the relatively unusual relationship between leader and members that I wished to enact represents further events of this second stage of development, which can be characterized as follows.

II. *Investments*

(a) Organizers make definite commitment to enterprise
(b) 'Parent' institutions make financial, structural, spiritual commitments to nurture
(c) Early relationship-building among potential leaders, members, clients, advisors
(d) Leadership style negotiated
(e) Issue of validity, reliability and depth of the various commitments

The third stage of development, 'determinations', occurred throughout the spring separation meetings and during the first week of the summer session at the camp. Beginning with the decision at the second spring meeting to have the school co-ed (Chapter 2) and continuing through the recruitment of staff, the admission of students, the development of the curriculum and the choosing of sites for the session, various decisions which defined the membership, task and location of the organization were made. Then the crisis with the bus driver at the end of the first week at camp (Chapter 4) gave us a taste of 'usness' as opposed to him. This stage can be characterized in more general terms as follows.

III. *Determinations*

(a) Specific goals, clients, staff, members determined (hiring, admissions)
(b) Recognizable territory delineated
(c) First common tasks and time commitments
(d) Psychological contracts of various parties defined implicitly or explicitly
(e) Persistence–unity exhibited in face of privation or threat

The newly invented, and then constantly changing, rules, governmental structures and class schedules of the first summer session epitomize the

'experiments' stage of organizing. Another example of organizational experimenting during that summer session was the changing atmosphere and behaviour at public occasions together, especially in the case of role-playing in preparation for the meeting with the reporter (Chapter 6). This stage can be characterized as follows.

IV. *Experiments*

Alternative legal, governing, administrative, physical, production, communication, planning, scheduling, celebratory and/or interpersonal structures–processes tried out

As the first summer session proceeded, the question of whether we were accomplishing what we had set out to do—of whether we were succeeding or failing—became increasingly central. Whereas the staff's sense of failure towards the end of the third week simply energized us to try some new experiments in terms of scheduling, the sense of failure during the fourth week seemed to be more depressing than energizing (Chapter 5). It is, of course, much more difficult to determine in education than in the production of 'widgets' whether one is succeeding or failing in 'producing' a 'marketable' result, and the staff's reluctance to embrace conventional criteria of success (e.g. 'getting into a college') during our spring meetings made the determination all the more difficult. But such difficulties in no way diminished our desire to know whether we were succeeding. The question of whether the New Haven *Register* article reflected well on the programme preoccupied all of us that fourth week. Corky Potter's estimate at the end of the third week that we had 'reached' 45 of 60 students (Chapter 4) was treated as very important information by the staff. At the same time, different parts of the staff had their own day-to-day criteria of success, such as how many students came to the morning meeting or how willing they were to work on a predefined task, which resulted in different judgments about the relative success of the programme and to the gradual split between two parts of the staff. In trying to determine our success, we increasingly argued about whether the point of the programme was academic or therapeutic, as though these two were mutually exclusive. The art work and the compositions of the final week and the attendance at the final celebration were all important to the staff as signs that 'something good' had happened (Chapter 6).

The characteristics of this 'predefined productivity' stage can be summarized as follows.

V. *Predefined productivity*

(a) Focus on doing the predefined task

(b) Viability of product becomes the overriding criterion of success

(c) Standards and structures taken for granted

(d) Focus on quantitative results based on defined standards

(e) Reality conceived of as dichotomous and competitive: success–failure, education–therapy, ingroup–outgroup, leader–follower, legitimate–illegitimate, work–play, reasonable–emotional, etc.

The next stage of organization development, according to this theory, is

more complex and difficult of achievement than any of the preceding stages. The kinds of events which characterize the earlier stages occur in all modern organizations to a certain extent, whether or not their importance and neccessity is previsioned or recognized by the organizers. By contrast, the 'openly chosen structure' stage of organizing is neither familiar nor, in any immediate senses, necessary. Moreover, the personal qualities of motivation, logic and behaviour required in order to organize in the 'openly chosen structure' mode are rare in our culture at the present time. Thus, to attempt to organize in this way is an inherently risky and profoundly educational adventure. One would not intentionally seek to organize in this way unless one were convinced that such organizing would result in decisions and actions more responsive to the actual dilemmas inspiring the organizing in the first place—that is, one would not organize in this way unless one were convinced such organizing would be more humane, more effective, more just.

It may help the reader in this case to see the *gestalt* of characteristics which I arrived at inductively as belonging to this stage before discussing the particular experiences in the Upward Bound programme that suggested them to me. So:

VI. *Openly chosen structure*

(a) Shared reflection about larger (wider, deeper, more long-term, more abstract) purposes of the organization

(b) Development of open interpersonal process, with disclosure, support and confrontation on value–stylistic–emotional issues

(c) Evaluation of effects of own behaviour on others in organization and formative research on effects of organization on environment ('social accounting')

(d) Direct facing and resolution of paradoxes: freedom–control, expert *v.* participatory decision-making, etc.

(e) Appreciation of particular historical moment of this particular organization as important variable in decision-making

(f) Creative, trans-conventional solutions to conflicts

(g) Deliberately chosen structure with commitment to it, over time, the structure unique in the experience of the participants or among 'similar' organizations

(h) Primary emphasis on horizontal rather than vertical role differentiation

(i) Development of symmetrical rather than subordinate relation with 'parent' organizations

(j) Gaining of particular public repute

The reader will note that the characteristics of this stage possess a certain internal logic. One can imagine that characteristics (a), (b) and (c) would generate the data for a kind of historical, dialectical thinking implied in characteristics (d), (e) and (f). This post-conventional kind of thinking would, in turn, take shape as the shared organizing structure of characteristic (g), with the outcomes indicated by characteristics (h), (i) and (j).

Another way of indicating the logic of this stage, which I myself saw only long after inducing the characteristics, is that it recapitulates the stage theory as a whole: 'shared reflection on purposes' recapitulating 'shared fantasies', 'open interpersonal process' recapitulating 'investments' (or 'trust' in Erikson's terms); 'social accounting' recapitulating 'determinations'; 'resolution of paradoxes' and 'appreciation of historical moment' recapitulating 'experiments'; 'creative solutions' corresponding to 'predefined productivity'; 'deliberately chosen structure' representing the core of 'openly chosen structure' itself, and 'horizontal differentiation' and 'symmetrical relations' presaging the 'foundational community' stage of organizing.

One could argue the logical superiority of the 'openly chosen structure' mode of organizing over the previous modes in two ways, which I will suggest but not pursue. First, as suggested by the historical recapitulation, it is a more inclusive mode of organizing than the previous stages and thus more likely to be attunded to the aspects of reality it is attempting to organize. Second, by treating the organizational structure neither as an external variable (as in 'experiments') nor as an external constant (as in 'predefined productivity') but rather as an internal, shared and negotiable commitment, 'openly chosen structure' more adequately expresses both the stabilizing and the adaptive functions of social structures, as well as their intersubjective quality. An argument in support of these assertions would refer to Kohlberg's discussions (1969) of the logical superiority of post-conventional structures of moral thinking, to Rawls' refinements (1971) of the social contract approach to political philosophy and to the Marxian–Maoist emphasis (Hinton, 1966) on dialectical inquiry into the relation between theory (structure) and practice (behaviour).*

But let us turn from the realm of theory to the practice of Upward Bound, in order to balance our fast-growing sense of logical superiority with a healthy dose of existential inadequacy... or in order at least to remind ourselves that the hardest ideal to practise is the ideal of actually intergrating ideal and practice.

The various characteristics of the 'openly chosen structure' stage of Upward Bound tend to come into focus during the fall and winter following the first summer session, as described in Chapters 7 and 8. Our paper confronting the National Director's new policies at the National Upward Bound meeting in Washington exemplified both our commitment to shared reflection about organizational purposes and our development of symmetrical relations with a 'parent' organization. The core staff's division of jobs during the fall exemplified horizontal role differentiation, except, as it turned out, in the case of Valery, who felt subordinate in some ways. This fact came out during the core staff research process, which was our most intensive effort in the direction of open interpersonal process and evaluation of the effects of one another's behaviour.

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* This process of dialectical inquiry into the relation between theory and practice has, ironically, perhaps been best exemplified and documented on a microscopic scale by two Americans, Argyris and Schon (1974).

The *collaborative development* with our continuing students *of a non-colla-borative structure* for the second summer session was the central event which helped me later to appreciate the possibility of developing creative, historically appropriate, paradoxical organizational structures. Another example of this process, almost the reverse in form, was the *non-collaborative development* of an increasingly *collaborative structure* for selecting new staff for the second summer.

At the time of developing these structures, we were very much feeling our way. We did not have an ideology which defined, justified or even named 'openly chosen structure'. Indeed, like most people, our only notion of structure was of bureaucratic structure, so we tended to split between those who believed that prestructuring was necessary (a minority in our case) and those who believed in a sort of diffuse collaboration. Even as we resolved this dichotomy, we could not communicate well the paradoxical quality of our new way of organizing to new staff members and new students. This difficulty, along with the poisoned political climate nationally and the intitial indifference on the part of the host college the second summer, turned our 'upward' spiral of organizing into a downward spiral of destruction.

These difficulties also suggest the dilemmas that the 'openly chosen structure' mode of organizing is incapable of resolving and which therefore invite trans-formation to a still subtler way of organizing. The dilemmas are, first, how to communicate and 'do business' with other persons or organizations which do not share one's own way of structuring reality at the outset; and second, how to transform rather than fall victim to cultural environments hostile to one's way of structuring reality.

Obviously, we did not achieve the kind of organization that could resolve these dilemmas. Yet our experiences that second winter and summer and Erikson's analogous stages of individual development provide clues about some of the qualities of these 'higher' stages; and my subsequent organizing experience (described in *Organizing the Unknown: A Politics of Higher Educa-tion*, still in draft form) confirms these clues. It is therefore worth sketching the next two stages of organizing in a speculative way if only to remind our-selves of the metaphysical distance between our current ways of organizing our lives and a genuine school—a genuine community of inquiry.

Our closest approaches to the stage of 'foundational community' occurred during the core staff research meetings of the second winter and some of the events of the second summer. In both cases, crises of transition occurred as inharmonious organizing structures clashed. In some cases, a shared spirit beyond participants' initially differing structures suggested itself. In other cases, such a shared spirit did not reveal itself. In the core staff research, both Valery and Patricia became engaged in significant confrontations about how they structured experience and behaviour. In Valery's case (Chapter 8), both she and the rest of the staff seemed willing to inquire into and to accept res-ponsibility for their roles in structuring her job uncreatively, and a renewed mutuality emerged. In Patricia's case, by contrast, the inquiry itself seemed

less mutual and the eventual resolution was for her to leave the organization for a job she found more congenial. In both cases, by taking 'time out' from our ongoing work we solved some basic work-problems that had been draining our collective energy.

During the second summer, some of the teachers and some of the tutors met regularly in teaching and learning groups to research their ways of structuring and behaving in situations (Chapter 9). An atmosphere of research into alternative ways of organizing also existed in the community as a whole during the first week as we experimented for political reasons with the division of the men's dormitory into black and white corridors and again later when we negotiated with our college hosts about whether the programme should remain on the campus (Chapter 9). On both these occasions, however, the atmosphere was so tense and threatening that only glimpses of shared spirit emerged. In the first case, other events disrupted the community meeting convened to discuss the rooming arrangements. In the second case, even though the college administration recommitted itself to a common endeavour with Upward Bound, the prolonged threat of discontinuing the programme badly injured staff and student morale. The final crisis of some students and 'visitors' beating a tutor precipitated the early termination of the residential part of the programme, but instead of utter dissolution, new structures and a much higher level of participation suddenly occurred during a final non-residential week (Chapter 9).

These events point towards the following characteristic qualities of this stage of organizing.

VII. *Foundational community*

(a) Regular, personal, shared research on relations among spiritual, theoretical and behavioural qualities of experience—what might be called 'process rituals'

(b) Political friction within organization and with different norms of behaviour in wider environments, cultural symbols taking on political impact

(c) Structure 'goes under', phoenix rises from ashes, shared purpose (spirit) revealed as sustaining

(d) New experiences of time: interplay of creative timeliness, timeless archetypes and time-bound needs; spirit as illuminating and meaning the past and future, his-story becomes my-story, story as myth (where myth means ultimate truth)

(e) Transcendence of preexisting cultural/linguistic categories and appreciation of the continuous interplay of opposites: action–research, sex–politics, past–future, symbolic–diabolic, etc.

The final stage of organizing to which the events at Upward Bound offer some clues is the stage of 'liberating disciplines'. At this stage, an organization can induct new members and design new structures in such a way that the very process by which all share in sculpting social reality becomes more visible to each. Personal awareness, social competences and political responsibility

for the fate of the organization optimally increase together. The single fore-shadowing of such a process at Upward Bound was the selection procedure for new staff members during the second winter (Chapter 8). Applicants were asked to participate in a case analysis, in personal interviews and in small group meetings to review the core staff's initial evaluations of them. All these activities were intended to acquaint them with our programme, our procedures and our standards. At the same time, they were also intended to help applicants become aware of their own assumptions and behavioural patterns in relating to others. And, finally, they were intended to help the applicants begin to share in the responsibility for who was eventually selected. To try to telescope so many kinds of learning into so few occasions was undoubtedly unrealistic, but the overall patterns of organizing would seem to be of the essence to any genuine school. These patterns can be summarized as follows.

VIII. *Liberating disciplines*

    (a) Lowering of membership boundary between organization and environment, inclusive rather than exclusive, given commitment by aspirants to self-transformation

    (b) Tasks deliberately ironic to elucidate hidden relationships, incomprehensible (unpleasant, undoable) without reference to their expression of and inspiration from organizational processes and purposes

    (c) Commitment by 'leaders' to premeditated structural evolution over time

    (d) Leaders use all authority granted to exercise psychosocial jiu-jitsu, leading to increased sense among other members of their own authority

    (e) Openness (vulnerability) of leaders to challenge regarding their authenticity

The reader will note that each succeeding stage after 'predefined productivity' is formulated in increasingly abstract terms. Whereas the 'predefined productivity' stage posits a very specific structure for an organization, no matter what its particularities of mission and environment, the succeeding structures are virtually meta-structures within which a given organization develops the idiosyncratic structures relevant to its purposes, resources and environment. In a certain sense, then, this is a 'contingency' theory of organizing, but not in the sense of the currently well-known 'contingency' theories of organizing (Burns and Stalker, 1961; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967). Whereas the current contingency theories deduce from empirical data that different forms of organizing are best suited to different environments, this stage theory enumerates the structural properties that make it possible for an organization to choose an appropriate form for its environment. The well-known contingency theories imply that one must study the environment (it is stable or turbulent?) in order to determine what organizational form (hierarchical–mechanistic or collaborative–organic) is required. But they do not tell us what form of organization is necessary in order to study the environment and make the

necessary adaptations. However, they do tell us that the hierarchical-mechanistic form (which has the character of the 'predefined productivity' stage of organizing) acts as though it were in a stable environment and is not adaptive to change. Hence, we can infer that a collaborative-organic form of organizing is always necessary in order to determine what kind of structure a particular occasion requires. The stage theory introduced here indicates more clearly than current contingency theory the meta-structural aspects and the normative superiority of the collaborative-organic form of organizing. At the same time, this theory proposes that successful collaborative-organic organizing is not a *less* structured process than hierarchical-mechanistic organizing, but rather a *more subtly* and *more discriminately* structured process.

The review of the events of Upward Bound and the presentation of the characteristics of each stage of organizing in the foregoing pages is brief and impressionistic. Presumably, every event retold in the earlier story should be categorizable into a stage. And each new session of the summer programme or each new staff recruitment and preparation period should be analysable, more microscopically, as an independent cycle of development with its own initial stages and its own 'predefined productivity'. Indeed, in an earlier manuscript (Torbert, 1973) I have undertaken just such a detailed analysis, dividing the programme into five subcycles of 137 distinct events.

Of course, not every single event could be neatly forcefitted to match the theoretical progression of stages, and such exceptions led to discussion of the organizational effects of retrogressions and skipped stages. Another complication is that the same event can represent issues at different stages for different constituencies within the organization. All of these details and qualifications did not seem likely to be of sufficient interest to most readers to include here. Instead one example can suffice.

We can look more closely at the academic year following the first summer and, in particular, at the development of the core staff. We find different events, representing different historical stages, occurring at the same time for different role-incumbents. The core staff, as already mentioned, became engaged in various activities representing the 'openly chosen structure' stage (Chapter 7) and followed these by a fundamental research process investigating the relationships among their worldviews, interpersonal styles and work (Chapter 8). This process marked the 'foundational community' stage of development for the core staff, and the attempt to extend it to new staff members during the selection process and spring meetings represented the 'liberating disciplines' stage.

Meanwhile, the students had returned to their regular schools, presumably to make new kinds of efforts there ('experiments') which would eventually yield more successful results ('predefined productivity'). Our experience and school records suggest that they did indeed act in these ways. Then, in the late winter and spring, some of the students worked out with the core staff a particular structure for their second summer at Upward Bound, to which they committed themselves over time ('openly chosen structure').

At the same time, a third group within the organization, the new staff, was

starting from scratch during the selection process. Numerous incidents through the spring staff meetings suggested that 'investments' and 'determinations' were recurring issues for the new staff.

So, examined more closely, the three subgroups participating in Yale Upward Bound over that academic year experienced different stages of organizational development while involved in often-disparate activities. The core staff negotiated the 'openly chosen structure', 'foundational community' and 'liberating disciplines' stages in succession. The students tended to encounter the 'experiments', 'predefined productivity' and 'openly chosen structure' stages in succession. The new staff dealt recurrently with 'investments' and 'determinations' issues. Had the core staff been aware of this theory at the time, we might have been able to structure the selection process and the spring meetings of the new staff with more regard for the need of new organizational members to recapitulate the early stages of organizing before beginning to operate at a complex stage such as 'openly chosen structure'.

If we examine more closely any stage of any subcycle of the development of an organization, we should find traces of all the earlier stages of development. For example, all members of the core staff (except Grace who later volunteered) had worked with the programme through the end of the first summer when the 'predefined productivity' stage was reached. Thus, their organizational experience prepared them to move directly to the 'openly chosen structure' stage. Nevertheless, it was a new subgroup within the organization, so we would expect to see evidences of the earlier stages of development as well. And, in fact, the explicit negotiations through which Tim and Ray unexpectedly became core staff members and through which all of us defined our roles represent 'initial conversations', 'investment' and 'determinations' substages (Chapters 7, 8). Likewise, the multiple initiatives by different members of the core staff, many of which did not 'take hold', represent the 'experiments' stage (Chapter 7).

These activities can also illustrate in an impressionistic way the different consequences of successful and unsuccessful resolution of a stage or substage. Later in the winter during the core staff research it became clear that Valery's job had been determined more by default than by definition. Thus, she had not successfully resolved the 'determinations' substage of the core staff's 'openly chosen structure' stage. Significantly, none of the core staff 'experiments' during the fall—whether successes or failures—can be attributed to her. By contrast, the very discussion during the core staff research which revealed how her interpersonal style had intertwined with others' styles to the detriment of the spirit of the programme represented a very careful subprocess of 'determinations' during the core staff's 'foundational community' stage. After this more successful resolution of a 'determinations' substage, Valery initiated several 'experiments' in the later spring, namely a student admissions process in which our first-year students played a role and a parent-organizing process.

The fact of these details and qualifications, which we could replicate by

closer examination of any of the subcycles of development within the programme, can remind us that social organizing is no simple empirical process, but rather a complicated phenomenological process with empirical traces. An organization is invisible—events over time as differentially patterned by persons who observe and participate in 'it' through their own differing patterns of thought, feeling and behaviour.

Time itself is the least visible and least straightforward of qualities: what happens at the 'end' of an event may be what first gives it sufficient significance to make it worth retelling; the retelling may influence later events more than the original event; and these later events may, in turn, diminish the significance of the original event.

My ambition in writing this book has been as much to provide a prospectus for the future as to provide a report on the past. The various political liberation movements of the late Sixties and early Seventies, the communal groups and the spiritual gurus and seekers all seem to be striving towards post-bureaucratic forms of organizing, though they can rarely give these much definition. Schools of all kinds require post-bureaucratic structures if they are to educate rather than merely to indoctrinate, for only the post-bureaucratic structures help members become aware of and take full responsibility for the way they structure their lives.

The world as a whole must become a community of inquiry if our vast cultural differences are to be celebrated and reconciled rather than exploited, fought over and obliterated. We inherit discredited religious traditions for organizing our private lives and power politics for organizing our public lives, but our fundamental dilemma is how to organize the unknown. This book chronicles an awkward early step towards the organizational politics of inquiry. The next and final chapter turns inwards to the personal practice of inquiry-in-action.

Chapter 12

Personal Research Towards
Effective Organizing

The kind of research characteristic of foundational community – research
into the spiritual, conceptual, behavioural and external qualities of reality
the kind of research which we no more than touched upon in our work together
at Upward Bound—is in principle a kind of research open to anyone, despite
the rarity with which it is actually practised in most organizations. It is an
existential kind of research to be practised in the midst of the action of one's
everyday life, about one's own interactions with the environment, not an
academic kind of research about something else.

This kind of personal research can lead to an action science in contrast to
a reflective science—a science useful to an actor at the moment of action
rather than to a disembodied thinker at a moment of reflection. Through this
kind of research, intuition, feeling, action and effect become simultaneously
illuminated by one's attention and thereby can begin to struggle towards
mutual congruence.*

Since this approach to social research inspired my own leadership of the
Upward Bound programme, and since I believe it to be essential for persons
seeking to organize in a post-bureaucratic fashion, this final chapter offers
some preliminary axioms and illustrations to suggest the dimensions of inner
experience of such action research.

Intuitive axioms for the personal practice of action science

An initial axiom of action science would hold that a person must undergo a
to-him unimaginable scale of self-development before he becomes capable of
relationally valid action. Moreover, this self-development includes not only
disciplining and freeing emotions and behaviour—the personal elements often
neglected by contemporary education but also disciplining and freeing
onself for higher thought thought capable of tracing the patterns of
intuition, feeling and behaviour as they actually occur. Only such thought
remains open to the mystery-revelation of each new moment, open to one's
own and the environment's implications. Such thought is necessary if one is

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* Some readers may wonder how an effect can struggle with an action towards mutual
congruence. If so, they are experiencing an example of an effect (the wonder) struggling
with an action (the writing) towards greater congruence (hopefully, this addendum and
such readers' next thoughts).

to engage in inquiry while in action, if one is to see and realize one's possibilities in one motion, rather than reflecting on what might have been after the fact. The qualities of this kind of thought can be demonstrated by telling a story about the present moment as I write.

Here I am, swinging gently in my hammock, basking in the Dallas sunshine, my body pulsing contentedly in the background, providing just enough contrast to my foreground thoughts to permit them to scurry past my inner vision without capturing me, leaving me a continual choice about how to organize this writing, my inner effort as well as the scene before me permeated by an intuition of significance.

Not that it isn't tempting from time to time simply to immerse myself in one line of thought; but today—with the birds singing all around, and brunch having appeared from nowhere, a gift from another member of the household, and just now a woman resonating beside me—today, I can taste so clearly the automaton quality of pursuing one line of thought to the exclusion of all new revelations of knowledge. In what sense could that be a scientific approach? So my thought explores various lines actively, interrupting tangents acceptingly, alert instead to radii—to moments of intuitive integration that move me simultaneously outwards towards my social errand of writing and inwards towards a spiritual centre. I seek to verbalize certain ideas in order to make them socially accessible and at the same time to remain inwardly enlightened in order to continue to see the patterns I translate into ideas and words.

I wish to take a further step in each moment, to find the new mean for the extremes of my present experience; and, since my present experience includes you, my future audience, at one extreme, the mean-ing I am trying to do must struggle towards social as well as personal creativity to be valid.

This active thought gives way when blocked to a kind of high passivity— not low, automatic, daydreaming passivity, but pure alertness and receptivity to non-conceptual phenomena. The unarticulated intuition that 'I can illuminate phenomena and relationships' gives way to a feeling of smallness--a feeling that 'the already-constituted universe of experience must call, guide and in-form me'. Instead of struggling to generate meaning, 'I'—the all-too-small part of me that is struggling—yields its prerogative and is recognized as one extreme in a larger dance of meaning.

A third quality of thought seeks reconciliation between these two. I per-mit my memory—I go through to it—regressing and progressing into past and future, searching for the present action that could knit them together. I recall occasions when I have written evocatively and other times when my writing was inaccessible. I try to remember fully—to reenter the experience of those different moments. I test how to enter the qualities I wish to enact and how to transcend the habits that could impede me.

These three qualities of thought which I just now sketched--

(1) the (active) attempt to verbalize present intuitions in a socially meaningful way;

(2) the (passive) receptivity to non-conceptual phenomena around and within me;

(3) the (reconciling) search for qualities of myself-in-the-present-moment that would integrate my past and future—

these three qualities of thought extend themselves towards the present, towards precognitive and transcognitive aspects of present experience. By contrast, concentrated logic, reactive conversation and daydreaming all involve qualities of thought which carry us away from our full present experience.

The reader may wonder how relevant this leisurely enhammocked thinking is to tense, rushed, social action situations. Admittedly, the discipline of maintaining a relaxed alertness under tension is more severe than when writing in a hammock. Nonetheless, I would argue that only such alertness gives one the chance to see and express what is actually occurring, and that only by consciously going to the root of what is occurring with acceptance can the complexion of oneself or the situation change without destructive side-effects. (Conversely, I would argue that forced or manipulated change always has unanticipated and destructive side-effects.) For example, when I returned from New Haven to camp during the first week of the first summer to discover the students milling about the dining-hall and the staff huddled within, I apparently worked harder than others at being receptive to what was actually going on. I say this because when I asked what was going on and was told, people began to see for the first time that the problem was that there were two irreconcilable versions of what had occurred, neither of which had any claim to be 'the authoritative' version. After this insight, the action necessary to resolve the fight occurred smoothly.

Of course, a self-questioning attitude and behaviour which leaves openings for unimaginable kinds of self-development can also stir up a hornet's nest of hidden feelings in others, such as when I spoke at one of the early spring staff meetings the first year about being a bit afraid to confront people older than myself. Most of the responses to my statement did not help me to explore the feeling further. Nevertheless, the statement itself liberated me from the fear to a certain degree and the responses did show 'where people were'. Clearly, though, the conversation might have progressed further if more of the other members of the group had taken the opportunity to explore with me.

The task of achieving disciplined higher thought, access to one's feelings and exploratory behaviour can be facilitated by a network of relationships which challenge, complement and support one from all sides, shocking one out of automatic, habitual, forgetful functioning. A second axiom of action science would stress the importance of finding friends willing to take such roles for the sake of mutual development. Personal development is bound to be one-sided or incomplete without a circle of friends willing to act as enemies.

I have experienced the gradual growth of such a circle of friends over the past fifteen years. One cannot will a friendship, and indeed there is much about the perpetual mobility of modern professional life that mitigates against profound friendship in one's work. Certainly, at the time of Upward Bound

I seemed compelled to live life at such a frenetic pace as to leave little space for the unanticipated gifts friendship brings. Nonetheless, I could never have conceived of the school nor had the courage to embark upon the adventure of creating it had it not been for Greg's friendship. Later, ironically, one of his comments which stung me and lingered with me and gradually influenced me deeply was, precisely, that I had failed to make friends with the staff the first summer of the programme.

A recent event in my life can illustrate even more immediately the development of disciplined, intuitive, intellectual integrations and how emotional and intellectual self-transcendence can be aided by a circle of friends. During a Christmas vacation, I encountered a friend on the street in New Haven, a philosophy teacher whom I had not seen recently. We settled down to a two-hour feast of mutual sharing, each feeding the other, feeling like lost brothers, strengthening one another at a time when each felt calm in the knowledge that he could sustain himself, but unsure whether anyone else in the world could understand his aspirations and experiences. My friend returned home, 'very high from our conversation', as he reported in a letter I received about a month later. Late that evening he and his wife entered upon a painful conversation about whether their marriage could endure their effort to make it non-exclusive. His wife wept a great deal. By 4 am she felt better, but he felt worse. Then, in his words:

... We turn out the light, and it occurs to Jane what has happened in terms of our trading emotions, and that it often happens that way. She said she wished she could do for me what I did for her, but that I had a way of going off and licking my wounds ... And it was true, I knew or felt that she could not give me the kind of support or whatever that would get me out of where I was. And then, very suddenly and very shockingly I thought of the conversation we had had and how you had talked of a non-genital physicality with other men, of being held and virtually nurtured, and how strange and good that felt. I had not understood you really when you said that, however much I may have nodded appreciatively. But all of a sudden I did understand and at that particular moment I wanted to be with you. Very simple: 'I want Bill.' And then all sorts of things started happening. Like I started crying. Now I almost never cry—maybe five or six times in the last twenty years. And this was much harder crying than any of those other times, harder than I can remember. And I started seeing all sorts of things about myself and my background and family, that I could never remember being really held by my father, maybe that he couldn't hold me because his background was perfect for generating homosexuality which he had to be pretty worried about, I expect, and that the coldness between my mother and me did not just come from her the way I had thought, but that with me it was something like: if my father won't hold me than I won't let anyone hold me.

... But apart from the specifics, the really incredible thing was the totality of the experience of letting go. It was really much more of an ego death than anything I've experienced on acid. The feelings I had were out and out trippy—rushes, incredible fullness and joy, a sense of newness, rebirth—and all of this compounded by the awareness that one of the hopes or expectations I had recently given up was a belief in break-throughs. One hears of such experiences, and during the past three years I have lived in such a way, and put myself to the kind of tests that might produce such cataclysmic changes or realizations. But along about last spring I resigned myself to the belief that I was irreparably stable and that any changing I might do would be strictly incremental.

This, then, is his description of emotional self-transcendence through his own questioning and his friendships with his wife and me. He goes right on in his letter to describe the effect of this experience on his development of a new intellectual integration, although his existential insight is a bit buried in this account under its implications for his professional work.

The first and perhaps most direct payoff was in my work. For years I've been trying to understand a felt continuity in nineteenth century philosophy from Hegel to Nietzsche. I'd just been teaching Kierkegaard and once again struggling with the paradox of the experience of eternity. Then one night just a week or two after the 'breakthrough' I found myself lying in bed, unable to sleep because thoughts were racing through my mind. I stayed up all night, and before my mind's eye a whole book spun itself out. The basic theme is the role of the experiential grasp of truth in nineteenth century philosophy, particularly the almost mystical experience of eternity, and the way the role of experience has been buried under layers of over-intellectualized erudition. In any case, the whole book is up there, it hasn't faded, and in subsequent weeks I've checked some of it out while teaching the relevant texts, and my classes have never gone better ... Here's another irony ... like the sacrifice of breakthroughs: for years I've been cautioning students against what I call the Mozart complex—thinking you have to have the whole thing in your head before you sit down to write, the way Mozart had whole symphonies in his head, note for note, before he set them down on paper. 'Use the paper as your laboratory' I said. 'Let the ideas work themselves out in the course of writing, and then go back and edit. That's the way I do it, the only way I can do it.' And here I have a whole book in my head.

Original intellectual integrations based on self-development are rare enough in themselves, but I would argue that the vehicle through which such integration is being achieved by this man—through a gradually emerging network of intimate friends—is historically still rarer. Original existential integrations have been achieved by the founders of great religions—we can think of Gautama, Jesus, Mohammed. In all cases, their principal revelations occurred in isolation from others. Gautama left his family; Jesus travelled into the desert; Mohammed made nightly visits to a cave. More recently, Erikson (1969) has explored Gandhi's life for us and shown the degree to which his wife and children suffered from his political and spiritual generativity. As Erikson says, persons who become great tend to endure a prolonged identity crisis which is resolved so uniquely and appropriately as to generate new myths and structures persuasive to others as well as themselves. That is, these persons seem to jump from the 'identity' to the 'generativity' stage of personal development, by-passing the 'intimacy' stage. In so doing their impact is sometimes so profound as to regenerate whole cultures. But because they come to us with truths gained through social isolation, these truths gradually become warped as they enter the context of unjust communities. Their parables and percepts can aid personal transformation, but have helped less in communal transformations.

This perspective on previous original integrations may help to augment appropriately the sense of challenge implicit in the action science axiom which triggered the foregoing story and thoughts—the axiom that an early step in the direction of action science would be the development of a circle of friends who would challenge, complement and support one's own development

towards higher thought. It appears that the genuine intimacy that would be the hallmark of such a circle of friends is, on the one had, not approached by most persons, who prefer to surround their close relationships with privacy, habit and unexamined personal or cultural premises, and is, on the other hand, overleaped by historically great men of truth, who achieve their culture-transcending integrations in solitude.

Why has this 'great man deviation'—this bypassing of the intimacy stage—tended to occur? The theory of organizational stages presented in the previous two chapters helps to explain why. The 'great man deviation' has occurred because social institutions, cultural values and personal friends have tended to discourage the personal growth necessary to achieve original, personal integrations; hence, the need to leave behind existing institutions, values and friends as a man feels himself approaching rebirth under a new constellation.

This proposition suggests, in turn, a third axiom of action science: that the earliest personal steps on the path towards action science unavoidably have immediate and strong social consequences, even though the person accepts that he or she is not at a point to take valid social action and is therefore not focusing on changing others. Since action science concerns one's own-life-with-others, there is no safe cadaver to practise on, no setting from which one is emotionally disconnected to study. At best, one's early errors in observation and experiment may be protected from disastrous consequences by corrective feedback from trustworthy, unthreatened friends.

I can illustrate this social effect of early personal development by returning once again to some themes in my Upward Bound experience.

I accepted the Upward Bound job with the confidence that I did have some special competences to do it, but simultaneously aware that in a most profound sense I did not know what was appropriate education for high-school-aged students of different race and class from myself. Believing that collaborative decision-making might break through our students' patterns of hostility to authority and to learning and not feeling the inward authority to make the right decisions myself, I created a collaborative environment from the time of my initial meeting with potential advisors and staff members. After our first summer together, it appeared that the collaborative social environment, which I had generated partly because I was not confident that I knew what was right for others, was itself in some important ways right for others. Thus, even though I accepted that I was not at a point to take valid social action, the very leadership behaviour dictated by this acceptance had immediate and strong social consequences, illustrating the third axiom of action science.

Now, obviously, it would have been irresponsible of me to continue to maintain, after experiencing and seeing the results of the first summer, that I still knew as little as before about taking valid social action. Moreover, all members of the programme—black and white, rich and poor, staff and students, academic successes and academic failures—knew one another a lot better after the first summer. Therefore, we were all in a much better position to take valid social action in relation to one another. And this new relationship

among us implied, in turn, that pure collaboration should no longer be the most valid social form to join us, at least not for the same reasons that I originally used to justify collaboration.

Objective timing

These considerations introduce a fourth axiom of social science: that objective timing is of the essence to relationally valid action. This axiom directly contradicts the efforts of reflective academic science to develop theory generalizable to all times and places. It also contradicts most persons' tendency to settle into, or try to justify, one particular style of social behaviour as more effective than others. This axiom underlies the historical theories of organizing presented in Chapters 10 and 11. The idea is that the kinds of personal leadership and organizational structure which will be effective vary according to the developmental age of the interaction in question.

'Objective timing'—a strange-sounding phrase. I sit quietly this morning, searching for a trustworthy impulse to begin writing about objective timing, listening to the familiar conversations that begin in myself about this phrase, each voice a small vested interest more concerned to be heard than to express the related flavour of all the fragments. Struggling against the temptation to begin 'halfheartedly', I gradually become less identified with each succeeding fragment and more aware of the common flavour.

I write the above paragraph with considerable confidence that I am succeeding in beginning at the beginning in sharing with you how I differentiate subjective from objective timing. Both are very human processes, but subjective timing results when I behave on the basis of fragmented and habitual perceptions, thoughts or feelings; whereas my timing becomes more objective as I struggle beyond these fragments to act from an impulse at once more centred and more dispersed.

I pause now in my writing, more aware, but without convincing impulse. I wish to remain receptive, but where should I direct my attention?

A child enters the living-room. Will he distract me? Yesterday he and I played an exhausting version of ping-pong which ranged far beyond the confines of the in-any-event-rather-broken-down table. Now I fear he may demand more of my attention than I wish to spare. At the same time, I feel my affection for him, a wish to acknowledge his presence. I look up only briefly, still absorbed and distant, but nevertheless saying 'Hello' willingly and warmly, calm rather than anxious because I have integrated both feelings at once in my behaviour. He responds in kind and, appreciating both my prior engagement and my warmth—without needing to react negatively because of having been slighted or uncared for—he veers from me without hesitation to occupy himself with the reconstruction of a block fortress. So, man and child, without friction, distraction or recrimination, obey the rhythm that moves them from common play one day to separate work the next. A more discriminating attention and the complex behaviour it inspires transform interruption into exemplary impulse.

Now, a surge, a welling up within me, dictates still another metaphor, besides flavour and rhythm, for expressing this distinct source of personal behaviour:

through the midst of everyday life within and among persons courses a subtle, silent current, which when we struggle beyond our dulling habits to recognize it and permit it to inform our actions, creates from our movements a dance, from our differences a higher unity.

Of course, as I believe my story about Upward Bound abundantly shows, there are a million and one hindrances in our everyday categories of thought and rhetoric which deflect us from the struggle upstream and which unnecessarily dam the flow downstream.

We begin at a great distance from direct and continual experience of the intuitive current that shapes situations and evokes relationally valid timing, and also we begin without the paradoxical web of thought necessary to encode this current and without the supple modes of behaviour necessary to enact it.

In other words, we begin at a great distance from objective, valid action, from anything approaching what might be termed 'action science'; at such a great distance, in fact, that it may appear either ludicrous or dangerous to use the phrase 'action science' at all. Does it not falsely elevate a very common kind of personal exploration? May we not merely authorize and enshrine someone's personal prejudices under the name of 'action science'? Who, or what standard, in cases of dispute, is to be the final arbiter of whether an act embodies the hypothetical current?

A nascent science

The objections and questions raised in the previous paragraph all depend upon an implicit definition of science as a body of sophisticated and valid knowledge. But that is not science. That is the result of science, the misleading, public face of science as dictated by the conventional model through its publications. We might as well call 'science' the privations that accompany its intuitive, halting, chaotic genesis (which repeats itself anew in each scientific investigation of significance), or the public occasions of its often circuitous, exasperating process. The point is that science includes all three—genesis, process and result, privation, public occasion and publication. But in its effort to generate timelessly general and disembodiedly public knowledge, reflective science has tended not to attend to its own quality as timed action. So it is not surprising that we should come to associate science with its final, recorded form.

In this light, it would seem all the more appropriate for a nascent science, and one dedicated to timely action at that, to emphasize first its genesis and then its early developmental steps.

In this light, we can reread the sentence that set us off on this detour as a positive, descriptive statement rather than as a negative, evaluative one: 'We begin at a great distance from direct and continual experience of the intuitive current that shapes situations, and also we begin without the paradoxical

web of thought necessary to encode this current and without the supple modes of behaviout necessary to enact it.'

Can the reader accept this statement as descriptive of where he or she begins? It is, to be sure, a curious and paradoxical statement in itself, for it asks us to identify three qualities ('intuitive current', 'paradoxical thought' and 'supple behaviour') with which we are, in the same breath, supposed to accept our lack of familiarity. But if we are unfamiliar with these qualities, how are we to identify them in the first place? Well, we may have had occasional tastes of what the current of the situation demanded. Perhaps one in a hundred times, as a small child suddenly begins to cry, we intuitively 'see' precisely what he needs and enact it with a fluidity that instantly changes his mood. Perhaps we have experienced paradoxical thought when we have felt freer upon recognizing a limit, or found ourselves relaxing upon admitting inwardly and outwardly how tense we feel. Perhaps we have mastered the technical disciplines of a sport so thoroughly and can now interweave them so spontaneously that we can imagine the taste of truly supple behaviour in everyday life.

In addition to these occasional intuitive 'tastes', we must develop a still subtler awareness—shall I call it an intuitive 'smell'?—before we can objectively accept the original statement as descriptive of us. This intuitive smell provides us with a sense of the vast regions of our lives that are *not* characterized by *conscious translation* of an 'intuitive current' through 'paradoxical thought' into 'supple behaviour'. So, we arrive at the paradox that we must experience and trust various intuitive 'tastes' and 'smells' in order to affirm that we are generally alienated from such intuitions; and at the further paradox that our intellect must measure objectively the scale of our inability to act rationally. By some such path we may develop an appreciation of the original statement as a positive description.

Our first struggles upstream yield a view of tangled webs of thought, feeling and uncoordinated behaviour. Dismayed, we may overlook the virtue of our widened, more objective vision. Not counting our achievement, we rush back downstream to the more familiar waters where we spied the impediments, determined to right all wrongs. Once there, our newest thought or act only adds to the tangle, and we soon begin to forget what caused all the excitement in the first place. Everything appears familiar, comfortable, safe—until the next time we feel strongly the inadequacy of our lives. Then the cycle begins anew.

This chapter so far presents only the sketchiest outlines of an existential science which a reader could (and undoubtedly already has in some ways) undertake for himself or herself. The earlier story and theory hopefully give a fleshier sense of the sorts of public behaviours, fears, reactions and patterns over time that help and hinder such existential research. At Upward Bound I tried, during a time of the most intense social strain imaginable short of war, to create a community of inquiry that crossed lines of race and class. Despite important moments of contact, insight and transformation among many of

us, it is fair to say that I and all the others of us who shared in the aim of creating a community of inquiry failed. In me, however; this extreme experience deposited a sense of the scale and significance of the project of creating a community of inquiry, and my purpose in writing this book has been to try to share both the necessity for and the difficulty of achieving a community of inquiry in today's conditions.

Teachings from ancient traditions which seek to provide guiding forms for existential research suggest that such research is a task of many years (Needleman, 1974; Ouspensky, 1949; Schuon, 1963; Suzuki, 1955; Trungpa, 1974). Contemporary stories of attempts at such personal research give the same impression (Castaneda, 1969; 1971; 1972; 1974; Herrigel, 1953; Jung, 1963; Lilly, 1972; Reymond, 1971). The reader interested in pursuing one or more disciplines of personal research will find many opportunities in his or her environment upon asking around. (Which are really helpful to him or her is, of course, a matter which the teachings themselves cannot resolve and only a still more intimate personal research can help him or her to discriminate.)

There are fewer guidelines about the sort of friendly behaviour, organizational structure and community spirit which aid full human learning. In an earlier book, *Learning from Experience: Toward Consciousness* (1972b), I examined the 'microscopic' qualities of interpersonal behaviour which seem to aid one's own and others' existential research. In this book I have examined the vicissitudes in the development of an organizational setting towards a community of inquiry. In a forthcoming book, *Organizing the Unknown: A Politics of Higher Education*, I examine a larger organizing experiment I undertook after Upward Bound in which the lessons learned from the experience retold here contributed to a much more relaxed and intense environment of personal transformation and a much greater public success.

My attempt in providing a theory of stages of organizational development in the previous two chapters has not been to offer authoritative, predigested answers about effective organizing. Rather, the theory, expecially in its 'higher' stages, draws attention to increasingly abstract characteristics which each organizational participant is challenged to bring to bear upon the digestion of common experience in the service of his or her own higher purposes. That none of us is clear about our own life purposes nor disciplined enough to use ideas to widen our vision from moment to moment only reemphasizes the scale of the task of self-development which initially motivates personal research.

So many attempts at philosophy and social analysis are founded on valid momentary intuitions of human situations. But rather than continuing the effort to see directly, the author has retired into reflective thought to build a model of the world based on his momentary vision. This tendency leads to two essential distortions of reality. First, we are offered many visions of truth, but few of our distance from truth. Second, visions of truth strive to encompass and subordinate all times, thereby obscuring the new mystery–revelation– realization inherent in each life-moment. Increasingly, we must become

comfortable with terms that are not fully defined and that stand for states and processes we have yet to real-ize, terms that point a direction down a path we are just beginning to travel.

Thus: social action/scientific research: action science. Are the notions of influencing our environment and illuminating it necessarily incompatible? Is there no human analogue to the sun, which at once illuminates, heats and attracts the earth, thus bringing it life?
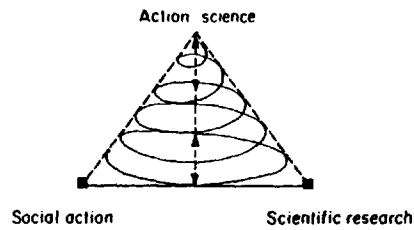
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