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MANAGEMENT, LABOUR AND COMMUNITY

MANAGEMENT, LABOUR AND COMMUNITY

Edited by

D. CLEGHORN THOMSON

M.A.(Edin.), B.A.(Oxon.), F.R.S.E.

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

IT may be felt that some excuse is needed for the assembling of yet another book on Management. My plea in mitigation of the offence can only be that, after having worked at further education among the troops, as a personnel officer in a large department store, with a group of steel companies, and in a nationalized industry, and having compared notes with a number of fellow workers in similar projects, I feel that the available literature on the non-technical aspect of the future manager's training is still sparse compared with the importance of that side of the work. I am convinced that it is worth while to try and strengthen the stress on those aspects of industrial education which are as yet imperfectly appreciated, and to plead the need for a properly balanced and comprehensive plan of training.

The orientation of management towards labour problems is changing rapidly for the better. Lord Acton, writing of the attitude of the Church of Rome towards the Renaissance movement at the beginning of modern history, spoke of "the triumphant return of an exile with an uproarious popularity and a claim to compensation for arrears"; it is to be hoped that in a co-operative development of schemes for industrial training and promotion it may be possible, in some degree, to bury the memory of "old unhappy far off things, and battles long ago."

Education and training cannot grow naturally and healthily in the old *de haut en bas* atmosphere typified by the unwholesome connotation of the word and concept of "welfare." Workers in this new age must receive their pensions, their medical treatment, their sick benefit and their training and education (as soon as they are established and rooted members of the team) not as patronage or bounty but as an "entitlement" under an employment charter which clearly defines their rights and responsibilities.

There are a number of trends making for the strengthening of this new outlook on the social purpose of industry. The interest parents are now encouraged to take in the work-place of their children is one; the school project-lesson, tied in with the activities of various industries, is another; the rapid spread of intelligent introduction courses and "vestibule schools" are yet further significant signs of progress.

I believe this is an irresistible tide which cannot be turned back or safely ignored by the industrial Canutes. The fundamental change of heart involved is an acceptance of the basic principle of Christianity, that people really matter, that the recognition of the importance and sanctity of individuals is vital to harmonious and fruitful human relations. While those in whose trust is placed the handling of this situation must avoid some of the pitfalls of the parsonic approach, more and more people in authority over their fellow men must begin to approach their trust imbued by those principles which are seen at their best in Christianity in action.

And while it is the interpretation of industrial purpose in the light of Christian principle which is the paramount need today, I recognize that, on the non-vocational side, the teaching of Greek civilization has much to offer us which can be helpful, not so much in training for leadership and participation as in education for citizenship and leisure —the making of "whole men." The Greeks escaped our most vexing problem through being a slave state. One of our present troubles is that science has not yet caught up with educational progress and mechanized the jobs which call for the monotonous labour of what Aristotle called "natural slaves." To go a step further, we might say that the science of management lags somewhat behind science in general. As education advances, fewer and fewer people are capable of being happy in low-grade jobs. I believe that the kinds of education and training which are advocated here at one and the same time stimulate that inventiveness which may advance mechanization, and enrich the leisure-time lives of the "near-slaves" so that they may become more happy citizens and more effective workers.

I am privileged in being able to open this symposium with a prologue by Colonel Urwick who has done more than anyone else to give a lead in the matter of sound management training in this country, and to conclude it with an epilogue by my own Chairman, Lord Citrine, who has made the major contribution to the imaginative development of joint consultation in British industry. In conclusion I should like to thank the authors of the chapters for their co-operation and patience, and Mr. Richard Blythe (of Newman Neame) and my own departmental colleagues in the Central Electricity Authority for sympathetic collaboration.

D. C. T.

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PROLOGUE

THE IMPORTANCE OF MANAGEMENT

By L. F. Urwick, O.B.E., M.C., M.A.

This book is a symposium—a collection of views contributed by a variety of individuals. The common thread which binds their diverse contributions together is their concern for the better ordering of the economic system so that it will be satisfactory to the citizens and voters of an industrial democracy. The major portion of the book deals with various methods of training those who may be called upon to fill positions of responsibility within the system and hence to exercise authority over the working lives of their fellows.

The fact that the book was planned by the officer in charge of education in one of our great nationalized industries and many of the contributors are officials of nationalized undertakings, in itself disposes neatly of one illusion. The transfer of the control of an economic service or of any part of such a service from private ownership to the community is neither an "open sesame" nor a "vade-mecum." The industry, whatever it is, still has to be conducted in an orderly and systematic way. It still has to be economically justifiable. It must render the great body of consumers a service for which they are prepared to pay what it costs. And that includes materials, and salaries and wages which will attract managers and workers and a sufficient margin to safeguard its existing and to secure future capital. If it cannot do this, it will, ultimately, lack materials, workers and equipment.

In other words, it will still have to be managed. And if it is to be managed successfully, there will still be areas in which discipline is essential and authority has to be exercised. The source of that authority may be the will of the community, rather than that of a board of directors appointed by shareholders. But to the workers and supervisors going about their daily jobs the one will seem as remote and impersonal as the other. In the nature of things and with modern large-scale organization, the source of authority can only appear

human to the necessarily infinitesimal minority in personal contact with central direction. To the rest of those associated with any undertaking, the vast majority, the basic reasons for the decisions which affect their working lives must be obscured by the mists of distance. They cannot know—they do not know in the working of democratic political government—either many of the facts or the precise balance of personal factors which issue in one policy rather than another.

Nor can the individuals responsible "come alive" to them except in the most general terms. Occasionally, the coincidence of a great emergency and of a personality not unequal to it, may impress an individual on the national consciousness so that his leadership is not only acceptable, but gives to each remote citizen the illusion of personal friendship. Modern methods of communication, such as radio and television, have helped. The late F. D. Roosevelt's "fireside chats" to the American people and Sir Winston Churchill's broadcasts to Great Britain in 1940 are examples.

The occasions which call forth personal leadership of this order are, however, as rare as the people able to take advantage of them. Normally and inevitably the world lives at a less exalted pitch. And the innumerable acts of direction, whether in the business of government or in the government of business, filter down to those affected by them through a hierarchy of administrative layers, their origin lost in the distant anonymity of Whitehall or the board room. This anonymity finds expression in the "they" or "them" to which all ills are attributed in the average railway carriage conversation.

What is not known and understood is always suspect. The old North country crack—"Bill, there's a stranger. Well, why haven't you heaved half a brick at him?"—may sound an exaggeration. But it expresses a tendency which is true from Land's End to John O'Groats.

It is characteristic of human nature to be imperfect. But the imperfections of responsible and public figures are consequently distorted out of all reasonable relation to reality by the gossip of the grapevine and the over-simplifications of the popular press. Nor does the possibility of exploiting this suspicion escape the attention of personal rivals and political opponents. Possibly the greatest danger facing the democracies and the freedoms of which they are the guardians, is the difficulty experienced by the man in the street in distinguishing between honest criticism and the rumours begot by malice out of *suggestio falsi*.

Authority is, in its very nature, predisposed to unpopularity. No

one likes being ordered about. Man will only accept direction happily where it is clearly in line with his own purposes and interests as an individual and a reasonable interpretation of "the law of the situation." Apart from this consideration he is, at the same time, an emotional and a social as well as a rational being. His confidence in the logic of any directive is easily disturbed by poor personal or group relations with its immediate source. He is allergic to being run by a system. He craves, consciously or unconsciously, the warmth of daily contact with a supervisor whom he can like and trust. As the late C. E. Montague wrote just after World War I: "There may be laid up in Heaven a pattern of some front line by which the Staff in its rear would be really loved. But such love is not in the nature of man."

A couple of centuries ago these facts were of little importance as far as economic organization was concerned. The normal producing unit was small—small enough for every individual to have daily contact with the head of the undertaking. The speed of technical change was much slower—slow enough to allow ample time for men to adjust their social habits, their methods of working together, to essential modifications of products and processes. But with the Industrial Revolution, the coming of power-driven machinery and the application of the physical sciences to production, the whole picture was altered. The size of the economic unit under a unified control increased enormously and is still increasing: the nationalized industries are merely a further stage in this process of unification. The speed of technical development was greatly accelerated. There was no longer time for the slow deposit of custom to enable men to acclimatize themselves to the social change enforced by technical improvement. As the late Professor Elton Mayo pointed out, we have moved, almost over night, from an *established* into an *adaptive* society.

It is not surprising that these deep and rapid changes in what is required of us should have imposed great strains on men's capacity to co-operate with each other effectively. What is, perhaps, surprising is the general failure to appreciate how rapidly these changes have taken place—the tendency to "witch-hunt," to ascribe the strains and stresses to which they have given rise to the fault of this or that group or class in the population, instead of realizing that they are the inevitable consequence of an evolution in which all have participated.

That is, of course, uncivilized thinking—the kind of primitive simplicity which leads some savage races to make a wax image of their supposed "enemy" and to stick pins into it, accompanied by

appropriate imprecations. To imagine that the difficulties of large scale economic organization are the fault of "wicked and greedy capitalists" on the one hand or of "disruptive labour agitators" on the other is sheer superstition: it is of exactly the same order of thought as attributing a thunderstorm to the wrath of some evil spirit.

As the nationalized industries are already beginning to discover, those difficulties remain. They are neither greatly changed nor appreciably diminished by the transfer of ownership from the representatives of one group in the population to the representatives of another group. The essential conflict between man's interests as a consumer in cheap and abundant goods and services and the same individual's interests as a producer in working conditions which are remunerative, creative and socially satisfying, endures.

It is emphasized and sharpened by many of the developments which have been touched upon. As a consumer, man has remained isolated and socially unself-conscious. Often a different member of the family feels the impact of poorer quality goods and services at higher prices: the wives do the shopping while the men go out to work. But, both men and women at work, owing to the increase in the size of the economic unit and the spread of trade union organization, have become increasingly self-conscious socially and more inclined to attribute every irritation which they experience to the very people who are the trustees of their interests as consumers—the employers and their representatives, the managers.

To be sure, that trusteeship is not assumed formally. On the face of it, employers and owners are merely engaged in protecting their own best interests by making as much profit as they can. But the effect of a free competitive economy is to force out of business any employer who is not supplying goods or services which the community needs at a price which it is willing to pay. And since anyone who thinks he can do better than existing suppliers, either in quality or price, is free to make the attempt, every employer has to be alert to changes in technology and taste or he will be passed in the race. While, individually, the prospect of profit may be the motive which actuates him, socially profit is merely the test that he is doing a useful job.

Hitherto no one has fairly faced the problem of how this quasi-automatic test of social utility is to be replaced in the case of the nationalized industries. Obviously, no administrative procedure can be so immediate or so direct in its action on producers as is failure to secure profitable sales on private ownership. Apparently the issue

has simply been ignored. It was far simpler to throw the whole blame for the social consequences of the Industrial Revolution and for man's idiosyncrasies as a consumer on to the employers and managers and to pass over in silence the fact that they were ultimately only the sounding-board for man's consumer interests, the servants of "the customer who is always right."

Moreover, the use of power-driven machinery and the increasing size of the economic unit both demand imperatively a more exact and intricate social discipline than the older handicraft methods. The modern factory is no longer—as it is still described in law—"a workshop," a shelter to which workers repair to exercise their individual skills. If it is to be effective, it must be essentially a single highly-geared machine, in which the contribution of any individual is of relatively slight importance. What matters is the logic, appropriateness, economy and adaptability of the overall plan and the precision with which individual contributions fit into it.

This social discipline is, too, of a novel character. It is not a matter of strict obedience to orders, though much detailed accuracy is required. It is much more a question of intelligent and willing co-operation. But this co-operation must be based, not on old custom or individual opinion, so much as on a lively appreciation of the potentialities and limitations of mechanized production. A modern and intricate machine—and most modern machines are intricate—is not merely a tool which the worker uses. It is a product of scientific research which can only be employed to maximum utility by strict observance of the scientific principles underlying its construction. And opinion, emotion, custom, habit are, in this context, completely unavailing. The only weapon of any value is intellectual understanding, exact knowledge. No man ever made a stalled automobile start again by kissing its radiator or kicking its differential, only by appreciating the laws governing its construction and operation.

Yet, just at the moment when the full development of the Industrial Revolution made this new and more exact discipline essential, the great majority of industrial workers, for reasons which have already been discussed, became less disposed emotionally to accept any kind of discipline at all. They had much excuse in the fantastically brutal methods of enforcing discipline current in some factories in the first half of the last century. The enmity shown to their earlier attempts to organize themselves as producers was as short-sighted as their consequent distrust of employers is pardonable.

But, with reference to their own interests as consumers, this distrust has gone too far. The attitudes appropriate when they were dealing with private employers have been transferred almost completely to their relations with the officers and managers of nationalized industries. Unless this tendency can be checked, unless the men who know, who are responsible for the day-by-day management of British industry, can win back a large measure of the confidence and enthusiasm of those who work with them, British industry will have little future. That will be a disaster for everyone—workers, managers and employers alike. It is alarming to contemplate the possibility that a country once described as "the workshop of the world" may end as the workhouse of the world.

In these circumstances, and with special reference to the administrative distance separating rank and file workers from higher direction described at the beginning of this prologue, the training of those who constitute the intermediate links in the complex of communication becomes a matter of urgent public importance. They are, of course, the managers, specialists and supervisors at all levels who transmit the thoughts and feelings of higher direction throughout any organization. On the skill and fidelity with which they convey to those responsible to them the purpose of the whole undertaking and the necessity for each detailed arrangement as part of that purpose, an appropriate and logical response to circumstances, the enthusiasm and the morale of the whole enterprise will depend. What they do and are, rather than what anyone says, will determine the attitude towards the undertaking of the vast majority of those working in it.

That this process of effective communication, this management, does involve special skills which can be studied theoretically and about which an increasing body of knowledge is becoming available is now widely recognized. And since, as has been suggested, the whole economic future of Great Britain depends on the extension and application of this knowledge, the development of a higher average level of skill among all grades of managers and supervisors, every effort to further this aim deserves a welcome.

But this book has certain special qualities of its own. It is largely written by practitioners, by men engaged daily either in managing the work of others or in trying to improve the training arrangements for those who are or will be engaged in this task. It faces clearly the fact that insufficient attention has been directed to this problem in the past. Lord Halsbury, for instance, in analysing the relative values of

a preliminary education in science or in the arts, concludes that far too much emphasis has been placed on what is, in fact, a secondary issue—

> "the precise nature of the course which a student follows at a University from eighteen to twenty-one cannot be the principal factor in determining his suitability for promotion to general manager of his company twenty years later."

On the other hand, employers have seemed—

> "curiously indifferent to their responsibilities equally with their self-interest in this regard. . . . Whatever happens (to the student) by way of training in the intervening years (after he has left the University) must be of far greater importance, and if in fact the events of these years are such as to spoil him rather than to train him for management, the result ought not to be a cause for surprise."

No one with practical experience of the light-hearted way in which, in many businesses, young men with an expensive technical education have been and are encouraged or even ordered to transfer to administrative work for which they have had little or no preparation, can question the justice of this comment. The reason for change is too often merely to seize an immediate opportunity or to meet a passing need. Yet such a change of direction, of profession, is a critical decision which may have the most far-reaching effects on the individual's future happiness and success. He should only be allowed to approach it after the most careful appraisal of all the factors involved and should be given all possible help in trying to weigh the possibilities inherent in each alternative and in his own capacities and tastes. It is the last moment when he should be subjected to any kind of pressure from higher management.

The very variety of the contributions and of the experience of their different authors, which imposes some appearance of disunity on the book regarded as a whole, in itself emphasizes the complexity and difficulty of the problem. And this at two levels. Thus, the first part, which deals broadly with what is involved in management, includes essays by an educationist, a business administrator, an official, a psychologist, a sociologist, a medical man, the chairman of a company, and so on. The second part, which treats of the practical methods of training which may be employed, covers contributions from an equally wide range of occupations describing a dozen different subjects and techniques.

The determination of *what* is to be taught is fluid, not final. It involves the integration and simplification of knowledge derived from a whole series of underlying disciplines—exact and less exact. Management is not a science *per se*. It is a practical art. It draws on engineering, accounting, statistics, biology, physiology, psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics and law. The good manager must have, at one and the same time, an appreciation of historical causes and tendencies and a wide grasp of current affairs. He must live in the present, without losing sight of its roots which are in the past, and yet with a shrewd eye to the future which alone can justify his current action.

All the same, as Professor Mace so rightly points out, management is not "a rare and specialized function exercised only by the few who occupy exalted positions and are endowed by nature with exceptional skills and qualities of character." It is merely an extension and intensification of what every man must do on a more modest scale if he is to order his own life competently and to provide for his family. It is possibly this earthiness, this ultimate simplicity and universality of management as a function, which leads so many people to imagine that they can practise it successfully on the basis of experience alone, without an intellectual training in the skills involved. But the size and complexity of the organization do make a difference. Within the family individuals can "get away" with unskilled methods which would be intolerable in a factory. There are thousands of people who can make a reasonable attempt at leading a section or a platoon, where there are only scores who, even with prolonged and careful training, are satisfactory in command of a division.

The definition and analysis of *how* it is to be taught and *when* are equally controversial. This country is currently at least thirty years behind the United States in the organization of high-level academic attention to and experiment in this subject. Consequently, teachers of first-class intellectual attainments are few and far between. And, when the rare opportunity of a university post in management presents itself, there is a tendency to pass over the men who have pioneered in this field because they have taught management in the only place in which they were encouraged to teach it, the technical colleges. This form of academic superiority is contrary to the public interest. Until it has been overcome, management as a serious subject is likely to remain "under a cloud." And methods of teaching will remain controversial, because those who try to teach the subject at the uni-

versities know little about the practice of management, and those who do understand the subject, practically as well as theoretically, are treated by the universities as academically disreputable.

This book is at least an indication that some leaders in business and many managers and trainers in the middle ranges are at last beginning to take this subject seriously. It is to be hoped that many business men will read it and, in doing so, come to appreciate how wide is the content of knowledge involved in modern management and how complex the problems of teaching method.

A recent book on the subject from the United States starts with the statements—

> "The quality and performance of its managers is the only effective advantage an enterprise in a competitive economy can have."
>
> and
>
> "The emergence of management as an essential, a distinct and a leading institution, is a pivotal event in social history."[1]

Whatever arrangements this country may make to modify the rigours of competition internally, the prospect of a time when internationally it is no longer compelled to offer better value than its competitors is, to say the least of it, remote. Up to the present the attention it has devoted to management has been unworthy of its importance. Countries which ignore "pivotal events in social history" are apt to find that the future history of their societies lacks both balance and direction.

[1] Drucker, Peter F.: *The Practice of Management*, Harper and Bros., New York and London, 1954.

SECTION I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

THE CULTURE OF LARGE ORGANIZATIONS

By W. H. DUNKLEY, B.Sc., M.I.E.E., M.I.MECH.E.

THE great organization is a community of people dispersed within the national community. By community we mean a group of people having a common interest or purpose. The organizational community has two purposes: first, to serve in some way the national community; secondly, and in recognition thereof, to earn a living for the members of the organization. The mere existence of these two common purposes is not enough to weld the organization into a united community.

R. H. Tawney in his work *Equality* wrote: "What a community requires, as the word itself suggests, is a common culture, because, without it, it is not community at all." Does this hold good for the organizational community? Why a common culture? And what is a culture? "Culture" is defined by the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* as "Training and refinement of mind, taste and manners." A training based on a given set of principles, values and aims, within given national boundaries, produces, either by design or by a natural development, something that may be described as a national culture. This description is applied only when all classes of a community, and especially the better educated ones, conform to certain standards in their relations with one another and in their self-expression. And this conformity must be *ex animo*, not perforce. They must believe in what they profess.

ORGANIZATIONS NEED THEIR OWN CULTURES

Not only nations have cultures, which may be of natural growth or specially planned and cultivated. Organizations also can and should have their cultures. In certain well-known cases they certainly have them. Consider the Navy, Army, Air Force, Civil Service, Colonial Service, Foreign Service.

The Navy's organizational culture is perhaps the most striking case. Training and refinement of mind, taste and manners according to

certain patterns is apparent. As a result every rating is pretty certain that he will be handled in much the same way by any officer of a given rank, and that all officers will react in the same manner to a particular action or human relations situation. Predictability of behaviour at all levels begets unity and mutual confidence. It also begets confidence in the mind of the national community as to the manner in which the Navy will act. The Navy is regarded as something with a unitary personality. Did not the men of one destroyer shout to the "*Altmark*" "The Navy is here?" What more undeniable evidence could there be of the true sense of self-in-common that was felt by the men who shouted it? What clearer proof of the existence of cultural unity—the result of centuries of "training and refinement of mind, taste and manners?" All large organizations have the same or similar problems of attaining unity in action whereby they can secure the confidence of the nation or of a very large body of customers or consumers.

We may say that until an organization has its own culture it cannot act, or be looked upon, as one thing. It cannot integrate the power of its parts in a greater power peculiar to itself. It cannot be as wise as the sum of its component wisdoms. It cannot be more effective than its most effective individuals. Yet all those enhanced abilities are expected of it, and are available to it if it can become a truly unitary thing, having in effect its own personality, though still a thing. Its personality is its organizational culture.

A Culture rests on Principles

Every nation, through its organs of influence on the mind, is forming or changing its national culture. The process may be clear, as in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. In so far as people are brought finally to unconscious assent-in-action to a set of principles guiding their behaviour and thought, they have conformed to or acquired a culture.

It is impossible to believe that a culture based on materialism, hatred, or explicit class domination as in the U.S.S.R., will ever produce permanent assent-in-action and a harmonious community. The basic standards of a durable and harmonious culture must be absolute standards of love, truth and right. No one who hates people can fit into any culture; nor can anyone who regards lies and truth equally as available instruments; nor can anyone who seeks justice for himself but denies it to others. Such a man cannot be in harmony—he must be in tension—with his human environment. He will try to dominate his environment by any means except true and faithful service to his

fellows. He will be a stranger to any sense of self-in-common with others.

Awareness

The perfectly cultured man, if such could ever exist, might be defined as the man totally aware. He would possess some skill to get his living, but beyond that would be aware of all other skills, and of all other people's feelings. Not a sculptor, but aware of Praxiteles and Henry Moore; not a painter, but aware of Titian, Turner and Topolski; not a physician, but aware of Hippocrates, Lister and Fleming; not a scientist, but aware of the greatest flights of the human mind in the realms of physical knowledge; not a psychologist, but aware of most people's reactions to life's stimuli; not a great man, but proud to be of the same suffering flesh and questing mind as all the great men.

What does this mean in the culture of the organization? If the argument is conceded as to general culture, it applies *mutatis mutandis* in the organization. Organizational awareness is fundamental to organizational culture, and it needs to extend to the bounds of the organization. This awareness may lack specific knowledge of persons at the bounds, but it can easily be sufficient to destroy that corroding scorn of people unknown which is a conspicuous weakness of non-unitary organization.

Stages of Cultural Development

If it is conceded that we need an organizational culture, then we must set about framing it. Indeed, every organization takes steps which lead it in that direction without, so far as the writer is aware, declaring what it is doing; perhaps, normally, without viewing its activities as explicitly directed to that end. But every organization seems to omit or take for granted the first great overt step. The necessary steps seem to be—

1. Declare the basic absolute principles.
2. Enunciate a dogma—what is to be taught as to the nature and pattern of relationships and behaviour founded squarely on the principles.
3. Work out the application of the dogma to the types of situation most commonly arising, which are to be handled in ways conditioned by and characteristic of the organizational culture.
4. As a result of the body of practice developed under 3, arrive at an etiquette appropriate to many standard situations.

5. As part of the training, ensure awareness of the organization: its history, aims, structure, hierarchy, labour relations system, the functions of all its parts, the fields of function, and powers, of its officers.

Aims of Organizational Culture

If we look at the development of organizational culture as a specific campaign and are asked to define its objectives, we would say that its final aim is unity of character of the organization, a sense of that unity in every member of it, and a recognition of that unity of character by the public.

If we are asked to describe some of the intermediate, component, or milestone, objectives, we would say—

To secure from all members of the organization the correct, and therefore much the same, reaction to particular human situations.

To cultivate benignant attitudes to all people at all times, which of course does not exclude reprehension.

To raise service to the organization above self-seeking.

To develop self-seeking into the desire of each to rise in the organization by service according to his powers, not by domination, sycophancy or sciolism: to serve without fearing or exciting fear.

To inculcate the desire for wisdom and intelligent awareness.

To beget in men a vivid sense of self-in-common with others, based on a common clay and a common worthy object.

To promote the desire to encourage and approve men and efforts, suggesting rather than disparaging.

To promote habits of alertness, and wariness without suspicion.

To encourage every man to think out situations from the point of view of all parties to them.

To make every man as approachable to his subordinates and ranking colleagues as he wishes his superior to be to him.

To make all extend the same courtesy to their subordinates, ranking colleagues, and the general public, as they wish to receive from their superiors or their friends.

To form in all the habit, appropriately to their rank, of measuring each deliberate act against the etiquette or behaviour pattern that applies. In non-standard situations, to measure against the basic standards of love, truth and right adopted. This habit does not make for sissiness or sloppiness. It makes for reliability, predictability and mutual confidence in human relations. It makes in fact for effective

unity, despite dispersion and diversity of persons composing the organization.

To encourage the desire for wisdom.

WHO SETS ABOUT IT?

> "As the judge of the people is himself, so are his officers; and what manner of man the ruler of the city is, such are all they that dwell therein." (Ecclus., x, 2.)

This principle of government is believed to be about 2,100 years old, but it is as good as new to every manager at some time in his life.

The judge represents the top level that enunciates the laws and principles. The officers adopt and apply them in their rule over departmental cities, if they seize them in their true spirit. The beginning of organizational culture is a personal matter between a few men. Ultimately it affects and controls the organization through all them that dwell and serve therein, provided that the organization's controls so will it, selecting and training accordingly.

CONCLUSION

This essay does not proceed from any lack of awareness of prevailing schemes of training in human relations and managerial techniques. On the contrary, it is provoked by the range and volume of such efforts, seeking a unifying aim to which these efforts tend.

Finally, let us return to the dictionary definition of "culture" to assert that in it the word "training" is as near the dominant word as any. Culture is not a natural wild plant. It requires sowing, grafting, pruning, selection and patience. The organization cannot become a self-conscious and recognizable individual thing of quality until it is trained to its culture, aware of it, and proud of the declared principles it is based on.

CHAPTER II

THE HUMAN RELATIONS ASPECT OF MANAGEMENT

By ANDREW R. COOPER, M.ENG., M.I.E.E., M.INST.F.

MY working life so far has covered a period of some thirty-two years, the first sixteen of which were spent in the coal-mining industry, the last sixteen in the electricity supply industry. I mention these things in order to show the background against which my opinions have been formed and which must inevitably colour the views which I shall express. Here then, for what they are worth, are some observations on the human relations aspect of management.

Management consists of deciding that something shall be done and then getting some other fellow to do it. A competent manager should be capable of carrying out both these functions efficiently, but he will probably find that the second is the more difficult. Deciding what is to be done is a process which calls for certain skills and the ability to make quick decisions, but it does follow, reasonably closely, the laws of logic; getting some other fellow to do it, however, is a less scientific procedure which calls for such qualities as tact, patience and perseverance, and above all for some interest in the working of men's minds. The great art in management, as I see it, is not so much the ability to *make* men do certain jobs as the ability to make them *want* to do those jobs.

Probably the greatest single danger to the efficient working of any large-scale organization is the tendency to regard individuals as units of work instead of as individual sentient human beings. The individual, on the other hand, sees the organization as something which revolves round him as centre, and he is chiefly concerned with its impact on his ego, his self-respect, or, if you like, on his feeling of importance. I would suggest that in our relations with our staff it is necessary to see the personality of each individual as a whole and, instead of thinking of, say, W. Jones, Auxiliary Plant Attendant No. 3 Boiler House, to think of Bill Jones who plays right half for the station football team, won the Military Medal in North Africa, is taking a correspondence

course in engineering and who looks after the No. 3 Boiler House Feed Pumps—or as Bill Jones, the old scallywag ex-Navy man who will never be anything bigger than an A.P.A., who never wants to be anything bigger, but who is a grand fellow at his job and very susceptible to a word of praise. In other words, it is necessary to regard each man as a separate human being who, whatever his status, has as strong a case for leading a full and happy life as any other man in the organization.

In the main a man works well either because he is afraid of what will happen to him if he doesn't, because he wants something and work is the only way of getting it, because he would be ashamed of himself if he didn't work well, or finally, and most rarely, because he satisfies some inner urge when the work he does enriches the world in some way. The fortunate man is the one who enjoys doing the work for its own sake, who would be unhappy doing anything else, and who accepts the rewards for his labour as something incidental and welcome but not fundamental.

Continued fear or anxiety is a mental corrosive which is capable of destroying a man's happiness, his self-confidence and above all his self-respect, and it is unfortunate that with some men this is the only driving force which has any effect. As soon as this type of man knows his job is 100 per cent safe, his performance begins to deteriorate, and for his own sake it is often necessary that he should occasionally feel at least a tinge of apprehension about the overall security of his position. For the moment, however, let us leave this aspect of our theme and consider how we can induce each man to give of his best, in the interests both of himself and of the organization he serves.

First let us consider the problem of business relationships. Almost every large-scale organization, whether it be for a State, an army or a business, is built in the form of a pyramid. The chief executive is at the top, next come a number of chief officials, then an increasing number of departmental heads, and so on down to the large number of unskilled workmen who form the base of the pyramid.

Every man who wants to make progress must climb to the next layer in the pyramid by justifying his claim to be included in a smaller number of senior men. This process, which can, in principle, be applied all the way up the pyramid, gives some point to the statement that making progress is like climbing a mountain; the higher you climb, the lonelier you become.

This type of business pyramid can be repeated all the way through

any large organization. If we consider the organization of a typical factory, we can take one triangular facet of the pyramid to represent the engineering or production side, the second to represent service departments, and the third to represent labour and its negotiating machinery.

It is an interesting exercise to rest the three triangles against each other in such a way as to form a solid pyramid. It can be shown that this is the strongest and most stable type of structure and that if any one triangle is removed, the other two will fall down, thus illustrating the fact that we are all interdependent, that no department can successfully stand alone, and that successful performance can be obtained only from the properly integrated performance of all the personnel in all the various departments.

If we examine the top of the pyramid and see that the manager has three deputies, we realize that their only hope of promotion is to succeed the chief when he disappears—but there are three applicants and only one vacancy—in other words, two of them, however good they may be, will fail to get promotion. The same principle will apply all the way down the scale, and if every man sets his heart on climbing to the top of the pyramid, and is going to be content with nothing else, there is going to be an awful lot of misery around. It is not true in my view to suggest that every apprentice has a managing director's "Biro" in his tool kit—individuals are possessed of widely-differing aptitudes and skills. They are naturally adapted for a wide range of jobs, but management is only one of them. A man is not necessarily a failure because he hasn't reached the top, but he is a failure at any level if he is neither obtaining nor giving satisfaction in the work he is doing. There is, in general, an optimum level for most people; if their actual status is below it, they are unhappy because of the blow to their self-esteem; if their status is higher, they are unhappy because the responsibility worries them and the job is too big for them. Ambition then should be a healthy form of dissatisfaction which spurs a man onwards and upwards—but it ought to know where to stop. It will be the aim of the good manager to study the aptitudes of his men and to ensure as far as possible that they are carrying out the duties for which they are best fitted. This is a thorny problem—but we are all familiar with the type of case in which a brilliant craftsman who was happy and successful in his work has, because of his brilliance, been promoted to a higher and almost purely administrative job at which he is a complete failure.

Consider now the two points we have raised: first, the consideration which should be given to the natural egoism of the individual; and second, the promotion problems which arise from the pyramid structure of the normal business organization. Dealing with this second point, we see that the larger the pyramid the less is the opportunity of regarding each employee as an individual. In order to obtain the best results, therefore, we should discover the largest pyramid which will admit the existence of the individual, and then examine the possibility of splitting up our organization into these or smaller pyramids. First, the size of the unit pyramid. We all know that a crowd can develop a collective mentality which is almost invariably lower and meaner than that of any of its constituent members, and it has been stated that in any assembly of people the individual exists until the number reaches about twelve to fifteen, after which it becomes an audience or a crowd, and individual significance tends to disappear. A football team is a good example of an assembly of individuals which can take collective action without loss of individual self-expression.

Let us assume then, that our working unit, our individual pyramid consists of at most, say, twelve people, including one man at the head who organizes their collective working, who has a certain freedom of action in the way he employs them and who accepts responsibility for their performance. The next higher block of pyramids will include not more than twelve of the heads of these smaller pyramids, and so on up to the top where the head or apex of the total pyramid will include the manager and probably three to five chief officials.

In the devolution of responsibility the head of each pyramid should allocate specific duties and responsibilities to the heads of his subsidiary pyramids, and so on down the scale. The mental approach to all this devolution should be an appreciation of the fact that practically every man produces better results if he thinks that he is carrying some definite responsibility and that the work he produces will, for good or ill, carry his personal hall-mark. The attitude of mind which needs to be eliminated is the one which assumes that, if results are bad, the individual concerned will get the blame, but if results are good, the credits will be collected by someone else.

Most of us are like children in our love of praise—we are old enough to suspect the phoney back-slappings and the windy rhetoric which is used when people are anxious to be convinced that they are the salt of the earth, but we do respond to a quiet word of appreciation from some fellow who knows what he is talking about.

I once had to investigate a dispute which had arisen between an executive and a maintenance gang and which had almost resulted in their "downing tools." When the causes of this trouble were sorted out, it was clear that they had nothing to do with rates of pay or conditions of work, but to a question of bad relations. The executive said that the men showed no enthusiasm for their work, and the men said that however much they "pulled their guts out" to finish a job on time, they never had a word of appreciation from the boss. They quoted a case in which they had gone "all out" to finish a repair job in three days, which had normally been done in five days. The outcome of their efforts was an instruction next time to finish the job in two and a half days. There is no point in labouring the merits or demerits of this case: they are sufficiently obvious. The executive thought that he was doing his best to reduce costs by "pushing" the men—the men in turn thought that their enthusiasm was being exploited. The bad feeling which developed between the two parties affected the whole of the staff in the factory. If the official had been on "man to man" terms with his staff, he would have known whether they were pulling their weight and whether a three-day repair was worthy of commendation. A word of appreciation would have cost nothing and would have gone a long way towards obtaining a repeat performance.

Managing, as I see it, is the art of inducing all the employees to push in a selected direction.

A group of second-rate men working individually and collectively towards the same end is far more likely to succeed than is a collection of brilliant individuals who, as often happens, are working against each other. The aim of management, therefore, should be to evolve a technique which will induce, and I use the word deliberately, will induce separate individuals to act in concert with others for a specific purpose. In this connection an analogy might illustrate the point I have in mind.

If we take a test-tube full of iron filings, we usually find that it has no polarity. The individual iron filings, which for our purpose we can regard as small individual magnets, are so mixed up and uncoordinated that magnetically they cancel each other out, and the collective assembly of iron filings has no magnetic characteristics at all. If now we take a permanent magnet and stroke the test-tube a few times in the same direction, it will acquire all the attributes of a bar magnet with North and South polarity and the ability to attract other filings. If

the test-tube is knocked or shaken violently, the magnetic qualities immediately disappear.

The point of this story, as you will have guessed, is that results can be obtained by stroking which are destroyed by violence.

Cynics will suggest that any move along these lines will be exploited by the men and that strong-arm methods are the only methods which will produce results. Gentleness, however, is not the same thing as weakness, and if we combine it with understanding we are equipped with the same tools as are required for any other type of skilled work.

The greatest single obstacle to progress in the manager/employee relationship has been mistrust; neither party could or would rely on the word of the other. The only way out of this difficulty must be for one party to take a chance on the other party's integrity. He will naturally do it with his eyes wide open and will not feel very enthusiastic about having another go if he is let down, but unless this type of gesture is made, and made increasingly, there can be no hope of real peace in industry. Mistakes will be made, misunderstandings will arise and the manager will often have to rely more on his judgment than on his book of rules when making his decisions. He will have to take chances, and some of them may not come off. A man who is frequently exploited is a fool, but I sometimes feel that a man who has never been exploited at all has not taken many chances, that he is a pretty hard type and, as a rule, not a very suitable choice as a manager.

This question of manager/employee relationship is worth much careful thought. When a man is promoted to a position of authority, it often takes him a long time to realize that he is not necessarily a long-neglected genius who has at last been recognized. He is liable to feel that he must in almost every way be a superior being to those under his charge and can fail to realize how large a part time and chance—or just luck, if you prefer it that way—has played in his appointment. He must in his new position be a leader whose authority is unchallenged, but in maintaining this leadership he must be aware of the difference between dignity and pomposity. Dignity is to a large extent something which will be conferred on him by his subordinates according to the way in which he does his job, rather than some quality which he consciously develops. In other words, it is something which will emerge from his relations with his staff. Pomposity, on the other hand, can be due to a vicious form of introspection in which the victim builds up a continually increasing opinion of his

own importance without allowing his assessment to be affected by the views of the outside world.

A good manager can fraternize with his staff at all levels without loss of dignity, and without disturbing the administrative set-up, providing that he is wise enough to be approachable without necessarily being accessible. There is a fundamental difference between these two expressions. The manager is approachable if he can converse freely and without self-consciousness on either side with anyone in the organization from the commissionaire or the ash-wheeler up to the most senior executives, but he should not normally be accessible for the types of complaint which the men concerned should have reported to their immediate seniors. It would be an act of disloyalty to his staff and would seriously undermine their authority if he allowed every minor complaint to by-pass the administrative machinery, and at the risk of appearing to be a bureaucrat it will often be necessary for him to insist that complaints should go "through the proper channels."

Tyranny or any ruthless form of dictatorship is, as we all know, a bad thing, but it must not be forgotten that men despise a weak boss. It is possible to be firm without being unpleasant, and the manager who insists on doing justice as he sees it and does not give way to pressure merely for the sake of appeasement is more likely to gain the respect of the men than one who is perpetually shifting his ground in order to avoid trouble.

It is my experience that if trouble has to be dealt with, it is well to grasp the nettle firmly and as soon as possible after the cause of the trouble has become apparent. Anything in the nature of criticism should be concise, straightforward and factual. Sarcasm should be avoided like the plague. Most men stand up to straightforward criticism, and at its lowest don't resent a good healthy cussing if ever such things happen, but sarcasm gets under their skin and can produce bitter resentments which do not encourage them to mend their ways. They remember the insult but forget the admonition.

In assessing those factors which can help to produce a healthy and efficient attitude of mind throughout an organization, it is difficult to overestimate the value of quick decisions. Many of the decisions we make, one might almost say the great majority of them, are no better for having been pondered over for days or weeks. The frustration and the general air of lassitude which develops among men who are waiting for a decision strengthens my belief in the wisdom of an old industrialist who said that quick decisions were essential in any

progressive business, for they made it possible for action to be taken. Even if 40 per cent of them were wrong, the net result would be progress, and in practice it would be found that the actual percentage was very much lower.

One of the surest ways of creating barriers between individuals or groups of individuals in the same organization is to encourage the practice of writing letters to the man in the next office, or worse still, of writing letters to a higher official so that he in turn can send them down to the man in the next office. There are certain matters about which letters must be written, if only to keep the records straight, but there are many other matters on which letters are frequently written which could be better dealt with by a few minutes' conversation either in a man's office or over the telephone. If men, and quite senior men, become temperamental and childish in their behaviour towards each other, as they sometimes do, the manager should make it his business to relieve these strains and stresses. It can only be done satisfactorily in my view by having a regular "get together" of the people who have to work in harmony with each other, and there is a strong case for doing this as a regular routine on, say, a weekly or a monthly basis. There is a tendency for some men, particularly in the technical ranks, to retire into their own little world of microns, milliamps and decibels and to avoid free interchange of views with, say, accountancy, secretarial and administrative groups. The fact that they tend to speak a different language from the rest of the race is apt to make them think that they do not altogether belong to it. It is the manager's business to avoid this form of sedimentation and to see that the whole conglomeration of senior officials is kept in a state of solution by regular mixing.

I often think that any business or industrial organization produces at least two main products. One is the product which it sells to the community; the other is the type of individual which is produced by the working of the organization. No man can remain unaffected by the conditions in which he spends the greater part of his waking life. In other words, the man is better or worse for his employment. If we accept this statement and consider the case of, say, a factory making cables, instead of regarding it merely as a device for producing high-grade cables, we might say that the organization should be designed to produce both high-grade men and high-grade cables. In fact, one could almost be a little whimsical and say that the factory was an organization for producing high-grade employees, and that to assist in that process the men were allowed to make cables. An organization

of this kind should be able to function very efficiently, for if it succeeded in producing high-grade employees, the cables would be certain to be good, for a high-grade employee would never produce a low-grade cable. If, however, it had concentrated merely on the production of high-grade cables, it would have been possible to achieve this result and, in the process, to produce bitter, dissatisfied and prematurely-aged employees.

Management, therefore, has at least a two-fold responsibility in producing both men and materials, and its success or failure should be measured by the quality of both those products. In regard to the production of high-grade employees, the question of welfare, with all the misunderstandings which are often associated with the term, is bound to emerge. The fundamental purpose of welfare, as I see it, is to increase a man's self-respect. If it succeeds in all other directions and fails in this, it has, in my view, failed completely. If we consider which factors affect a man's self-respect, such as appreciation of work well done or the acknowledgment of some outstanding performance, we find that it is often more difficult to apply these commendations as one comes lower down in the administrative scale, or, to put it more briefly, it is very difficult for many men to become famous in their jobs. If we try to look at the whole man, however, instead of that fraction which we meet during his working hours, we often find that he may be particularly brilliant in other fields of which we previously knew nothing. With this idea as an incentive arts and crafts exhibitions have been organized and a wealth of unsuspected talent has been brought to light. Many people, who were regarded by their colleagues as just ordinary chaps on the job, have been discovered to be brilliant artists, model makers, musicians and so on in their spare time. This new knowledge has increased our appreciation of these men, and their own self-respect, has, I am sure, been raised accordingly.

Anything which can be done to raise the self-respect of each man on the job, is worth trying, for in my view it is only in this direction that solid progress will really be made. Arts and crafts exhibitions may appear to be a complicated way of trying to produce this result, but it is at any rate a start and should bring a little nearer the day on which each man will do a first-rate job of work merely because he would be ashamed to do a bad one.

Although I have set down a number of ideas which appear to me to be reasonably sound, I realize that I am still so far from perfection that it would be blatantly egotistical of me to lay down a set of rules for

other managers to follow. I feel, however, that the reader is entitled to expect from me some sort of generalization on the subject which is drawn from my own experience, and I think I can best provide this by telling the story of the Persian philosopher and the one-string fiddle.

A Persian philosopher owned a one-string fiddle, and the peculiarity about his performance was that he played only one note. He played this note morning, noon and night for many years until his wife, a very patient woman, ventured to observe that when she had seen a fiddle played the instrument had four strings and the player's fingers moved up and down continuously. "My dear," replied the philosopher, "you do not understand. They are still searching for the note, I have found it."

The moral of this story is that every employee has found his own individual note and is apt to think that any other note is wrong. Difficulties tend to arise because all the individuals appear to have discovered different notes.

The art in good management, as I see it, is to recognize the existence of these individual notes and to organize their collective performance in such a way that the result is harmony and not discord.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH MANAGEMENT FOR EXPORT

By The Earl of Verulam, M.A., F.I.I.A., Comp.I.E.E., J.P.

The industrial responsibilities of Britain are as formidable overseas as they are at home. Their character may be different, but their nature is the same. A backward territory demands skill and organizing ability in the development of its raw materials and of its agricultural possibilities, no less than does the advancing Dominion or Colony, whose place in the world is thought at the moment only to be assured if growing manufacturing resources can be added to those that stem from the abundant reserves or ample fertility of Nature.

As an economy grows, so the "service" industries and activities begin to play their increasing part. These no less need the accumulated knowledge that go with a tradition of good management, and that tradition cannot be created in the twinkling of an eye. In the second half of the twentieth century the dictum that "Trade follows the Flag" may change to "Only Good Management keeps the Flag flying," and that of itself begs the question whether national sovereignties are going to keep their same form and meaning in the decades immediately ahead.

Britain's industrial tradition, let us not forget, is longer and richer than that of any other nation. In the field of technique our forefathers and men of the present generation have taken the lead, not once but a thousand times, in building up a record that no other corner of the globe, no other national territory, no other group of people, can approach. Britain and the British Commonwealth do well to remember that from Watt to Whittle, from Kelvin to Rutherford, from Faraday to Parsons, from Crompton and Arkwright to Ardil and Terylene, from Town's Gas and Electro-magnetic Induction to Paludrine, Penicillin and Polythene, many of the outstanding figures and the most imaginative techniques in the struggle of mind over matter have been British.

It may be true to say that, in the field of what is now somewhat

sanctimoniously called "management," we as a people have lagged behind others. There can, however, be no dispute that, in this field too, the variety of our orthodoxy, the willingness that there has been to experiment against a background of sameness, do us no discredit. And there can be few who would gainsay the statement that our future, as a people crowded on an island, as the world's merchants, as a workshop, as the inheritors of a high proportion of the world's actual and potential resources, depends on our initiative in developing our own techniques of management, in industry, commerce, mining, agriculture, and communications, on whatever the scale of the individual undertaking. There are many who believe that such techniques can and must be exported, for reasons that are partly economic, partly founded in the certain fear that, without the challenge of trial under many conditions, our ingenuity and creative inventiveness must stagnate.

In that remarkable assessment of the position of the craftsman, in the world of that day or of any day, which the Son of Sirach left in what is now the thirty-eighth chapter of the apocryphal Book of Ecclesiasticus, the following words occur in the peroration: "All these trust to their hands: and every one is wise in his work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited:.....they will maintain the state of the world, and all their desire is in the work of their craft." In the nomad or the village community, in the city-state, this rang true enough. They are not one jot or tittle less true today, even if the scale of demand and the threat of competition compel the modern producer to operate on a different scale.

Assuming that there is now no turning back from the compelling facts of the modern age, in Britain or in any of the countries for which she is directly or indirectly responsible, it must follow that progress in the directions which we believe to be forward directions must involve the application of knowledge, and of skill in the handling of people, to the problems that have to be faced, wherever and whatever they may be. That is in effect what management is.

Those who have watched engineers, many of them from Scotland, planning, developing and working the mines of the Witwatersrand, who have beheld the irrigation of the Punjab before some of it was made ineffective by the efforts of nationally-minded politicians, who have seen the steel industry of Australia or the tobacco farms of Southern Rhodesia, will know that Britain is capable of begetting or providing managers without peer, at least equal to the best from any other source. But it must be said that there are still too few of them,

too few managers, too few engineers, too few enterprisers, too few of the modern successors of those who made it possible for the second Solomon to say of the craftsmen "without these cannot a city be inhabited."

The missing factor in Britain is not one of mere numbers, any more than it is in France or Portugal or Holland or Belgium, or in any other country whose overseas responsibilities are heavy. If it be admitted that one of Britain's most urgent needs is to develop further the overseas lands to whom she is tied by history, tradition and affinity, then it will probably be readily conceded that that need can only be filled if sufficient people be available with the right qualities for the job (a job which, apart from experience and probably some technical background, calls at least for a foundation of education, a creative imagination and a balanced outlook). It were commonplace to remark that in this our standards must be the highest possible.

To the reader of this volume there is no need here to lay stress on the need for education for management, nor yet on the need for an educational background, an all-round background, sufficient to enable the individual to reach and to hold the top positions. There have always been, and always will be, many exceptions to this, but they do not prove the principle to be otherwise. Overseas, the need for every virtue of the "good manager" will be great, more especially in areas and undertakings where there has been little previous experience of industrial activity of the type or size intended.

The man born in the country concerned, who has grown up with the background of climate and people and things against which the job is to be done, will start with a heavy advantage over the newcomer. But the newcomer, if his education and his training have been right, will start with a basis of "know-how" and experience which the local man may lack. A receptive mind, a personable personality, and a straight-thinking intelligence can overcome any local difficulties. Nothing else—except local knowledge—can.

The obstacles to progress for the newcomer whose approach is not flexible are immense, insuperable perhaps. Britain cannot afford to send any but her best, if she believes that the export of management technique is part of her duty to herself and to the Commonwealth.

Some years ago the writer had occasion to call upon the newly-appointed chief engineer of the tramways in an Antipodean city that must remain nameless. The gentleman concerned had had long experience of the operation of a large tramway system on the Indian

sub-continent; the partition of India and the end of the British Raj had cost him his job. He had been fortunate to secure a new one, but right at the start of his new career he was in grave trouble, because of a certain inflexibility of approach. The city in question was one where the climate was warm, or even hot. The trams were of the type with open sides, where the conductors or "trammies" move along external running-boards, collecting their fares, the passengers sitting up to five abreast in the middle. The Chief Engineer had just issued an order, such as no doubt he had been accustomed to issue in India, to the effect that all trammies under his control would wear open-necked shirts when on duty, without ties (as many of them in fact already did). The order was harmless enough; the intention behind it clear to all, to improve the smartness of the service and to make more comfortable the lot of the hard-worked trammy; but the manner of putting it across, a series of duplicated notices on every notice-board on the system, was wrong. The common touch was lacking, the mind of the man in charge being conditioned by his previous methods in India. The tramways of that unfortunate city, within three hours of the posting of the notice, ground cumbersomely to a full stop. Those trammies who had always worn a collar and tie proposed to continue to do so, and those who always wore an open shirt came out on strike in sympathy with them.

The story is a simple one, and illustrates only an elementary aspect of man-management, but it is true and it is typical. The sword of Damocles hangs ever over those who must take and bear responsibility, and uneasy lies the head that wears a crown. The understanding of his fellow men that a locally-appointed chief engineer might have had, or the humbler approach of an outsider trained in good management, would have achieved more at less cost. But the training required, and the latent character necessary, are very hard to come by and only seldom found.

Imagination is the second quality that must be present in those whom Britain (or any country) would send abroad as managers. It might be reasoned that a good works manager, for example, needs little imagination, and if he were to be blessed with that quality he would not be a works manager. If the transfer were from one industrial area to another, in the same country or outside it, there is perhaps something to be said for this view. But when the individual is to be moved from an established industrial order, however complicated, however antiquated, to take charge of a concern newly established in a new country,

something other than the pedestrian approach is required. As Macaulay wrote, in a totally different context, "His imagination resembled the wings of an ostrich. It enabled him to run, though not to soar," so the manager who fears change or cannot stomach it. Imagination that reaches over and beyond obstacles is, of all prerequisite qualities, the one that must be present in the individual who leaves to face a new managerial assignment, in a new country, with new people.

And finally, the quality of "balance" must be latent on arrival, if not evident on departure. The man who has it is confident in his own ability, happy in his job, and convinced of the possibility of success for the venture of which he is a part. The Briton is always said to be able to settle down abroad, to be a good colonist (using that term in a very wide sense), because he has the capacity to "dig his own garden" and be content with what he has, however little it be. The stories of the Englishman putting on his dinner-jacket in the jungle, evening after evening, are an expression of this; so too are the dominant business houses of many South American and Far Eastern cities, British owned and operated, where (admittedly under conditions that trace back to the Victorian era) the Englishman has so often shown himself to have the outlook to settle in a strange country, and to become a part of it whilst determined to retire and die on English soil, and incidentally to be a first-class linguist. This is a characteristic hardly less typical perhaps of a number of other European nationalities, notably Dutch, German, Italian, Swedish and Swiss, but it is not typical of "the American" (if there is such a person) or perhaps of the Frenchman or Spaniard of today.

In short, if this quality of "balanced outlook" is present, if there be the ability to imagine and the capacity to believe, against a background of education, common sense, and fundamental all-round knowledge, then the manager sent out from Britain, with the techniques that he has learned here, can be an export of major importance to Britain and her future.

But there are some, perhaps many, who cannot accept that the export of men and management, of know-how and technique, to the British Commonwealth or to any destination, can on any account be in the best interests of this country. Is there a case to be made for, or against, this view?

The arguments against are many, and have been much repeated of late. The first is that the complex economy of Britain is a going concern, and on the whole a very successful one, which mass emigration

must destroy. In a leading article in *The Economist* (28th August, 1954) there appears the cogent comment, in reply to the suggestion that strategic implications and the nuclear bomb require such emigration: "It is asserted that it is folly to concentrate so much of the Commonwealth's industrial potential in places that would be the first and easiest targets of the hydrogen bomb. Very large segments of Britain's population and industry should therefore be moved to the overseas Commonwealth in the next fifty years, just as the Russians have moved so much of theirs behind the Urals in a much shorter period. The answer to this argument is that, unless the policy were carried out on the very largest scale, it would bring more weakness than strength. The industrial complex of the United Kingdom is one of only three or four in the world large enough and varied enough to sustain a major war effort; even so it has some deficiencies. To chip little bits off it and send them to the ends of the earth would merely increase its weakness without creating a correspondingly integrated complex elsewhere—even if it were politically possible for all the bits and pieces to be reassembled in one country. For the policy of strategic removal to make sense would require the removal of at least a score of million people and thousands of millions of pounds worth of fixed capital. This simply could not be done in a democracy."

No less insoluble are the problems of time and place. To move plant and people, to reassemble them in a strange environment in another climate, to shift the household goods and at least a few of the existing associations and leisure activities, must unavoidably mean a great loss of production, and probably of skill, during the move, over a period of time much longer, in fact, in retrospect and indeed in prospect, than any competitive industry could face. The financial commitments involved, for the individual concern, for the town or village, for the family and for the nation, are indeed—as *The Economist* adumbrates—too formidable to be considered.

The case in favour of continuing migration, on a more modest scale and without disrupting the home base, is a stronger one and one that the British people have carried out, spasmodically but successfully, since the days of Elizabeth I. Without such sustained emigration the British Commonwealth (in its present evolving form or in any other garb) may well not be able to survive. The development of resources depends upon it. The establishment of new industries, secondary industries and service occupations, in any growing country, demands it. Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the Central African Federation

are already doing it, but drawing their human material and their new resources by no means only from Britain; they see the process not as a means of relieving Britain or any other country of excess population, but as the only way to develop their own potential and to expand their own economy and their own national sovereign entity.

Against such a background the export of management, men and technique from Britain can play a part of critical importance. Existing concerns in Britain can spread their interests, their activities and their good name, in new fields. New enterprise can flourish abroad perhaps more easily, especially if the emigrant concerned finds his scope in Britain limited by a host of restrictive factors, real or imagined. The transfer of technique brings new markets for the specialized production of the older manufacturing centre, and possibly royalties in return for design, experience and know-how. And lastly, and by no means least significant, there is a trend to buy British plant where British methods are established; in other words, trade in capital goods very often follows the migrant, especially when the migrant is also armed with the tools and technique of good management.

The food industries of Switzerland might be taken as an example illustrative of these trends. A very small country, of which a quarter is wholly unproductive and more than half not available to agriculture (if we exclude forestry), has none the less built up for itself a dominant position throughout the western world in the production and sale of food products of a specialized nature. The origin of these achievements can be traced back in almost every case to the needs of a limited home market that has always put quality before all else, and the ability of a hard-working people to solve the problems of that home market (with its very limited indigenous sources of production) in a manner that has in the long run proved acceptable not only at home but much further afield. Condensed milk, condensed cream, powdered milk, powdered coffee, chocolate-flavoured milk drinks, chocolate, milk chocolate, processed cheese, dried soups, and many more, are now manufactured in every corner of the globe, bearing one of several famous Swiss names, very often sending royalties and dividends back to that tiny, inland country, with almost no raw materials and no sea-board, which gave birth to the idea. In so doing, and in developing it, Switzerland probably supplied the specialized machines and sometimes the skilled managers and operatives, but otherwise seems to remain demurely aloof—'twixt Rhine and Rhône, 'twixt Po and Inn.

Britain has achieved, and will continue to achieve, the same results,

in the same and other fields, but on the larger scale that her weightier industrial stature merits. It is already commonplace to find speakers and writers who aver (with reason) that we must "live by our brains," that "ideas are the most important raw material of industry," and that "quality and specialization are the keys to our economic future." These sentiments are true enough; the Swiss, and the Swedes and the Dutch, have held them to be true, and have practised them for so long, that they have become a part of their national outlook. For us in Britain the blessing of cheap coal has brought with it, in so many directions, the curse of complacency, which we occasionally, as in the present post-war period, contrive to throw off with a vigour that astounds ourselves and our competitors.

The sustained development of our heritage overseas holds the key to our future; there can be little doubt of this. Mass migration of men and management is probably neither practical nor desirable, for the reasons given, and for others that need not concern us here. But the sustained migration of management and men, of management sometimes without men, of management technique even without managers, is a service that we can and must render to the world, both the parts of it that are coloured pink in British atlases and others.

This sustained migration can carry with it not only the means of development for the overseas country but also the living link that can continue to keep the Commonwealth alive, and in Commonwealth and foreign countries can continue to nourish what has been called "the propensity to buy British."

Sustained migration does not drain the home base of its strength or of its human resources at a rate that cannot be made good, but it does enable a new territory to grow without indigestion at a speed that it can afford. It brings old skills into new lands and, more important still, it brings standards of workmanship and management which in so many fields take decades to acquire.

The export of managerial ability, and it is known only too well that there is still not enough of it available in Britain, not only makes possible the sustained growth of new territories all over the world, not only means that new concerns so managed look to Britain for supplies of machinery and know-how, but also that Britain more urgently than ever must needs increase her own standards of production technique and man-management, to make good the loss and to create the resources that are not yet there. She must apply herself ever more urgently to the teaching, training, and educating of the new generation of men for

the upper and middle grades of industry at home and abroad. The pressure of demand for management education—part-time, full-time, spare-time, by course or by conference, on the shop floor and in the office—is nationally the key to the industrial future, not only of Britain but also of the countries for which she is responsible, and of those with whom she is most closely linked overseas.

As this need becomes recognized, and as the sustained trend to transfer experienced men overseas grows, so must the importance of the reverse traffic be assessed and probably accelerated. From British countries abroad and from foreign countries to which Britain exports, or hopes to export, the flow of management students to this country must be stimulated. The effect on the individual and the concern that he represents, on the outlook of both, on the understanding of British methods and British plant, is worth while out of proportion to the cost and the trouble of organizing it. There are already official and semi-official schemes in progress to facilitate such training in this country. A number of the leading undertakings and groups in the heavy mechanical and electrical engineering industry have always appreciated the long-term value of training their customers' engineers in their own works, and very often of exporting engineers to their customers. The F.B.I. sponsors on a national scale a scheme designed to achieve similar ends. Officially and unofficially the need is however very far from being filled, and indeed is often not even appreciated by those in authority.

The isolation of living in a country not yet industrialized, and possibly far removed from industrial centres, means that the knowledge of those who know seems overwhelmingly more authoritative than that same knowledge would be in countries more sophisticated industrially or commercially. The source of acquisition of that knowledge is in consequence all the more important. This has long been realized by, for example, many German industrial concerns, and by the Swiss Government in its creation and support of the Federal Technical High School at Zürich (which is in some senses a State University that also throws wide open its doors to high-grade students from abroad), and by various institutions and industries in France, Holland and Sweden, no less than in the United States of America. The bread cast upon the waters by these undertakings is found again, after many days and for many years, in the form of enquiries, orders and goodwill.

These words are not intended to imply that Britain has done nothing in this respect, or that others have done more. Britain has achieved

more than any other country in making available her know-how, her technique, and her methods to the world, but the process cannot stop and may even have to be accelerated, with emphasis on management no less than on engineering and manufacturing procedures. It is not to belittle what has been done to say that there exists a firm place, in the future national hierarchy of industry, for a twentieth-century Cecil Rhodes, supported by firms and by Government, who would make possible an increasing flow of men and women from overseas to study both management and engineering in this country. (In passing, we may well remember that the subsequent achievements of Rhodes were made possible by his initial practice as a skilled, imaginative and successful manager at Kimberley.)

In conclusion, Britain—the island economy and the pioneer of the Industrial Revolution—probably cannot, and should not seek to, afford the export of men and machines in the grand manner that some would advocate, or else she might only achieve the weakening of her own strength without the establishment of either one or several comparable, integrated, economies abroad. *The Economist,* in the article already quoted, states specifically the economic case against mass emigration in these words: "The second argument in favour of mass emigration is supposed to be economic; it is based on the fact that Britain cannot feed herself, and on the fear that in the long run the terms of trade will become less rather than more favourable. This forecast cannot be proved; even if it could those who support this theory ignore the fact that British emigrants do not now go overseas to grow food for Britain. They did so when there was too much food already; but now they go to work in industries that compete with British industries, often behind tariff walls, and they will eat more and more of the food that once was exported to Britain. Their emigration may well reduce the volume of Britain's industrial exports quite as much as the need for imports of food, leaving the balance worse than it was." This damning presentation of the problem, in an important article, does not advocate the writing-off of the British Commonwealth and Empire, nor does it condemn the building of it up.

The alternatives remaining would appear to be twofold. Either the continuance of haphazard emigration, with its upward surges from time to time in certain directions, and its listless drift at others, or else the more positive encouragement of a sustained flow of migration from Britain, planned and carried out with the co-operation of the receiving countries, side by side with an intensive effort (for which Britain must

herself be mainly responsible) to export production and management techniques. This may involve the export of men, not necessarily all young men, as a capital asset of the highest value, more valuable than automatic looms or diesel locomotives or fighter aircraft, in the belief that they in their turn will not only settle but will also assure for the rest of their working days, and beyond, a precious and invisible link with suppliers and customers in this country. It must also involve the training in Britain of key men from abroad, from industry, public works, commerce, mining and shipping, in the use of British plant and the adoption of British methods. Such graduates of management, even more than their engineering counterparts, may well earn their weight in gold many times over, not, possibly, for the undertaking that trained them over here, but in the paramount economy of the nation and the world.

SECTION II

THE IMPACT OF SCIENCE ON MANAGEMENT

CHAPTER IV

A COMPARISON OF THE SCIENTIST AND THE ARTS GRADUATE IN THE FIELD OF MANAGEMENT

By THE EARL OF HALSBURY, B.Sc., F.R.I.C., F.INST.P.

A HUMAN, social or historical situation is inevitably richer in content than verbal analysis can display. The reality is a tangled skein from which analysis extracts a few threads each exhibiting a causal nexus between its parts. One thus reaches truth, but never the truth which is too complex to be apprehended as a whole.

When writing of educational matters it is well to bear this in mind and to review a few alternative threads in the skein before selecting one for analysis.

How does one view education, for example? Prospectively or retrospectively? The graduate aged twenty-one, having completed a three-year course after leaving school at eighteen, may say, "This I have learned and thus will I apply." The chairman of a company retiring aged sixty-five may say, "Thus have I wrought, but not so did I learn." Each of them may be right or wrong in his own fashion.

Secondly, it is well to ask, "Of whom are we talking?" A future chairman, managing director, general manager, departmental manager or foreman? For their functional differences will entail maturation at different ages. The chairman, reaching the peak of his development in the middle fifties, can afford to regard his activities in the thirties as part of a period of extended training and development; not so the departmental manager, who must be fully functional at an earlier age. Yet the future chairman may at some time have been a departmental manager. What then distinguished him from his apparent peers, and how did he know, if he did know, that what for them was a functional limit was for him but a part of his training for a later maturity? Any functional activity, it seems, is a variable blend of application and education: application of what has been learned previously in a training period, and education for some future situation in which lessons that

have been learned will be applied. The individual's capacity to learn provides the component of variability.

Thirdly, what is our ideal? There are many such, all equally legitimate, and each capable of playing a creative role as the inspiration for a period of training. The specialist ideal is legitimate, but only one of many. We may caricature the specialist as a man who learns more and more about less and less until he knows everything about nothing, but we cannot do without him for all that. His counterpart, the man who knows less and less about more and more till he finally knows nothing about everything, is a caricature of yet another valuable type. Other ideals seek to realize development on the rational plane, and others again on the intuitive; there is no end to them.

Seen against such a background, the differences between arts and technological graduates aged twenty-one appear somewhat trivial compared with what they have in common. The most outstanding resemblance is that they are both very young and that the greater part of their potential training stretches thirty or forty years into the future. Of this extended period, only a part will be available to them, since their individual capacities for prolonged mental growth will impose a limitation on their ability to use it all. This will ultimately prove a far greater difference between them than any imposed by the nature of their studies at a university or training college.

Nevertheless, every task accomplished conditions the mind in its approach to whatever task succeeds, and it must therefore be conceded that small differences established early on in life may act as the puff of wind which carries a raindrop to one side or the other of a watershed and thence to oceans separated by a continent. It is only in this sense that the arts graduate and the technological graduate should be thought of as widely differing. Each will leave the university with one set of attitudes and values relatively developed and a corresponding set relatively undeveloped. Thereafter, circumstances may play an important part in either emphasizing or reducing the contrast. Circumstances, however, are within reasonable limits under our control. To this extent therefore, it lies within our power to make of both arts and science graduates, broadly, what we please. The only intrinsic limit on either type is determined by their capacity for future growth and development. In particular there is no reason why scientists and technologists should not play their full part in management.

Why then is it widely argued that scientists and technologists are on balance disappointing candidates for managerial positions? The

present chapter has been commissioned to refute such arguments; it would not have been so commissioned if a refutation were felt to be unnecessary; a serious rebuttal is accordingly required.

A situation which engenders adverse criticism frequently transpires, on analysis, to be merely what one would suppose it to be in the absence of any precautions to render it otherwise. The situation under discussion seems to be of this type; the only cause for surprise is that the critics allow themselves to be surprised by it.

Arts graduates leave the university with a slight initial advantage over technological graduates as candidates for managerial positions. The type of situation that they have studied in taking a degree in law or history more closely resembles that which will be encountered at management levels in a commercial undertaking than the situations relating to chemical and physical forces studied by science graduates; the essays they have had to write while studying literature, classics or modern languages more nearly resemble the sort of report called for in a commercial undertaking than do the compressed and formalized jargons of technology.

This small initial advantage will automatically tend to grow unless steps are taken to rectify it in the technologist's favour. As few such steps are taken, the advantage may indeed grow; the arts graduates may be given progressively more promising opportunities to exploit their advantages and obtain promotion on making a suitable response, while the technologists may fall behindhand in the race and be represented ever more thinly as the ladder of promotion is scaled. Seeing this, ambitious character types avoid technological studies and a vicious spiral is created. The final result may issue in a dangerously lopsided management structure. The extent to which this is realized in practice is outside the scope of the present chapter.

Any advantage which the arts graduate may have cannot at first be very great, since it can derive at most from the period elapsing between passing school certificate and graduation: say, five years. Much of the effort expended during this five-year period will have been devoted to those activities of note-taking and memorising which are common to all curricula. Only a proportion of the five years can be argued to represent the acquisition of knowledge and insight of a character likely to produce the small initial lead which the arts man may have over the technologist. Regarding history as a subject which is generally conceded to have a widening effect on the mental horizon, it is difficult to believe that a two- or three-year course of reading

history in the evenings after graduation could fail to provide the technologist with those intangibilia which give the arts graduate his small initial advantage as a candidate.

It has been said that while science graduates know little of the arts and regret it, arts students know little of science and are glad of it. In fact, many science students do follow such self-imposed courses as indicated above and rectify whatever omissions in their general education they feel themselves to suffer from. Apart from a few pioneer attempts to include a sketchy outline of the arts and humanities as appendixes to a science course, little corporate effort is made to help this process, and the scientist who wishes to broaden his education in the above way must plough a rather lonely furrow. Many do so, probably in proportion to the leisure they have available after graduation, with the result that scientists and technologists in academic employment soon become indistinguishable in general breadth of knowledge from their colleagues who have graduated through the humanities.

Pioneer attempts are also being made to provide arts graduates with a cognate training in elementary science, though these receive little publicity, and it is rare to encounter a young man with an arts degree prepared to spend two or three years in systematic spare-time study of the sciences. In the sense that the scientist and technologist is much more aware of his deficiencies and readier to rectify them than the arts student, he is more promising material for the training of good all-rounders than the latter. By contrast, there is a certain type of graduate in the humanities who seems to regard impotence in the face of a puncture or a blown fuse as a source of pride and as a qualification for high employment. Individuals may regard this form of *hubris* as worth paying for, but it seems unlikely that the nation as a whole can afford it indefinitely.

These preliminary considerations are necessary in order to establish that the descriptions which follow are little more than common-sense statements of such facts of the case as could be predicted without much difficulty. They are not grounds for criticism or excuses for condescension.

Considering first the science or technological student, it seems evident that his degree involves a lot more sheer hard work than any corresponding course in the humanities. The burden on the memory alone of such subjects as organic chemistry is a severe one. Moreover, answers to examination questions on topics such as mathematical

physics or stress analysis in the engineering field cannot be disposed of by writing round the subject and substituting elegance of expression for real mastery of its matter. The range of performance within which candidates can maintain themselves between failure and full marks is a narrow one. Preparation for examinations of this character accordingly entails hard study, much of it rather dull. A considerable portion of the time available is taken up with acquiring manual and instrumental skills. A professional jargon has also to be learned in which results are recorded in highly-condensed and brief form. Regarded as mental training, science courses are models of rigorous deduction based on definite hypotheses verifiable in terms of fact. They may afford no insight into the intuitive approach to problems where solutions must be obtained on a basis of insufficient or conflicting evidence because they are required as a basis for action. On the completion of such a course the young graduate seems to need a period of relaxation from the narrow confines of his subject. Should he obtain academic employment, leisure will be available as the basis thereof. In industrial employment he will be to some extent at the mercy of his employer. An employer who engages him as a specialist and then forces him into an ever-narrowing range of specialization has no valid grounds for complaining of the inevitable result. In this process he can be assured of the unconscious co-operation of the trainee. Men read classics, history, law or languages not necessarily with a view to becoming archaeologists, librarians, judges, or interpreters for travel agencies, but also for the sake of the adjustment in social and cultural perspective which the study of such subjects brings about. The technological undergraduates, however, study, let us say, engineering solely with the intention of becoming professional engineers, and every subsequent opportunity to specialize more deeply in some narrow branch of the subject will be, not shunned, but welcomed. Any spare-time leisure available for study after graduation is, therefore, as likely to be earmarked for further specialization as for general reading.

Everything accordingly conspires to turn a narrow career into a narrower one. Employers seem curiously indifferent to their responsibilities equally with their self-interest in this regard. Being genuinely willing to promote technologists and scientists to high-level positions in management or on boards of directors, they are puzzled and disappointed to find a lack of suitable candidates for the appointments and promotions they have in mind; from disappointment they relapse into criticism of the engineer or the scientist in his professional role of

specialist, or else of the university course which he followed (fifteen or twenty years ago!). It is clear, however, that the precise nature of the course which a student follows at a university from eighteen to twenty-one cannot be the principal factor in determining his suitability for promotion to general manager of his company twenty years later. Whatever happens to him by way of training in the intervening years must be of far greater importance, and if in fact the events of these years are such as to spoil him rather than train him for management, the result ought not to be a cause for surprise. That many technologists rise above these circumstances is an indication that the problem cannot be a very severe one since they are able to do so spontaneously, not only with little or no encouragement but in the face of environmental obstacles. With but a little propaganda adjoined to a university curriculum and a little sympathy from employers in helping to realize its aims, a large adjustment could be effected for no very great expenditure of time and trouble. Centres of learning need to emphasize more explicitly to their students that the course of their studies has been such as to develop one part of their natures precociously to the neglect of other parts. Employers need to encourage their technological newcomers by providing opportunities for study designed to broaden rather than narrow their outlooks. Such a sympathetic approach could take the form of insisting that all specialist study in the technological field must be done in the employer's time so as to leave leisure for private studies in other fields during whatever spare time the employee has available for it.

It is generally agreed that some men possess leadership qualities which are difficult to define but easy to recognize: a willingness to take decisions involving a risk element based on a correct, but intuitive, assessment of a situation; a willingness to delegate authority to subordinates and yet somehow both control them and leave them free simultaneously; and so on. Men with these qualities are usually ambitious and reasonably far-sighted; far-sighted enough anyway not to spend three years at their universities reading hard subjects unlikely to carry them up to a managing director's chair. Such men customarily take degrees in, say, history or economics, not intending to practise in these subjects professionally but as part of a social and educational career pattern; it is important that a proportion of them should take technological degrees for the same reason. In this respect American practice appears to be in sharp contrast with British, inasmuch as students are prepared to study engineering subjects not as foundations

for a career in engineering but as foundations for a career—any career.

The years spent at a university occupy only a brief period from about eighteen to about twenty-one; the importance of the twenty years following thereafter has been noted. No mention has so far been made of the years prior to becoming an undergraduate and the effect of the home background on future managerial qualification, though this background is a factor of major importance, particularly in the context of the foregoing remarks.

Controversy about the merits of the technologist and the arts graduate only too frequently compares students of widely different social backgrounds, the arts man being unconsciously represented as a typical graduate from Oxbridge with a family background provided by parental membership of the successful professional classes, whereas the technologist is pictured as graduating from, say, Redbrick with a background derived from some level or other of the very wide spectrum to be found in industry. The comparison is therefore a false one and confuses social with educational factors. Where arts and science graduates are compared on the basis of selection from a common social environment, the differences between them are seen to be relatively small. The great majority of mankind live among and marry into the particular social group wherein they are established by birth, and take their environment for granted. If their environment is that of the successful professional class, success and the occupancy of a managerial position will be one of the expectations that they take for granted. The self-confidence which this produces contributes an important component of the blend of character qualities which earn promotion. The centring of the educational and social pattern of this group around degrees in the humanities accordingly produces a confusion between symptoms and cause; success in managerial positions is thus falsely attributed to the educational rather than to the social factors concerned.

Study of the limitations which circumstances tend to impose upon the technologist requires a counterpart analysis of the limitations which a cognate set of circumstances impose on the arts graduate who in later years finds himself in control of an enterprise as to whose technical functioning he possesses no clue.

Whereas the technologist deals primarily with machines and materials, his activities cover only one aspect of commercial life. Another such aspect is concerned with dealing with people and situations; this is the

field in which the arts graduate tends to have the small initial advantage referred to earlier.

There is a theory, dangerous because it is at least partly true, that a managerial ability to manipulate people and situations is all that is required at the topmost policy-making levels which are not concerned about technical matters since directors and boards act on advice given by professional employees or consultants. The weakness of this theory is unlikely to be accepted by its proponents unless the very large measure of truth which it contains is first understood and conceded. It is necessary to distinguish between management and policy-making. On one view the theory is broadly true of the former and broadly false of the latter. The integration of an enterprise which entails dealing with machines and interests by one group, and people and situations by another, requires that representatives of each should meet at the top. So long as the lower levels are regarded as models of the whole, however, this meeting is required at all of them; on this view the theory is only half true of every level. Whether the theory is true of the part or half true of the whole thus depends on whether policy-making is regarded as permeating the enterprise or occurring in isolation at but one single level, the topmost. A correct understanding of this cannot be attained if industry is regarded as a homogeneous social activity conforming to a single pattern. So long as industry is carried on for profit, policy-making must be concerned mainly with those activities which have power to affect the making of profits. There are three broad fields in which this control may require to be exercised —buying, converting and marketing; industries may differ widely according as to whether the control of their profits is concentrated in one of these activities or distributed over all of them.

An enterprise engaged on marketing bottled soda water, for instance, would be working with materials the cost of which would amount only to a small proportion of the selling price. Its success would depend much more on its marketing ability, advertising campaigns, distributing organization, credit policy, arrangements for return of empties, and so on, than upon technical innovation, though progress in bottle manufacture and bottling machinery would give the technologist some scope, except in so far as these supplies were provided by independent contractors, as might easily be the case.

By contrast with this state of affairs a pharmaceutical house would find the controllable sources of its profits more evenly distributed between conversion and marketing than in the former example,

inasmuch as its commercial success would turn upon the ability of its chemists and engineers to manufacture new drugs in pace with the discoveries of medical science originating in hospitals and universities.

Further contrast is found in the gramophone record industry the technological characteristics of which have tended to liquefy once per generation and then congeal for a further long period. In the intervals between technological revolutions, commercial success is strongly dependent upon buying—the buying of popular artistes whose selection constitutes the competitive element in a business whose products are made by more or less standard methods and sold at a limited number of standard prices.

Again, the industries whose conversion operations are susceptible to policy control divide rather sharply into those which, like the chemical industry, design their own conversion equipment and those which, like the textile industry, purchase their machinery from independent suppliers. In the latter case the issues which give scope for policy control centre on the most economic rate of replacement and renewal, and these are matters upon which the accountant has more to say than the engineers.

It would be unnatural to suppose that the boards of directors most suitable for the above very widely-differing patterns of industrial and commercial activity should have a uniform composition independent of the type-activities whose policies they are responsible for formulating. Thus an absence of technologists on a board might be readily acceptable in one industry and highly objectionable in another.

The above somewhat dispassionate analysis omits one substantial danger. A board of commercial directors with a background of nothing but the humanities might in fact be a bad judge of whether the scope for its policy-making did or did not extend to technical matters, and while its judgment at one period of time might be right, it might at some other period be wrong. It would in these circumstances prove to be of the wrong composition to meet a technical crisis which it had not foreseen and correspondingly slow in reacting to the situation produced thereby.

A situation in which a board has no technological or scientific member at all is therefore a potentially dangerous one, since if the technologist is not essential as an adviser, he is at least essential as a precaution against failing to seek advice. The good health of industry accordingly requires a minimum representation of technology on policy-making boards somewhat greater than zero.

The theory that if a man is good at dealing with people and situations he can in all specialist subjects act on advice which he does not need to understand, is therefore a dangerous one. It is at best only wholly true of the part or partly true of the whole; applied in inappropriate circumstances it can be disastrous. Fortunately the majority of its proponents do not really believe in it or mean what they say. What they mean is nearly always something rather different. Knowledge of specialist subjects may be acquired at either of two different levels of understanding: the ability to advise, and the ability to listen to advice intelligently. The degree of understanding necessary to listen intelligently to advice is not zero merely because it is of a lower order than that required to express an independent opinion.

The need for a minimum level of understanding in order to be capable of accepting advice becomes obvious once it is realized that, specialist advice can rarely be given in completely unqualified form. It is only by a man who understands the subject that a specialist can be so clearly briefed as to permit him to answer "yes" or "no" to a question in unqualified terms. The less a man knows of a subject the less able will he be to formulate his questions in terms acceptable to his advisers, and the more will their answers tend to become essays which it will be necessary for him to read and understand. The idea that a man can formulate policy on advice he does not remotely understand is fictional. If he really did not understand the subject, so far from acting on the advice, he could not even obtain it, through inability to explain to the expert what it was that he wanted to know.

One danger arising from such an empty relationship between a man and his adviser is realized when a question which by chance makes sense is addressed to the expert. Sticking to his brief, the latter answers the question unambiguously but, through imputing its intelligibility to knowledge rather than chance, fails to add the answers to certain other questions which ought to have been asked simultaneously. Wrong policy may thus be formed.

Suppose for example that the general manager of a radio-receiver business is offered a process for "printing" radio circuits instead of soldering wires in place according to the usual method of construction. He asks his accountant and his engineer for a comparison of costs of wiring by the two methods and receives an answer to the question he has asked. It discloses that there is little advantage in cost of wiring by the method of printing circuits, and he accordingly formulates a policy of adhering to conventional techniques. He has omitted,

however, to add "cost of inspection" to "cost of wiring" and has not included "influence on the overall design of receivers implicit in the new wiring techniques" as an item in the brief to his experts. Acceptance of the theory under discussion involves believing that the above situation need never arise, although it is known to be the commonest source of faulty assessment; that people familiar with radio receivers may allow such mistakes to be made, but that a general manager unable to distinguish between a radio receiver and a sewing machine would never do so provided he was good enough at handling people and situations!

A man who is good at dealing with people and situations will not allow himself to get involved in arguments of a specialist character beyond the point where his level of understanding is transcended. In this form the theory is sound, and such is the form in which it is in practice applied. Just as many scientists and technologists are at pains to broaden the basis of their formal education by private reading and study, so many with an arts background are at pains to try and understand the techniques used in the industries in which they are engaged. In this way both types meet eventually in the board room, having acquired a sympathetic understanding of one another's problems and an appreciation of one another's qualities.

The initial asymmetry between the types does, however, produce certain consequences which are worth recording. The technologist who broadens his experience probably does so of set policy fairly early in his career and can expand his interest in the universities without deserting the vocabulary of everyday life. The arts graduate will in many cases encounter the limitations upon his understanding as an embarrassment occurring relatively later in life when new learning is not so readily acquired and will find that deepening his knowledge of science must be effected in terms of an unfamiliar vocabulary. Legal terms such as "pleading" or "indictment" or "interrogatory" are either common to both legal and everyday parlances, or have invaded one from the other or at the least contain some clue to their meaning based upon a likely derivation. Technological terms such as "entropy," "valency," or "osmosis" have no links with popular usage and provide no clue as to their meaning. Even the Greek scholar who knows what "kata" and "lysis" mean would derive but little help from his knowledge in attempting to give the meaning of the combination "catalysis" in the context of a chemical process. Contrast between the types thus tends to perpetuate itself. The technologist with the inclination towards

self-broadening finds that circumstances frustrate his inclination and deprive him of opportunity at the age when it would be most valuable. The arts graduate to whom circumstances frequently present leisure and opportunity during the impressionable phase of life, finds himself during that period lacking in inclination. Thus each becomes in the final issue what he permits the variables of personal temperament and circumstances to make of him, with the result that a spectrum of relatively more and relatively less successful types is distributed throughout industry. From this range of types management levels and boards of directors have to be staffed and filled.

"There is no more pathetic spectacle in the world than the badly educated specialist" said Lord Waverley in the House of Lords debate on science and industry of 1952. The syndrome of failure differs markedly accordingly as one considers the one type or the other. The spectacle of the overspecialized technologist is frequently drawn in unsympathetic terms: unable to distinguish the trees from the wood, unable to present his case in convincingly simple terms, free of jargon on the one hand or unnecessary detail on the other, incapable of facing the need for a decision on insufficient evidence however urgently called for by circumstances, and paralysed by the inability to find a sound intellectual basis for calling "heads" rather than "tails" on the spin of a coin! The reverse of the medal of which the above caricature is the obverse is less frequently drawn, but for good measure let it be recorded for comparison: that of the arts man who from dealing with people and situations drifts into an incapacity for handling situations unless they are manipulated for him by other people, surrounded by advisers whom he can neither understand on the one hand nor trust on the other, incapable of distinguishing the genuine expert from the charlatan and therefore badly advised on all issues, and so narrowly specialized by a lifetime's abandonment to intuition that appreciation of the simplest rational argument has become a mental effort beyond his power.

These, of course, are caricatures, "Aunt Sallies" set up to be knocked down. Behind every caricature, however, there lies a reality of which it is the distortion, and types approximating to the foregoing pictures in greater or lesser degree undoubtedly exist. The early established dissymmetry of the types exercises a protracted influence in the sphere of degeneration equally with that of advancement. The nature of technical work tends to delineate the above faults should they exist in an engineer, and not only to bar him from managerial promotion but from success in his profession as well. The nature of commercial

activities tends to mask the corresponding faults in the arts man, and situations may arise where he may still be ascending the ladder of promotion or even have reached board level before it is apparent that he is in fact degenerating.

Rebuttal of the case against the scientist or technologist in management is thus seen to be impossible as it appears on analysis that there is no case to rebut. Regarded functionally he is no different from his neighbour in as much as his fitness or unfitness for management depends upon his personal qualities of character which in turn depend neither on the temperament which launched him into sciences or engineering on the one hand nor on the training which he received in those disciplines on the other.

The dice, however, are loaded somewhat heavily against his being given an initial opportunity equal to that of the arts graduate to exploit and develop his qualities of character at an impressionable age. This dissymmetry exerts a progressive and cumulative effect and accounts for the belief that scientists and engineers are disappointing candidates for managerial promotions. Their initial disadvantage is, however, a small one and could be rectified or reversed with but comparatively little effort. The large number who spontaneously and unassisted achieve that rectification on their own initiative suggests that with a little sympathetic attention thereto the problem would largely disappear.

CHAPTER V

WORKING WITH THE EXPERT[1]

By Sir John Maud, G.C.B., C.B.E.

You remember "points" rationing in the war? We had a certain number of "points" each month, which we could spend on tinned salmon, or rice, or even prunes. The system was generally voted a success, I think. But before the Minister of Food decided to introduce it, there was a splintering row among his expert advisers. Almost all of them were dead against the new idea. The rationing experts and the expert businessmen all for various reasons foresaw chaos. Only one or two experts of another kind—economists—persisted in claiming that the scheme could be made to work. I remember the climax. "Professor," says the expert grocer to the poor economist, "imagine yourself behind the counter. The customer hands over his ration book. You cut out the paper 'points.' Where do you put them?" "Well," says the economist, on the spur of the moment, "you might have one of those spikes on the counter that a cashier uses for keeping bills together, and spear the paper points on that." "Oh no, Professor," came the shocked reply, "don't say that. There would be blood on the butter." For the moment, that seemed the end of the affair: the practical man of business had finally routed the long-haired theorist. But in the end the Minister of Food thought otherwise—and he was right.

There you have the model: experts of several kinds concerting, on equal terms with one another, to solve a single problem. No counting of heads but decision by one man after everyone has had his say—by one man who has taken the trouble to understand the various arguments for himself and who accepts total responsibility for the decision.

I often think happily of that episode—especially when people tell us, as they often do, that nowadays we are the slaves of the expert, and if we prize freedom what we ought to be seeking are means of escape

[1] This contribution was broadcast as a talk on the B.B.C. Home Service on 1st November, 1953, at 9.15 p.m.

from the expert, not means of working with him. You know the way the argument runs. Life is now so complicated that it is divided into water-tight compartments—like villas in a suburban dormitory. The walls between—the walls separating the scientist, the engineer, the artist, from each other and from you and me—are more or less impenetrable. And inside each compartment the expert is sovereign.

Let me say at once that I believe that is largely nonsense. It has certainly not been my experience, either in private life or at work, that specialists and non-specialists cannot understand each other or work together on equal terms. And if I had to make a bold generalization, I should claim that in this country common sense is sovereign, rather than any expert.

There is no problem (I think everyone would agree) when you want the expert to run the show—when, for example, your Amateur Dramatic Society has the luck to find a professional to produce the play for you. In fact, working with professionals, in that sort of way, gives us amateurs far and away our best chance of getting some real idea of professional standards—whether in acting or music or any other art.

Nor is there much of a problem when you want your tooth to stop aching or your appendix removed, or you find yourself exclaiming (with Mr. Ogden Nash)—

> Middle-aged life is merry, and I love to lead it;
> But there comes a day when your eyes are all right but your arm isn't long enough to hold the telephone book where you can read it.

The oculist or the doctor or the dentist is an expert whom either you decide ***not*** to use (because you prefer to deal with the pain yourself) or you decide to use—and if so, unreservedly deliver yourself into his hands. No, the expert only becomes a real problem when you need his help but you don't quite know what you want the result of his help to be—and you are therefore *not* prepared to leave him in charge. Take education, for example. I know I cannot do without the help of school mistresses in bringing up my children (and I am most grateful for it), but I am certainly not prepared to leave my children's education entirely to any expert. I think we feel the same sort of reluctance when there is any question of taste, or any question of right and wrong—a political question, for example. But even here, in politics, it seems to me that we British have a better chance than most people nowadays of having the best of both worlds: of getting the benefit (that is to say) of the skill that is only acquired by specializing on one job continuously,

and the benefit of being able to change things when you want a change. Let me come back to that blood-on-the-butter incident.

In each Department of Government you find specialists—whether it is food or housing or foreign affairs—and none of these officials is chucked out (as some of them would be in the United States) when there is a change of Government from one party to another. But the person who works with them and decides policy—whether to accept, or not accept, the risk of blood on the butter—is a politician, and he can be changed. So we get the advantage of continuity and change—by making our Civil Servants as permanent as our Ministers are transitory.

All the same, it may happen that after you have been a permanent Civil Servant in one Department for some years, you are asked to go to another one. (This happened to me.) If so, some of your friends may be puzzled and say: "Well, I always suspected that Civil Servants did nothing but push papers around, and this proves it. It's because administrators are concerned only with paper and not with people or real things, that it makes no difference what Department they work in."

Some administrators would agree with that conclusion. Years ago (I am told) a young man started work in the Board of Education, and at his first interview with the Permanent Secretary he was asked why he had chosen that particular Department. "Because, sir," he innocently replied, "I am very much interested in education." "Then this is no place for you," said the Permanent Secretary. "Here we are not concerned with education; we only administer the Education Acts."

Well, I disagree. You cannot separate administration from what you administer, and it is quite wrong to try. No doubt you can never hope to become really expert in any of the special subjects dealt with by the Department. But you can at least go and see the people concerned, on the spot—school-mistresses, or gas-works managers, or coal-miners. You can eat and drink with them. You can even seize an occasional chance at the week-end of playing cricket with them. And of course you can read what they write about their specialities. Having, when you began, not the ghost of an idea what an open-cycle peat-burning gas-turbine might look or smell like, you suddenly find you cannot wait to hear how many hours its first continuous run has lasted. You will even find (if your luck holds) a kindly atom king, who will deprive you once for all of the excuse that atomic energy is so mysterious that you need not bother to try and understand that.

Now it is true that some experts are quite impossible to work with. The one-note man—for example—who will not adapt his technique to help you find another way round a difficult point when you have to tell him that his way round will not do. I have come across such people myself—architects, for example, who when you said "school" could only think of a solid, Gothic, brick-consuming St. Trinian's, and who could not think what you meant when you told them they were quite free to forget convention and use their own wits. They were like the legendary artist who only painted boats and not horses: when a customer insisted (we are told) that he do a picture of his horse, the painter said: "Well, O.K. But it's gonna look like a boat."

The fact is that what chiefly determines the influence of an expert is his personality. I give you one example: Sir Jack Drummond, the nutritionist who died tragically (with his wife and daughter) in the South of France not long ago. It is true he could not have had the influence on war-time food policy that he did have if he had not had a place, as scientific adviser, at the very heart of the Food Ministry: in other words, if the organization had not been right. But the organization would not have been right if Jack Drummond had not been the sort of person he was. Originally, he was appointed to the Ministry as "adviser on decontamination of food after gas attack." But we started consulting him on major questions of policy long before the post of scientific adviser was invented, because we found he was a wise, courageous man who did not care what people thought of him and did care passionately about feeding people properly.

He was an exceptional man, of course; but what made him an ideal expert to work with was a quality that he shared with all the people I know who have succeeded in work requiring collaboration between specialists and non-specialists. He was himself a nutritionist, but he was deeply interested in agriculture and shipping space and all the various non-scientific points that war-time food policy had to take account of. So he took the trouble to become a bit of an expert in subjects which he could never fully master.

I believe this is where you find the secret of working with experts. I know it is the secret of success in Government, but I suspect it is also true in industry, and indeed whenever the thing you want to produce or do requires several different kinds of specialist—and nowadays almost everything that is new (except for the picture or other work of art which one person, and only one person, can produce) does require several people to help create it.

If, say, you are an architect and are going to build a school, you must become a bit of an expert in education—and in several other subjects which are not architecture. As a matter of fact, an extraordinary number of first-rate schools have been built in this country since the war. And that would not have happened except for this fact: in these last few years, a few architects, schoolmasters, industrialists and administrators have been getting together in small working groups and really learning something of each other's business.

My conclusion is that we need not be too frightened of finding that the experts have betrayed us or committed us to something we think disastrous. Most of us, whether specialists or not, have a healthy respect for what we call common sense or common humanity. And when something happens that outrages our conscience, we are pretty good at getting it stopped—before very long.

No. What I think we ought to guard against is the danger of insulation—the personal danger of shutting ourselves up inside our own particular job so that our special skill is not fully available where it is needed; and the corresponding danger, in any organization, of not getting enough give and take between men of different skills. I think it is no accident that when you find that something new and brilliantly successful (like the Comet aircraft) has been put into production, you also find that the company responsible has brought together (at the highest policy-making level) a number of different experts—designers, engineers, test pilots, managers. I think it is no accident when you find that another result of different specialists working together on equal terms under first-rate leadership is the ascent of Everest. We can do it; we can penetrate the barriers of specialization; but I wonder if we do it often enough.

I know, in the Civil Service, we have got some way to go before we can be satisfied with the place we administrators give to scientists and other kinds of professional. And I wonder whether practices which are already characteristic of some firms (in, say, the aircraft industry) ought not to become more characteristic of British industry as a whole. Have we not all got to make a good deal more use of the principle: "Mind your own business, but mind my business too?" If we do, I believe we shall prove ourselves no less successful at making new things than we have already proved ourselves at having new ideas. If we do not, as life becomes still more complicated, we shall find it increasingly difficult to understand each other. To use my friend the expert grocer's language, there *may* be blood on the butter after all.

CHAPTER VI

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE MANAGER: AN OPERATIONAL ANALYSIS[1]

By PROFESSOR C. A. MACE, M.A.(CANTAB.), D.LIT.(LOND.)

AMONG the qualities of mind that contribute to good management one that is surely basic is the capacity for clear analytical thinking. This capacity is in fact little more than a habit that is acquired by continual practice in noticing differences in things that seem to be the same, and noticing similarities in things that seem at first sight to be different from, and to have no connection with, each other. As an exercise in thinking in this way, appropriate to a course of study in management, there is conveniently at hand the very idea of "management" itself.

THE IDEA OF MANAGEMENT

"Management" is a vague, comprehensive and slippery word, sprawling all over the place, meaning one thing to one man and something very different to somebody else. This in itself is an important fact. The word is vague and comprehensive because what it means is something very complex, with a great variety of aspects. Some of these aspects are picked out by familiar epigrammatic definitions of management, e.g. the well-known Harvard definition: "Management is getting things done through people."

These epigrammatic definitions have their uses, but they operate like a spotlight, whereas what we need to begin with is to floodlight the management scene as a whole. The scene, however, is so large that it calls for a longish tour of inspection. There can be no doubts where the tour should begin. It begins at home. Management begins at home in the literal sense that in the management of a household we may find exemplified almost every aspect of the management function as

[1] This paper had its origin in an address given at a Training Course for Assistant Managers at the Director-General's Ordnance Factories Training Centre at Swynnerton, Staffordshire, in November 1954. Some passages were also included in the author's address as Chairman of the Industrial Section of the British Psychological Society in March 1956.

it is exemplified in the large-scale organization. Management begins at home in another sense, too. Everyone has to manage his own affairs, to order the disposal of his time, to decide upon priorities, to plan for eventualities; and everyone even in the management of his own affairs has to co-operate with others and to promote co-operation. And let this not be regarded as a trivial case. One who cannot manage his own affairs cannot manage the affairs of anybody else. Self-management is the central core of management in general. It is, therefore, a mistake, and a serious mistake, to think of management as a rare and specialized function exercised only by the few who occupy exalted positions and are endowed by nature with exceptional skills and qualities of character. The skills demanded in management are demanded in every walk of life. The demands are simple but exacting. They are simple in the sense that they are matters of deciding *what* to do and *when* to do it, what to do oneself and what to delegate, how in general to fit in with other people's plans and how to induce them to fit in with others in a spirit of good will. The demands are exacting in the sense that, whatever we do, we can almost always think of something that would have been better. Even in the management of one's own affairs there are always, for most people, many things waiting to to be done, and in the things we do we can always keep on learning better ways of doing them. Management is never perfect. Even if no one ever criticized him, the manager can always criticize himself. In fact, the good manager is commonly his own severest critic.

All this is true for the simple case of managing one's own personal life, up though all the levels of complexity in organization—from the one-man business to the small workshop, to the large-scale industrial organization, to the great national corporation, up to the machinery of Government itself. And so training for management and training in "human relations" is training for life itself. It begins in the nursery and the nursery school. It is part of a general education for life in a civilized community. The lessons that have to be learned are, in a way, extremely simple lessons; and yet they are so very hard to learn. And so it is that we find that what we call "civilization" consists in the main of a number of little clearings in an enormous jungle—the primitive jungle of industrial, political and international relations.

So much by way of introductory generalities, so much for a first brief inspection of the scene. So far what has been noted is merely what is visible to the naked eye.

On rather closer inspection and analysis it becomes abundantly clear

that the management functions are exercised in varied situations which have a common structure. Management *is* "getting things done through people," but more importantly it is getting things done in and through an *organization*. Now what is an organization?

The Nature of an Organization

Organizations are apt to be thought of as impersonal and inanimate things; but there could be no greater mistake. An *organization* is a sort of *organism*. We might say that an organism is a natural kind of organization, and that an organization is an *artifical* organism. The idea of an organism is the one to start from.

An organism is a body composed of organs, and an organ is a part or member (a limb, a cell or whatnot) which, by working with other members, promotes the ends for which the organism exists. An organization, similarly, is a body composed of organs—a body politic or a body industrial or some other kind of social group—and its organs are individuals or subordinate groups each of which, by functioning in an appropriate way, contributes to the ends of the organization as a whole.

"The management" in an organization is a sub-group (only in simple cases an individual) which performs certain special functions in assisting all other organs to make their contribution to the ultimate end or ends of the organization as a whole. One of these special functions is "co-ordination." Co-ordinating, too, is a biological idea. We say that the movements of two legs are co-ordinated when the movements of each are so timed and related to one another as to produce locomotion. We say that hand and eye are co-ordinated when each performs its function in such a way to make it possible to catch a ball. Co-ordination in general is the process whereby distinct actions are mutually adjusted to attain some end in view. In industry there is co-ordination when purchases of raw materials are adjusted to the flow of production and estimated sales, when the pace of the machine is adjusted to the endurance of the worker or when the shifts worked by groups of workers are so adjusted as to provide a twenty-four hour service to meet the public need.

To think of an organization as a kind of organism, as a living thing, is instructive and helpful in many ways.

It draws attention, for example, to the overriding importance of a clear conception of the end for which the organization exists. There is a view, encouraged by a too superficial comparison of an organization

with an organism, that the end of an organization is self-preservation or survival as such. There is a truth in this, but there can also be a profound error. This error is committed both by those who may fairly be charged with exploitation and, strangely, also by some idealists. An organization may attempt to survive by resisting change, by attempting to suppress invention, or by trying to persuade the public to use outmoded products. "Bows & Arrows, Ltd." founded, let us suppose, in the year 1066, may attempt to resist the consequences of the discovery of explosives. This is clearly a pathological phenomenon in society. It is indeed a cancerous development, the promotion of an end of the organ at the expense of the ends of the organism as a whole. "Bows & Arrows, Ltd." is, in fact, not so much an entirely independent organism as an organ of the larger organism; and in a healthy state its welfare is secured by adapting its skills and experience to the production of something else that the public needs when it no longer needs so large a supply of bows and arrows.

The same considerations apply to the contentions of those who say that the chief aim of an industrial organization is to promote the welfare and happiness of those whom it employs. It is, of course, a very important aim of "Bows and Arrows, Ltd." and of every industrial organization to promote the well-being of those it employs; but it is a mistake to set this in opposition to its social function. The truth is better put by saying that every industrial organization best promotes its own well-being through performing its distinctive public service. It is in its long-term interests to adapt itself to every relevant change in public needs.

"The end dictates the means" is a principle which applies, directly or indirectly, to every function and every act in any organization. More importantly it dictates the more immediate ends with which each individual is concerned. A man with a job to do cannot be thinking all the time of the ultimate public needs which his organization meets; nor indeed should he do so. The point is rather that the ultimate end determines the special character of his job, and if he is to do his job, he must know what it is. This is an important way in which management serves the function of co-ordination—by defining the nature of every job by reference to its place in the system of requirements as a whole; and by seeing to it that the job, so defined, is clearly understood by whoever has to do it—not only understood but willingly accepted. To do what is required to attain the end for which the organization exists is to obey what Mary Parker Follett called "the

law of the situation." The law of the situation is the *requirements* of the situation simply. The "No Smoking" rule in an explosives factory is seen by all to be not the expression of an arbitrary dictatorial will but an absolute and objective requirement. And so it is with every *defensible* rule or regulation. If the rule cannot be shown to be a requirement of the situation, it may well be doubted whether the rule is defensible.

It is part of the function of management to show not only how every rule and regulation derives from the law of the situation but also how every requirement is so derived from the end for which the organization exists. Given that the clerk in his office needs light on his desk and that the worker at the bench needs power at his elbow, and that we all need power and light in our homes, then everything that happens in a power station follows by an inexorable law. The need determines how many men shall be employed, the times of their coming and going, and all the details of the work they do. When management is effective each man knows not only what he has to do but also why he has to do it. He sees that to will the end is to will the necessary means, and that not to do so is just to be inconsistent.

To think of an organization as a sort of organism gives a new meaning to those organization charts with which books on management are so properly adorned. In these charts, the "set-up" is presented as composed of a number of little rectangular boxes linked together by enigmatic lines. The boxes we know full well are not hard rectangular things at all, they are soft and often rounded palpitating bodies, living human beings.

But what are the lines? They are lines of authority and responsibility. They are lines of communication, too. They are, indeed, these things and much more. They depict a complex texture of human industrial relations. The organization chart is, in fact, a chart of human relations in a co-operating group.

A long time ago Sir William Beveridge developed an analogy between the relation of a Minister of the Crown to the Permanent Secretary in his department of the Civil Service and the relations of husband and wife in a Victorian family. He wrote:

> "The Minister is the head of the household; all public acts (including correspondence) are done in his name, and he alone speaks and votes for the household. Formally he takes all important decisions, just as the husband decides where the family shall live, and where the boys shall be educated. But he does, or should do, all this on advice,

and usually finds it very uncomfortable to disregard the advice. Though head of the household, he is not really in regular charge of it. His business is mainly to fight for it outside; he must not be always at home. The business of the Permanent Secretary is to mind the house; to keep all its members in order; to prevent them from quarrelling and to make them do their work; to see that the Minister, before he goes out to his daily toil in Cabinet or Parliament, is properly equipped with all necessary information; in the language of metaphor, that he has all his buttons on and his hat brushed. Like the Victorian wife, the Permanent Secretary has no public life; is quite unknown outside the home; wields power by influence rather than directly. Like the Victorian husband, the Minister is responsible for the acts and mistakes of the Permanent Secretary, and is expected to stand up for him in public and shield him from all attack. Like the Victorian wife, also, the Permanent Secretary is all for monogamy; like men, Ministers often have hankerings after polygamy, and want occasional change of society."[1]

It would be a mistake to take this merely as a pleasant little joke. The point could be made more general. All relations in an organization can be compared with relations in the family or other simple human group. They are, in fact, in large measure determined by the family situation. It has long been known that the boy who in early years "got up against" his father may go through life with a grudge against authority in general and in every form in which he may encounter it. There are recent studies, too, which give support to the suggestion that the way in which each foreman performs his specific function in many ways reflects the relations built up in the family setting. This is another sense in which it may be said that management begins in the home.

The Management Function

Many attempts have been made, with varying success, to give a "job analysis" of management. One type of analysis is that of writers such as Fayol, in which the specific operations to be performed by the manager have been distinguished under such heads as "Planning, Control and Co-ordination"; and this sort of "breakdown" has its obvious uses. It has also its limitations, one of which has been noted by Sune Carlson who suggests[2] that this kind of division of functions lacks

[1] Introduction to *The Civil Service Today*, by T. A. Critchley.

[2] "Lightening the Load of Top Management," *British Management Review*, Vol. IX, No. 2, July, 1950.

practical utility, since these terms do not describe observable kinds of work. A manager cannot say, for example, at the end of the day how much co-ordinating he has done. What we need, says Carlson, is an analysis of work in terms of what he can be observed to be doing or observe himself to be doing. And so he gives an analysis of managerial functions in terms of recordable observations such as—

1. The place of work (office, committee room, workshop, etc.).
2. The persons or institutions dealt with (subordinates, managers of other organizations, etc.).
3. The techniques or instruments of communication employed (interview, telephone, letter, etc.).
4. The kind of question dealt with (sales, personnel problems, etc.).
5. The kind of action taken (obtaining information, giving order or advice, etc.).

Clearly such an analysis is useful; and the study of management in this way has already afforded important information. It has been shown, for example, that directors spend much less time than is commonly supposed in making big decisions and in giving orders, and more time than has been recognized in collecting information and in giving advice. The modern manager is, in fact, becoming more and more the interpreter of the law of the situation. He spends his time in becoming and *keeping* acquainted with the "situation" (for it is always a changing situation) and in giving his interpretation of what the situation *requires*. And in the modern world he gives this interpretation less and less in the form of a dictatorial command and more and more in the manner of an expert adviser who has a picture of the situation as a whole.

But for a job-analysis of management, Carlson's account does not give us all we want. It is not enough to know that on a given day the manager spent so many hours in his office and so many hours in the works, that so many conversations were conducted over the phone and so many face to face. It is not enough to know in addition what these communications were about and what was the action taken. We need most of all to know *whether the actions were right*. We need, in short, a job-analysis of management which affords some criteria for distinguishing *good management from bad*.

The kind of job-analysis we need is one that might be called for short "an operational analysis," since it is given in terms of "operations" in one of the simplest and most important senses of that word—that in which we speak of a surgical or a naval operation. The essential feature

of an "operation" in this sense is that it can be either successful or unsuccessful; and this is the most important fact about it. An operation is an act directed to an objective. It is thus not so much what a man actually does as what he is trying to do. Hitting a nail on the head is an operation which a carpenter performs, whereas hitting his thumb instead is not—unless that is what he is trying to do. In general, it is only when we know what a man is trying to do that we can assess his competence. So when we are told that the manager in his office dictated a dozen letters, we do not know much. We need to know their purport and purpose, and whether their purpose was achieved. Any act can be included in an operational analysis of the managerial function if we know the objective of the act. We may include—*pace* Professor Carlson—even the act of co-ordination if the manager were trying to co-ordinate the activities of *A* with the activities of *B*. Of course, co-ordination is not an activity, like dictating a letter, which can occur between 10.10 and 10.15 on any day. It has a larger time span. A manager can *complete* an act of co-ordination by giving advice to *B* on Friday moring in the light of reports or advice he has received from *A* the day before. Any manager can give an operational analysis of a day's work and can assess its efficiency if in the cool of the evening he can give the answer to two questions: What have I tried to do today? Has what I did attained its objective? Naturally, management skills cannot be assessed by the accountancy of a single day. We have to wait several days even to get the answer to a letter.

Thus an operational analysis starts from a clear conception of the purpose for which the organization exists, the "end" which determines the requirements of every situation, and which directly or indirectly determines all the means adopted. So viewed, the essential role of the manager has a double aspect: he has to judge, in the light of an understanding of the situation as whole, what requires to be done in that situation, and having decided what requires to be done, to get it carried out by the willing co-operation of all who in any way contribute to the execution of the task. The manager is thus essentially a co-ordinator, a centre of intercommunication, and a universal lubricant of the machinery of co-operation. He is a sort of technical adviser to all the other specialists in the organization, each of whom is in his own way and in his own field a greater expert than the manager himself. His own expertness derives from his wider view of the total situation and his greater understanding of the conditions of willing co-operation.

Or, to put the point in another way, the general manager has the very

peculiar qualification of being both a *semi*-skilled and a *multi*-skilled worker. Everyone whom he consults or advises or directs know very much more in some specialized field than he does himself. The production engineer knows very much more about the process of production, and the sales manager very much more about markets and consumer needs. But in talking to the production engineer, the general manager stands at an advantage because he has also talked to the sales departments. And in talking to the sales manager, he stands at an advantage through having talked to the production engineer. Less invidiously we may say it is because he has been advised by the sales department that the manager can give good advice to those responsible for production; and for the same sort of reason he can give good advice to the sales department. The expertness of the manager himself derives from the very multiplicity of his semi-skills, and from his position as a living medium impartially located at the point of intersection of so many channels of communication from sources of information each of which from its very nature is biased or weighted in a certain direction.

Acquiring Managerial Skills

In the light of this account of the managerial function, we can define some of the broader conditions for acquiring managerial skills. We must start from a description of typical and recurring managerial operations—of the things that a manager does, an account in terms which make it possible for someone to judge, especially the manager himself, whether what was done was well done or might have been done better. Typically, the whole process begins in a hint of the occurrence of some change in the public needs which the organization serves, a need, let us say, for a tubeless motor tyre, or for an everlasting match.[1] On receiving such a hint, what the manager does falls broadly under two heads or divides into two phases. First, he obtains relevant advice in the light of which he makes a judgment; then, secondly, he takes steps to elicit co-operation from all concerned in the action taken, to implicate his judgment. In the first phase, the manager consults all the experts in appropriate departments. He talks to the sales manager, to the scientific staff, to the designers, to the cost

[1] In the example considered there are two over-simplifications: (i) the case is presented as one in which a single manager (as distinct from a board of directors) makes the required judgment, (ii) the case is one in which the judgment of "higher management" is required. But the principles apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the corresponding operations of intermediate levels of management as well.

accountants, to those responsible for production. He inquires into the supply of raw materials. He looks into the question of new machinery required; and, if he is wise, he will get advice about the probable reactions of the skilled workers whose habits of work may be disturbed. Having consulted all these persons, or their representatives, all of whom in their respective spheres of operation are much more expert than he is himself, he comes to a conclusion and makes a recommendation—"We must go in for this." His recommendation may be as simple and as short as this. He has then to perform his second major function—to elicit the willing co-operation of all those who are affected in any way by his decision. It is in the exercise of these functions that he operates as the leader and as the expert in human relations.

We must describe these various operations of the manager in such a way that they admit of evaluation by others and (as previously observed) most of all by the manager himself. He has to answer the questions: Was I right in my judgment? Was I right in the way I handled the human situation? If he can answer the first question, he can assess his competence in the technical aspects of his job. If he can answer the second, he can assess his competence in the art or "science" of "getting things done through people."

How is such competence acquired? The short answer is that the skills of management are acquired as are all other skills. They are in part inborn, but they are also, in part, *and in larger part*, acquired through practice, by learning from experience. Instruction plays an important part, but the main function of instruction is to expedite the process of learning from experience. Learning by experience is essentially a matter of translating experience into habitual behaviour.

This can be seen most clearly, perhaps, in the case of those "social skills" involved in understanding people and evoking co-operation. The most striking feature of the principles involved in the practical understanding of men is that they are extremely easy to state, but extremely difficult to apply. All the principles are familiar, platitudinous, almost axiomatic. The difficulty is to translate them into ingrained habitual ways of dealing with our fellows.

We put them into words in saying things like this—

"Treat a man as an individual, and as a human being, not as a number or as you treat a machine."

"Before you give an order which disturbs the life of a man contented with his job, explain the problem and try to make him see why the change is required."

"Never simply give an order. Present it as a requirement of the situation."

"Always try to see the situation as it appears from the other man's point of view."

And so we could go on piling up pious platitude on pious platitude until Kingdom Come.

Why is it, then, that these principles, the rightness of which we so readily admit, are so difficult to apply? There are several reasons. First, they are so abstract and general. To be of use they need to be stated much more concretely. And the concrete application is something that each man in a supervisory situation has to think out for himself. Take, for example, the precept: look at the situation as it appears from the other man's point of view. It works out in detail in ways like this—

A worker has to be reproved or corrected for what on the face of it seems a slovenly bit of work. We are tempted to say: "The work has been scamped. The worker did it in this way to save himself some trouble. He has no interest in his work."

This is how the supervisor may be disposed to describe the case. And, maybe, he is right. But it is *most* unlikely indeed that this is how the worker would describe the case. He does not say: "I scamped the work in order to save myself some trouble. In any case, I have no interest in it." What he will say is something like this: "I couldn't do the job as I should have liked. There was more than could be done in the time, and I did the best I could."

Perhaps this was only a weak excuse. On the other hand, in this particular case perhaps the worker was right. We cannot tell unless we look more carefully into the facts of the case.

This points to a second reason why the best methods of management are difficult to apply. Better methods of doing things are almost always much more time-consuming than those that are worse. It is quicker to slap a child who is naughty than to explain, and to get it to understand, why its behaviour was so disgraceful. It is much quicker to put up an order on the notice board than to explain "the law of the situation." So many mistakes are made, so many faulty methods are employed simply because of a "lack of time." Managers, too, sometimes scamp their work, not because they have no interest in it but simply because they have so much to do.

There is a third understandable reason why those who supervise do not always use the best of methods. They have to deal with human

beings who are not always reasonable and sweet-tempered. How often one hears it said: "How fine is all this Mary Parker Follett talk, how fine is all this new psychology of treating the worker as a human being. It is all right in theory, but it does not work out in practice. It would be all right if men were always reasonable, but so often they are not."

There is a real point here. Human beings, it must be sadly confessed, are not always and everywhere completely reasonable. How easy life would be (and how dull) if they were. And the answer is, once more, the old and well tried platitude: we can't do everything all at once, *we must do the best we can.* Two prescriptions may be helpful. First, as a supervisor, never allow, if you can avoid it, the unreasonableness of others to provoke you to be unreasonable yourself. This merely leads to a circular reaction of unreasonable behaviour going from bad to worse. There are reasonable ways of dealing with unreasonable people: try to find them out. Second, do what you can to establish a balance of reasonable public opinion in the group you manage. If management by patience and prolonged endeavour gives sufficient evidence of respect for justice and fair play, there is always a fair prospect that it will gain the respect and support of a majority in the organization managed. If we cannot hope at least for this, we cannot hope for much.

The skills required for leadership and for getting things done through people are acquired by the individual in accordance with general laws of learning which are now sufficiently established on a scientific basis. We learn in the main by a process of trial and error. We learn by experiment and by the evaluation of the results. If the experiment is successful, it is repeated on a repetition of the situation. If it were not successful, we try something else. We learn by experience through profiting from mistakes. When men claim the authority of experience for the things they do, they may merely be confessing that they have unwittingly been making the same mistake over and over again. Men go on repeating the same mistake when they cannot or do not check up on the consequences of their actions. Management is especially prone to this error, partly because the results of managerial action may not become apparent until months after the event. The successful manager is one who never gets tired of asking himself after making each decision: was the decision right, might I not have done something different and better?

And so it would seem again, from yet another point of view, that

all management is self-management, and all management training is self-training. No one is in a better position than the manager himself to assess the results of his actions. He has the larger view of the total situation and of the longer term effects.

Summary and Conclusions

Management is not a peculiar function exercised only by the exalted few. Everyone has first of all to manage himself and his own affairs, and the better he does this the better he will be in managing the affairs of others. Self-management is the common core of all the many forms of specialized management. The demands of management are simple but exacting. They consist of simple questions of *how* and *when* to do *what,* but the demands are exacting because there are so many questions to be answered, and generally so many people with so many feelings to be taken into consideration.

Management is all that it is usually said to be—planning, organization, co-ordination, control, etc. It is, as has been said, more simply, just "getting things done through people"—people in an organization. An organization is a kind of organism—a living thing composed of living organs, individuals and groups who work together to attain some common end, usually to meet some consumer need. This need prescribes the "law" on the requirements of the situation. The manager in such an organization can be thought of as a kind of specialist—the specialist co-ordinator of the work of specialists more specialized than he is himself. He has two major functions. The first is to take a wider view than that of the other specialists, and in the light of that wider view to decide what should be done. His second function is to gain willing co-operation in the action to be taken. To accept this conception of management is to accept that managerial revolution which is most characteristic of the age in which we live. This is not the Managerial Revolution that has attracted most attention, the change in the distribution of *power,* but a managerial revolution in the distribution of *responsibility* and in the techniques of the managerial function. This second managerial revolution has sometimes been thought of as an application of the principle of democracy, but this is to confuse two rather different issues. No doubt if democracy be right in government in general, it must have its application to the government of industry. But to stress this is to miss a more important point. It is not a question of replacing government from above by government from below. This is only part of a larger "dialectical progression."

The thesis of the Dictatorship of the *Few* leads to the antithesis of the Dictatorship of the *Many*. The needed synthesis is given by the principle of the rule by Law; rule, that is to say, by the objective and impersonal requirements of the situation. The final Order is one in which both managers and managed alike are subject to the No Smoking Rule; when men do what is *required* not because it is seen to be the law, but when men obey the law because it is seen to be a consequence of the situation, and the means to be willed, because they will the end.

The "idea of management" which best serves most practical purposes is one in which what the manager actually does is described in terms which make it possible to assess the degree to which any action taken furthers the ends for which the organization exists.

The possibility of such assessment is essential for both the selection and the training of managers, and most essential for that continual self-training by which training courses must be followed up. All learning, and the acquisition of all skills, depends upon correcting mistakes and upon improving upon previous good performance. For this self-evaluation and self-criticism are continuously needed. In management, the work load is always excessive. There are always more things waiting to be done than there is time to do them in, and what has to be done always has to be done on information that is incomplete. It follows that management can never be perfect. The manager can never do more than his best, and even if no one else is critical, he will always himself, after the event, be conscious of alternative lines of action that might have been better. The good manager is, in fact, his own severest critic. The higher a man ascends in the hierarchy of management, the less he is subject to assessment by superiors, the less he can benefit from their guidance and advice, and the more he must rely in consequence for further development of managerial skill upon self-assessment by the relevant criteria.

These observations and reflections, it is hoped, may help to explain and reinforce the element of good sense in some of the platitudinous half-truths with which the literature of management is so richly adorned.

"If a man has got it in him, he will get to the top." Yes, this is true to the extent that selection for management is in part self-selection. The man who has both the ability and the will to direct and control will naturally enough tend to use the ability to implement the will. But this is only a half-truth. Some who have the ability may not know it, and only for lack of opportunity and encouragement they may lack the will.

"Management is something that you learn by doing." Yes, there is this essential element of learning by experience, but we have also to stress the fact that a man can keep on "doing" without even beginning to learn. He will learn by doing only in so far as he notes and corrects his mistakes. If he does not do this he will, without knowing it, get a lot of experience of making the same mistake over and over again. Hence, too, the truth in the familiar jingle: "He who never made a mistake, never made anything at all."

"In the art and practice of management there is always something more to learn." This is true, too. There is no once-for-all procedure for selection, and no once-for-all courses of management training. However many courses of training he attends, the manager will continue to make mistakes. That does not matter if he continues to profit from them. When we cease to notice our mistakes or lose the will to correct them, then is the time to retire and live on our pensions.

CHAPTER VII

MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND PRODUCTIVITY: DEALING WITH PREJUDICE[1]

By JONATHAN GOULD, M.R.C.P., D.P.M., M.B., B.S., B.Sc.

NOTWITHSTANDING rumour, a psychologist, or a medical psychologist, or a psycho-analyst, in his professional capacity, is *not* necessarily a better industrialist, manager, or executive than those who have successfully chosen, undergone their training in, and are now in the practice of, these occupations! Nor do I think that the psychological disciplines possess panaceas for human social and industrial ills. Nor yet do I believe that the place of work should be turned into a psychological crèche. It is of course agreed that, for optimum results in farming, for instance, optimum conditions for stock and crops are necessary. No doubt this applies to humans also. But I leave the definition of "optimum" in this regard open for the present.

Having made my disclaimers, there still remains a wide field where medical psychology may properly relate to industry and, in so doing, draw as medicine always does, on the resources of helpful and relevant non-medical disciplines and sciences. In this field are to be found well-known topics which have been widely discussed and will bear more discussion for some time yet. We might, therefore, well consider matters, such as temperamental and other psychological factors, involved in choice of occupation. This, even apart from the question of special aptitudes and skills, would prove interesting and possibly of practical significance. The deeper psychological forces involved in personal relationships between individuals—the tendency of the basic experiences in life to permeate the current situation—here also interest, and enlightenment may well be found. I believe that such an approach has been attempted in film form in an endeavour to convey this aspect of things. So also the deeper psychological factors in ambition, the quest for power, and the desire for reform—all these might properly

[1] This Chapter is taken from a Paper read at a conference of the I.W.S. at Oxford, July 1954. The views and opinions expressed are entirely personal.

be our topics in this chapter, to say nothing of the psychological factors involved in absenteeism and the relationship of work-stress to psychiatric and psychosomatic illness. But these are not what I propose to discuss here.

How Psychology Can Help

As a medical psychologist, I am on occasion asked by my friends engaged in industry what contribution medical psychology may have to make to the problems of friction and production, and why it cannot help more than it does. What follows arises out of my attempt to answer such questions, with their acceptance of a need to find out why production is relatively slowly increasing in this country (2-5 per cent per annum) as, for instance, compared with the U.S.A. (10-20 per cent per annum), and why industrial relations are not better than they are. Obviously the technical aids to production and their intrinsic effects are outside my general scope.

For the purposes of this chapter I take production of commodities to be the primary immediate aim of industry, and the concern with human relations and their disabilities or frictions, within the industrial unit, as the concern with human variables impeding, or threatening to impede, production. In this day and age, the wider connotations of industrial activity, and the humane view of the social, domestic and individual responsibilities of the industrial organization towards its employees, are taken as accepted social principles.

Taking therefore the problems of human factors in personal relationships as forming a spectrum, a review of the general current methods of attempting to deal with these shows that there are two lines of approach—

1. *Incentives*

(*a*) Incentives of a material or economic nature.

(*b*) Incentives of a group loyalty or "social conscience" nature (i.e. society's need for the product concerned).

(*c*) Rational appeals based on the above for further production, and on the desirability of good human relations.

It seems to have become clear that these are insufficient in themselves to meet the needs of the times.

2. *Management of Personal Problems, etc.*

With regard to the more overt forms of problems in personal relations

and difficulties in group relationships the methods currently employed, other than direct personal contact and man-management which must always be the staple, include—

(*a*) Depth psychology. This is really impracticable in all but a few selected individuals, but I know of some instances where valued employees have been considered so worth while that the organization has sponsored this approach. Most commonly the individual seeks help for personal and private reasons, and improvement in his occupational contacts is a welcome secondary gain. The value in this approach resides in the individual gaining understanding and betterment from a special form of reflection on his own behaviour and so arriving at a form of subjective truth concerning himself, towards which he is spurred by the pain or distress of the complaints for which he sought treatment. Thus, on the face of it, it would not seem likely that generalized statements of such truths would have much impact on people not under special internal stress. For this and cognate reasons, I would not expect much result from films showing how the day-to-day problems are influenced by infantile conflicts, and the operation of the Oedipus complex, together with the id, ego and super-ego (which are represented in the form of live cartoons played out on the breast of the subject as he confronts one situation after another).

(*b*) Counselling and good advice.

(*c*) Manipulation of the environment—welfare, personnel relations techniques, industrial psychological studies of layout, etc., accommodation, re-education.

These methods are valuable but, it is felt, fail to go to the core of the problem. (*a*) and (*b*) are essentially methods of approach to an individual, whereas (*c*) is much less personal in this sense, and may be regarded as aimed at providing or creating the optimum conditions I begged leave not to define earlier. Some overlapping does, of course, occur—welfare officers for instance may give *counsel and good advice*! Between these two disciplines of personal and environmental factors there lies a field, largely unexplored, in which emotionally coloured non-rational factors influence behaviour—in other words, the field of prejudice. This is my topic.

Perhaps the greatest store of knowledge concerning the understanding and manipulation of prejudice is held by those who can sway men—from leaders to demagogues. This knowledge is largely uncommunicable in the scientific sense, and may be handed on,

presumably, if at all, only by apprenticeship. It is none the less valuable on this account.

To my knowledge there is no systematic study of prejudice available and no analysis of methods by which it may be influenced. Yet such information, were it available, might well prove valuable in reducing the frictions encountered in instances of social change, whether in general or in the more specific field of industrial relationships, whether between industry and the wider society, or between specific groups in industry. Professor Penrose has made a contribution in his book, *The Objective Study of Crowd Behaviour,* in observing and mapping the prevalence and spread of prejudice, but not specifically related to industry; Maier has studied personal relationships in industry, but essentially from the point of view of how to manage emotional responses in workers in such a way that his own thesis of "democratic control" is accepted.

Let us then consider prejudice.

Prejudice

A prejudice is a non-rationally held (but not necessarily irrational) emotionally tinctured attitude, judgment and/or tendency to respond to a pertinent stimulus situation.

Behaviour is influenced by rational, non-rational and, frequently, irrational factors. Some of the non-rational factors, such as instinctual and emotional needs and gratifications, have been the subjects of much discussion, and I will not deal with them here, but with these factors in mind, prejudice could be redescribed as uncritically entertained sentiments and attitudes having a significant emotional component.

Generally, adult behaviour is held to be more influenced by rational factors than is the behaviour of young people. Indeed, in the sense that prejudice has been defined, it may be seen that not until mid-adolescence do rational factors have profound influence, and throughout life prejudice continues to play a large, if covert part.

The way in which a person experiences and responds to situations may essentially be determined by rational factors, or by what amount to feelingful forces. We may accept the truth of a statement, not because it satisfies critical examination, but because we trust or like the person from whom it comes. Similarly, we may react favourably to a stranger not because we have rational considerations for approval, but because he in some ways resembles or links up in the back of our minds

with pleasant associations. And vice versa. All this is banal enough, and I introduce it only to point out that such non-rational behaviour is with us every day and is a main mode of response through the most formative years—up to early adolescence. In many respects this is prejudice. At this stage the youth begins to inherit the rational aspect of the mind in the fuller sense, and at the same time begins to be aware of himself in a social sense, and the instinct patterns move into their adult form. These changes are superimposed, as it were, on the prejudice-like structure of the mind mentioned a moment ago.

Both adolescents and the aged tend to be intolerant, and both phases in life are known for their prejudice, although usually in different senses. These periods are phases of difficulty in adjustment, and the connection between prejudice and stress will be mentioned again later.

The large part in everyday life played by prejudice may be appreciated by considering some typical examples—

1. During the war years there was the evacuation scheme, and many people met the full force of prejudice existing at all ages, between town and country dwellers.

2. One encounters prejudice against very fat or very thin people—"I like men about me that are fat"—or against or for fair hair, blue eyes, etc. Similarly, there is much prejudice in phrases such as "Perfidious Albion," "as trusty as a Greek," "The canny Scot," and so on. Perhaps one might include "British is best," although this phrase differs from the others in that it was aimed at inculcating a prejudice and is not a spontaneous phenomenon.

This brings up the topics of slogans and propaganda, which are attempts, in many instances, to exploit or create prejudices.

Prejudice becomes more noticeable when it leads to difficulty in adjustment and interferes with the harmony of relationships, but many prejudices are of positive and constructive value ("British is best"). These, however, are much more difficult to discern. Attention naturally focuses on the outstanding factors in a situation, and the more harmonious and well-blended a person is, the less easy is it to see the interaction of different components.

Very many prejudices partake of both qualities and are constructive in one sense and restrictive in another (clannishness implies a positive helpful attitude towards the small group and a relatively unhelpful or unwelcoming attitude to the outsider). This particular example seems to be a very common phenomenon, and is moreover relatively widely exploited from rivalry (even in its friendly form) when it is a

transient version—to feuds—whether between families, groups, or classes within a society.

It is common to disapprove of or frown upon a person recognized as showing prejudice. Of course, we most easily recognize prejudices which offend us.

Having pointed out the general tendency of prejudices to be constructive and/or destructive, let me go on to sort prejudices in a different way.

Self-limited Prejudices

These are the personal quirks which, on superficial inspection, do not of themselves appear to entail desirable or undesirable consequences. Such are the prejudices for or against surrealist art, blondes or brunettes, murder stories or biographies, television or morris dancing, etc. Such prejudices may accidentally, as it were, have impacts of significance outside the person. On occasion they become the focus of interest of others, and attempts may be made, e.g. by advertising, to influence them.

Group Prejudices

These are dynamically different from the preceding group. Group prejudices relate, in a way, I suppose, to the gregariousness of man. If the behaviour of another person differs significantly from our own on a matter that is congenial to us, we become uncomfortable and ill at ease. Predictability of behaviour is conducive to a sense of security. In so far as this is disturbed, we tend to defend ourselves against the source of the disturbance and so become prejudiced unfavourably.

Wilfrid Trotter, a surgeon who wrote an excellent book on psychology (*The Herd Instinct in Peace and War*) which was as appropriate in 1939-45 as it was in 1914-18 when it was written, describes the way in which two people meeting in a railway carriage, and falling into conversation, explore each other for signs of group affiliation, and the growing sense of relief and pleasure as the affinities and "secret pass signs" are progressively displayed.

Prejudice also operates in a wider sense—and may perhaps conveniently be termed—

Social and Cultural Prejudice

Here it is common to a whole society, or to significantly large sections. The instances that come to my mind concern ways of living, etc. For example—

Flats versus houses,

Styles and materials of clothing and food,

Streamlining of cars versus "orthodox" pre-1939 style—An American firm lost much money on its 1935–6 anticipation in design.

Social and cultural prejudices are of course, fit targets for minorities, and particularly among the adolescent group. They perhaps attract to themselves a quality of being near-sacrosanct for many of the aged.

Apart from the rebellious minority, the majority of individuals tend to need the support or company of others in change of attitude and practice in these matters.

Perhaps today we are witnessing a change in the direction of prejudice —possibly a reversal in one sense. A generation or more ago, there was a tendency to suspect innovation, and we have heard of how bananas were given away to those who would accept them during the early years of their introduction to the country.

A general feature of the atmosphere of those days was to doubt the value of the new idea, technique or article.

In the past fifteen years or so we have been subject to many pressures which have a common aim of inducing the acceptance of alternatives to traditional or accustomed things and attitudes. The effect of these years of propaganda and pressure has been to induce a preparedness to accept the alternatives in many directions, and with it there may be growing the prejudice "what is new is therefore better." The examples of prejudice which I have chosen, merely to illustrate the points of my theme, are such as may be observed, as it were, from an armchair position, and the examples themselves are trite enough. But there are other examples which, I am sure, have come to your minds, which have or have had more serious repercussions. The problem of imported Italian workers in our mining industry, for example, stood out in its day as a serious matter. Equally well, I believe, prejudice obstructs the introduction of many an innovation in industry. I learned from one of the staff of the Institute of Human Relations that a scheme for cutting coal, known as the Long-wall method, demonstrably greatly superior to the traditional way, foundered entirely on the prejudice of the workers against it.

The role and scope of prejudice are incompletely investigated, but I believe the following points apply—

Prejudice

Prejudice may be defined as a non-rationally held, emotionally

coloured attitude, judgment and/or tendency to respond to a pertinent stimulus.

Relationships of Prejudice Formation to the Rest of the Structure of the Personality

Prejudice is a form of adjustment in which reactions are available for immediate use without recourse to the relatively slow process of cognitive and rational assessment of the experience.

The effective stimulus is apparently a *deviation in the experience* from an expected pattern of events, while the *majority of the experience* does not appear alien or offensive. These are the "defensive" prejudices (negative). "Positive" prejudicial reactions appear to be triggered off by the congruence of part of the experience with an expected pattern, the majority of the experience not otherwise warranting the reaction.

Prejudice is thus a time- and effort-saving mechanism. It is derived from that level of integration of the individual where sentiment formation occurs, and shades off into preference on the one hand and that form of irrational belief incompatible with the beliefs of the rest of the community (i.e. delusion) on the other.

While some forms of prejudice are compatible with complete insight, the more common the prejudice to the rest of the community, the less likely it is that insight will be present.

Prejudice is important to society in that failure to conform to current prejudice is one of the causes of rejection by the rest of the group, or at the least, the group may exert pressure in order to induce comformity. In what has been said already it is implied that these reactions are not necessarily related to the depth psychology of the individual—are not grounded, that is to say, in the experiences of early relationships with parents, etc., in the way in which attitudes giving rise to conflicts of the neurotic type are grounded. Prejudice is a more superficial stratum of the personality, and has relation not only to personal feeling as such, but to that level of feeling or sentiment involved in group and cultural relationships, wherein many prejudices are acquired and maintained.

Change in Prejudice. This may be brought about by—

1. Enlightenment (provided that in certain instances, at any rate, the new arrangements prove as satisfactory to the individual as the old). For example, prejudice against recorded music in the theatre.

2. Counter prejudice. This is an example of propaganda, advertisements and the effects of the formation of new loyalties.

3. The impact of new emotional needs or gratifications.
4. The impact of reality (dried foods and war-time).

Many intra-group prejudices disappear under external stress. Prejudices changed by force may revert when the pressure is removed.

These observations are mainly derived from study of the more detailed case histories involved in psycho-therapy, as well as from fairly superficial observation of the reaction of people in groups after the fashion of sociological surveys.

A very topical question in today's disturbed social relations within our own society is the question of relations in industry. This is apparently a special variant of the general theme of the relations of the individual to his social setting.

It has become very clear that appeals to the rational and material considerations affecting relationships, e.g. in industry, as discussed earlier, are in themselves insufficient to meet the needs of the times.

As an illustration of the role of prejudice I quote an analysis prepared for me, by the process of inspection and reflection, by Mr. D. S. Culver, who, equally familiar with American and English ways of life, has offered this preliminary comment on "Prejudice against Ever-expanding Production" in this country and has added, to point the analysis, some comments relating to the American scene.

When confronted with the idea of ever-expanding production, all classes would agree that it was unfamiliar and uncomfortably unpredictable. An essential element in English life is its relative fixity and stability. These doubts would be expressed in the statements that ever-expanding production would "not be solid and British" or "not in the best English tradition," or that "we should become slaves to the machine," or simply as a question, "where will it lead?"

Here we come to a necessary distinction; that to some degree everyone must recognize himself partly as a producer and partly as a consumer. Seeing themselves mainly from the viewpoint of producers, members of the working and lower-middle classes would tend to express fears that "it should not be the whole end of life"; that it might become ever more demanding or engrossing, and therefore that it would interfere with their preconceived relationship between work and leisure. Or they might attack it more from the point of view of their social or ethical conceptions, saying that "it would appeal to people out for themselves," that it was "not sociable" and that it was competitive.

PREJUDICE AGAINST EVER-EXPANDING PRODUCTION

ALL GROUPS UNDIFFERENTIATED

"Not solid and British"
"Not in the best English tradition"
"Where will it lead?"

Class	*As Producers*	*As Consumers*	*American Prejudice*
Working and Lower-middle	"Not whole end of life"	"Make do and mend" "Shoddy *v.* lasting goods" "Mass-produced"	E-E-P is a large part of life "Making do" is miserly and selfish
Upper-middle and Upper	—	"Ostentation" "Vulgarity" "Mere wealth"	Proves one's worth as a producer
All	"Materialistic" "Not sociable"	"Materialistic" "Not sociable"	A casual attitude in reverse of materialistic—Competition is not deadly

Seeing themselves as consumers, these people inevitably see themselves as small or limited consumers, and have their defences against any other attitude. Why take part in a process of ever-expanding consumption when they have a strong regard for the attitude of "make do and mend?" There is also the distinction between "shoddy" goods and "lasting goods" coming in at the more prosperous levels of the lower-middle class, and even the prejudice against the "mass-produced."

When we go above this social level, we find in more and more cases that people regard themselves mainly consumers rather than producers, and their prejudices therefore come from a different quarter. They would translate "ever-increasing *production*" into "ever-increasing *consumption*" and phrase their prejudice against it in such words as "ostentation," and "vulgarity," and, most tellingly, in those uniquely English words "mere wealth." By many of these people the aristocracy

have been regarded as custodians of the best English values, and the aristocracy have been pre-eminently administrators or landowners, not producers in any usual sense.

In the eyes of all classes, with rare exceptions, the matter of ever-increasing consumption is regarded as morally dubious or "materialist." This view would probably be held simultaneously and in conjunction with one of the class-prejudices mentioned earlier.

The strongest buttress of prejudice against ever-expanding production is certainly the division of people into "mainly producers" or "mainly consumers," with the weight of social prestige heavily behind the consumers. In this way the true rewards are cut off from the effort! Suppose an intelligent working man were dislodged from his view that production and consumption beyond a certain level were too "materialistic," he would retreat with the view that pushing production too hard was "not sociable," and thence to the view that it would get in the way of his leisure, and lastly down to a vague condemnation of it as being "not solid and British." If his last defences could be removed, it is fair to assume that he would only become a vigorous exponent of ever-expanding production with a mental reservation: that if he did well his children or grandchildren might eventually cross the line and become "mainly consumers." So at best he would only be on loan to the idea for his lifetime.

Lest it be thought that these particular prejudices are inevitable, it is worth noting that in America they are, each one, exactly reversed. There everyone is regarded as simultaneously a producer and a consumer (certainly all active males are); consumption is a measure of one's worth as a producer; unearned income is an embarrassment; the sons of millionaires build factories of their own. High levels of production and consumption, far from being "materialistic," represent for them the reverse, that is a casual attitude to material goods, "To make do and mend" might be thought miserly. Likewise the production process is regarded as eminently sociable; as in fact the ground on which everyone meets on equal terms, or as the common factor in the social order, with competition as a healthy stimulant and not as too heavy a threat. Large visible consumption, at any social level, is not necessarily regarded as ostentation or vulgarity, and of course to the word "wealth" is rarely joined the word "mere."

Needless to say in discussing the prejudices of the two countries in this limited field, what has been attempted is a comparison, not a moral judgment.

I have been able to point out with the help of my friend, a number of prejudices which would, I submit, materially and in a continued fashion operate against the adoption of an "ever-expanding" approach to production in this country.

By inspection and reflection it is also possible to trace some of the elementary characteristics of prejudice and factors involved in evocation, neutralization and change of prejudice. Such information, however, does not yet constitute even the beginning of a coherent and comprehensive study of the subject, nor yet point surely to a technique of manipulation of prejudice. The prejudices I have just discussed in relation to ever-expanding production are, moreover, of a general nature, whereas the prejudices having perhaps a more immediate, though in the long run possibly not more important, effect on day-to-day production are more likely to be concerned with techniques, innovations, floor conditions, alterations of accustomed routines, management and worker relations, methods of payment, liability to income-tax, colour bars, and so on. In listing all these, one must not overlook the more constructive but less easily discernible prejudices, for I guess that these spontaneous indigenous factors may for some time be the ones which, if employed and cultivated in the right direction, will prove to be the most potent forces with which to influence undesirable prejudices in management, in workers, as well as in consumers.

Any attempt to base the study of prejudice and methods of its manipulation upon a sound foundation must be an attempt to employ the discipline of trained, would-be objective observation, correlation and deduction. When such a descriptive phase has been completed, interferences and observation of effects will usher in the equivalent of an experimental approach. This would seem to call for a blend of the skills and training of the sociologist and those of the experimental and industrial psychologist, together with the experience of management, welfare officer and worker. As with so much in the field of integrated human relations, a team-effort appears the desirable approach. It may be noticed that I have not included the medical psychologist in the team. Indeed, I do not think that he has a particularly important part to play, although his experience may be relevant, in certain instances, to decisions on the possible implications of certain types of prejudice reaction where these are eccentrically developed.

Thus my attempt to answer the problem posed by my friends in industry—"what further contributions may medical psychology have

to make to the problems of human relations and production in Industry?"—may be put thus.

Medical psychology first has more to say in regard to its proper territory, namely the psychological and personal ills affecting individuals and can say more in regard to the impact of private problems on the subject's responses and behaviour at work, and on the effect of work-situations on the subject. More could also be said on other related topics, and in order to say more and say it with greater confidence further knowledge is required, although it is doubtful whether anything like full use is yet made of the knowledge already at hand. But I do not consider that these contributions, even more fully developed, will answer entirely the problems in human relations and production at present facing industry. Medical psychology is preoccupied with the individual and with groups essentially seen as many individuals. The background of mental functioning and outlook common to these groups is taken generally as normal, and if it does not lead to disturbance recognizable as clinical illness, it is not likely to be made the special study of medical psychology as we know it today. Information derived from the study of the deep unconscious, methods derived from the role of the benevolent authority, or considerations regarding optimum conditions for the functioning of man are alike in leaving out of account that quasi-independent zone of the personality in which attitudes are developed in common with others of the group, and which influence behaviour, though not necessarily clearly in awareness. This field or zone of personality is occupied by prejudice. This is the overlooked factor a close study of which will, I am sure, indicate in due course what are the variable factors, and how far these may be altered in the interests of all or of some, and where the limits of safety lie, for I do not imagine that limitless interference in this zone can with impunity occur. For, if you reflect on the formative role of prejudice, it is clear that with too much interference chaos in the generally shared outlook might well ensue.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND INDUSTRY[1]

By JOAN WOODWARD, M.A.

LIKE other social scientists, the sociologist is concerned with the scientific study of human beings, his objective being the discovery of cause and effect laws of human behaviour. One of the many areas of human behaviour and relationships that interests him is work and working life, and in studying this particular human activity he is brought into contact with those responsible for the management of industry. Indeed he is dependent on them in acquiring access to the kind of situations which he wishes to study, and in obtaining facilities to collect the information he requires.

Unfortunately, it is generally true to say that relatively little progress has been made by social scientists in the study of human behaviour in industry, the primary reason for this being that social scientists and practical industrialists have not yet been able to find a satisfactory basis for co-operation. There appear to be three main reasons for this failure. The first is that industrialists, like almost everyone else with the exception of the social scientists themselves, are reluctant to accept the fact that human behaviour can be studied scientifically. There are two possible explanations of this reluctance. In the first place, scientific method is regarded as being a matter of test-tubes and measuring instruments; these things are felt rightly enough to have a limited usefulness in the study of human behaviour. Moreover, and more important, the idea is repulsive because all the political and religious ideology on which our industrial society is based, emphasizes the uniqueness of the individual. We attach more importance to the ways in which our own personality differs from that of other people than to the ways in which it resembles them. We are reluctant to accept the possibility that our own personal opinions cannot be regarded as valid interpretations of the motives of others or that we ourselves do not know all there is to know about our fellow human beings or that cause

[1] This Chapter is taken from a Paper read at a Conference of the I.W.S. at Oxford, July 1954.

and effect laws can possibly be applied to our own motives and behaviour. There are, for example, many factory managers who are still quite sure that the industrial workers they employ are interested only in the amount of money they can earn, are lazy, will get away with as much as they can, and are likely to be led by the nose by any agitator who comes along. Similarly, there are thousands of industrial workers who believe that all employers are ruthless and motivated in all they do by a desire to put one across on their employees. Managers and workers will substantiate these statements by reference to evidence which appears to support their accusations. Anything which appears to be contradictory will be ignored. Neither side appears to realize that they are completely unscientific in making these generalizations. Outside the industrial field too, there is the same tendency towards making unsystematic generalizations about human beings. We hear many such categorical statements as "human nature never changes," and those who make them rarely concern themselves with any evidence that is available to support or refute their contentions.

The social scientist sets out to accumulate factual information about motives and behaviour and attempts to trace causal relationships between the various phenomena that he observes. In fact, he does exactly what other scientists do, although there are certain problems unfamiliar to other scientists which he has to overcome in collecting his information. Nevertheless, in spite of his rather unusual methodological problems his attitude towards the subject of his study is the same. A scientific attitude is an effective way of thinking about things, a determination to base conclusions on all the available facts of the situation, and a willingness to jettison these conclusions if information which refutes them subsequently emerges. This is not to say, of course, that the social scientist, like other scientists, does not rely to a considerable extent on flashes of insight and inspiration. The social scientist differs from the social philosopher, however, in respect of what happens to his hunches. The task of the social philosopher is to pass on to his fellow human beings his flashes of inspiration and insight, in the hope that he may thus help them to reach a deeper understanding of themselves and their problems. Many social philosophers have had a profound knowledge of and insight into human motivation, and in many cases their ideas have been accepted widely and with a good deal of enthusiasm for a time. Then the force has faded or the ideas have been distorted by their disciples, and a new set of ideas has had to be found.

Unlike philosophy, science proceeds not by way of ideas but by way of demonstration. The social scientist is primarily concerned with the testing out of ideas about human behaviour, sometimes these ideas are his own, sometimes they are the ideas of others. The emphasis of his work, however, is on the testing process rather than on the ideas themselves. There seems to be no reason why the study of human behaviour cannot be approached scientifically. The challenge which now faces the social scientist, however, is the development of suitable technique and methods by which to test ideas about human beings. Test-tubes are obviously out of the question, and whether the concept of measurement is useful in the social sciences is in constant dispute. One thing that is certain, however, is that suitable methods and techniques cannot be developed inside laboratories; the emphasis of the social sciences must inevitably be on field studies. This brings us back to the factory and to the need for co-operation between factory managers and social scientists.

The second difficulty that stands in the way of co-operation between social scientists and factory managers is that the generalizations made so far by social scientists have not as a rule developed out of an analysis of the kind of situations with which factory managers are familiar. It is a valid criticism of social science that it tends to study unreal or obscure situations. The sociologist and the social anthropologist prefer to sail up the Amazon to study a primitive society rather than to descend a coal-mine to study their own industrial society. The sociologist is, moreover, not the only social scientist who tries to avoid the problems of his own society; the experimental psychologist keeps hamsters in his basement, and the economist wanders off into a make-believe world of marginal men and free competitive markets. The knowledge gained by social scientists in these obscure situations is not valueless or completely irrelevant to the study of human relations problems in industry, but the difficulty lies in convincing the factory manager of this fact. I myself, as a student, spent a good deal of time studying the peck order of hens; this has subsequently proved most useful in the interpretation of what happens in a factory, but it would be extremely difficult to convince the factory manager of this. He would be extremely reluctant to regard himself as the pecker-in-chief among the hens, busy making life unpleasant for the rest of the flock. He might, of course, be more willing to see a resemblance between the moulting hens that are "off the lay" at the bottom of the pecking pyramid and the industrial workers in his factory who have failed to reach their production target.

The industrialist tends to ridicule or jeer at social scientists for their preoccupation with obscure situations. The attempt to escape from reality is, however, very understandable; it has been pointed out already that everyone, except the social scientists themselves, is reluctant to accept the possibility that human nature can be studied scientifically. Social scientists are, after all, human too, and they sometimes have doubts themselves. The ambivalence in their own attitude drives them to choose as subjects for study problems which are as remote as possible from their own day-to-day experiences. Furthermore, in doing this they tend to avoid the many pitfalls which await them if they become too involved in the problems of the people they are studying.

The third important reason for the lack of co-operation between social scientists and the industrialists is that industrialists demand from social science practical results which they rarely get. Factory managers who have given facilities for research to sociologists, have felt frustrated and disillusioned at the end of the research because they have not been presented with a formula to solve all the human relations problems of their factory. It is very doubtful whether the social sciences have yet developed to the stage at which they can supply such formulae. They are still very much at the descriptive stage, and cause and effect laws have yet to be found; only when such laws have been found will it be possible to apply them with any degree of confidence. It must be remembered that the social sciences are still a long way behind the physical sciences; indeed it is probably true to say that social scientists are sitting with Newton in his garden waiting for the apple which is still to fall.

If social scientists and industrialists were asked why there is not more co-operation between them, it is probable that both would give reasons other than those given above. Social scientists would probably say that fear, insecurity and the realization that all was not as it should be in their factories make factory managers reluctant to let outsiders into them. Factory managers would say that the jargon used by sociologists makes their reports and pronouncements incomprehensible and, therefore, useless; they would create dislocation and confusion in the factory without producing positive results. There is, perhaps, a certain amount of truth in both replies; it is undoubtedly true that most sociological research so far has been carried out in firms with reputations as "good employers" where it can be assumed that the management feels relatively secure. Moreover, it must be admitted that some sociological writings are unreadable. Nevertheless, these reasons are

not so fundamental as the ones given above, and both social scientists and factory managers in giving these replies would be making rationalizations. The sociologist would be excusing his own failure to make himself acceptable to the factory manager, and the industrialist would be covering his reluctance to have anything to do with the scientific study of human beings and his repulsion against the idea of it.

But in spite of all the difficulties involved, progress has been made. There is a sure, if slow, movement towards co-operation between social science and industry, and it may well be that if the present trend continues, the supply of social scientists may well prove inadequate to satisfy the demands for their services. Some investigations carried out inside industrial organizations by social scientists have produced information of real value about the determinants of human behaviour. Furthermore, quite apart from the usefulness of the results of these researches, factory managers have found in a number of cases that their factories have benefited from the actual process of participating in a piece of sociological research undertaken by competent research workers. The sociologist brings a fresh approach to problems that the factory manager is too familiar with to see clearly. Moreover, those concerned with the research at all levels in the factory hierarchy appear to welcome the opportunity to discuss their problems, and these discussions in themselves seem to act as an outlet and to relieve tensions. Many human relations problems in industry are problems of communication, and the research workers are frequently used as informal channels of communication in the factory. Experience has suggested that few factory workers are really anxious for the information they give or the opinions they express to be regarded as confidential by the research workers; most of them are anxious that their views should be passed on to those responsible for the running of the factory. The role the research worker assumes in the factory is an interesting one; in some ways it resembles the role of a catalyst in a chemical change, that is a substance which must be present during the reaction but which takes no part in it. Moreover, the relationship between the research worker and the factory has something in common with the doctor-patient relationship. An analogy has been drawn between sociological research and clinical medicine; in both cases a client comes to a professional person to discuss his problems and to get help in dealing with them.[1]

The sociologist, in discussing the results of the research with the

[1] A. T. M. Wilson, M.D., in the Introduction to Elliot Jacques *The Changing Culture of a Factory* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1951).

factory manager concerned, provides him with a new frame of reference inside which he can reconsider his day-to-day problems and reach a deeper understanding of what is happening in his factory. This frame of reference is used by the sociologist in analysing each factory he studies and, as it is the basis of the developing science of industrial sociology, it will be briefly described here.

The sociologist sees the factory as a small but complete society of individuals bound together by an organizational framework into a functioning team. He calls this organizational framework the social system of the factory. Reference has been made already to jargon, and while not wishing to defend its use, it is true to say that the sociologist has a very real difficulty in finding suitable language with which to define his concepts. The words "organization" and "organizational" have a number of different meanings even when used in relation to factory management. The term "organizational framework" would probably mean to the factory manager the organization chart which he hangs on his office wall. The sociologist conceives an organizational framework as being much wider than this. The organization chart comes into the picture of course; but so also do the consultative system of the factory; the local and internal trade union organization; formal group organizations such as foremen's associations; the wage structure, the labour-grading system and even such things as the canteen arrangements, in so far as they reflect the status structure of the factory. In short, the sociologist in using the term "the social system" implies anything in the factory that is stable and describable in factual terms. Like so many other ideas in the field of industrial sociology, the idea of the social system of the factory was developed and tested by Elton Mayo in his researches at Hawthorne. It was used by Lloyd Warner too; one of the Yankee City series of publications is entitled *The Social System of the Modern Factory.*[1]

When a sociologist studies a factory, his first aim is to describe its social system. He then tries to find out how far this social system makes possible the development of the happy and contributive human relationships which are essential to the effective fulfilment of the factory's objective. In doing this he assumes that the rules which govern the establishment of satisfactory relationships between individuals on a personal basis do not necessarily apply in exactly the same way to the factory situation. Each individual occupies a definite positon inside

[1] Lloyd Warner, W., and Low, J. O.: *The Social System of the Modern Factory. The Strike: A Social Analysis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947).

the factory's social system; thus problems of relationships are not only problems of relationships between individuals of different personalities, for these positions carry functions, attitudes, responsibilities, rights and privileges which pertain to the positions themselves, independent of the personality of the particular individual who occupies it. This can be most simply explained by the use of what might be considered as more jargon; that is, by saying that there is a distinction between a role relationship and a personal relationship. This does not imply, however, that personal relationships inside industry are unimportant or do not affect what happens in the factory; there is a continuous interaction between role relationships and personal relationships; the one affects and modifies the other. An example of this can be seen in the relationship between foremen and shop stewards. No one with practical experience of industry is naïve enough to suppose that the relationship between Tom Jones, the foreman, and Dick Smith, the steward, is entirely determined by the sort of fellows both are. Institutional factors are important too; both might be mature and stable personalities, capable of making good relationships, but if the custom and practice of the factory demanded that they should be at loggerheads, they would find it embarrassing to be friendly; their good relationships would be the cause of a considerable amount of stress and would be likely to break down under the strain. Conversely, in the democratic type of factory, where the management and the local trade-union organization, although they may have differences at times, fundamentally approve of each other, foremen and shop stewards who cannot find a basis for co-operation and are antagonistic towards each other will be out of line with the general pattern of behaviour in the factory. There are foremen and personnel managers too who try to build up good relationships with the stewards in order to facilitate the solving of their day-to-day problems but who remain in a constant state of anxiety lest their directors or senior executives find out that they are on good terms with "the other side." Shop stewards face similar difficulties when those they represent accuse them of being "too well in with the bosses." Factory managements have been known to send foremen on training courses designed by outside organizations to develop the skill of consultative leadership, without first facing the issue of whether they are prepared to encourage or accept this kind of approach inside their own factories. This is not only foolish but cruel, for it intensifies the stress to which the foreman is subject in carrying out his day-to-day job.

The distinction between role and personal relationships becomes obvious and important when men are promoted. There are managers who are still reluctant to promote a man to control those who have previously been his colleagues; they fear that the newly-promoted foreman will be too well known to the men and will, therefore, have difficulty in maintaining discipline. Promotion of this kind often takes place however, and is generally successful; men have assumed control over those with whom they have previously worked, and not all of them have had startling powers of leadership. What happens is that their role in the social system of the factory changes; as has been so often observed, their attitudes towards others change, as do the attitudes of others towards them. Often their habits change too; promotion may mean eating in another canteen or hanging clothes in another part of the factory. In the mining industry, the acquisition of supervisory status may be marked by a move from the public to the saloon bar of the local public house. At the outset, as they experience the breaking down of old role relationships, those concerned pass through a period of anxiety and insecurity. In normal circumstances, they make a fairly rapid readjustment, however, and recreate their role relationships on a different basis.

An awareness of this distinction between role and person is essential to a satisfactory adjustment to factory life. Inside the social system of a factory, there are a number of potential sources of conflict, and clashes will occur, no matter how carefully human relations problems are handled. Relations between line foremen and functional specialists, for example, will inevitably become strained at times; departments concerned primarily with cost cutting will come into conflict with departments concerned with product quality, and foremen and personnel managers will sooner or later have a disagreement about how a particular labour problem should be handled. When these inevitable clashes occur, trouble and unhappiness will be kept to a minimum if the individuals concerned recognize that they are in conflict because of the roles they occupy rather than because of a conflict of personalities. Once they begin to feel that they are being attacked as people and to develop feelings of personal inadequacy, the situation rapidly gets out of hand. The personnel manager is particularly vulnerable in this regard, for he is a relatively new-comer to industry and his role has not yet crystallized. This makes it difficult for him to dissociate personal from role relationships. Many personnel managers have set about their jobs with a sense of social purpose and a genuine desire to make a

contribution to the welfare of the factory workers with whom they are brought into contact, hoping that in return their good intentions will be recognized and that they be regarded as friends. Some, however, appear to be completely unaware that the workers in the factory regard them as members of the management team; they represent authority and are, therefore, to be regarded with that suspicion and distrust which characterize relationships between workers and management in our present industrial society. The personnel manager stands on the opposite side of the gulf from the factory workers no matter how good his intentions may be. He may be able to bridge this gulf if he recognizes that it is there, but to ignore it altogether inevitably leads to disillusionment and failure to understand the disappointing lack of response.

Thus the sociologist believes that human behaviour in the factory is determined by an interaction between the personality of an individual and the functions, attitudes, reponsibilities, rights and duties conferred upon the role he occupies by the social system of that factory. The sociologist is interested in finding out how effective the social system is, not only in achieving the manifest objective of the factory, but also in providing adequate resources for the people concerned to reach those levels of attainment which their own environment and experience has led them to consider desirable. E. Wight Bakke has suggested that unless a social system can successfully satisfy individual ambitions it cannot achieve its main objective, the reason for this being that dissatisfied men and women experience tension and anxiety which make it difficult for them to establish good relationships with others.[1]

In seeking to establish cause and effect laws of human behaviour the sociologist believes that it is essential to understand the compulsion placed upon individuals by the various social systems in which they are involved. Many sociologists would argue that these compulsions are the main determinant of behaviour and would quarrel with the Freudian conception of a basic human nature. Evidence can be found in anthropological study suggesting that personality is determined by the social framework. Among the Tchambuli, for example, the temperamental characteristics of the two sexes are directly opposite to what we consider normal; woman is the dominant, impersonal and managing sex, while man is the clinging vine. Again, judging by our own standards, we would regard the Arapesh as a very timid people; among this tribe aggressive behaviour is frowned upon. The idea that a social system produces its own personality type might usefully

[1] Wight Bakke, E.: *Bonds of Organization* (New York: Harper Bros., 1950).

be applied to industrial situations. Studies of the social systems of docks and rolling mills might reveal why the industrial behaviour of dock workers differs so much from that of steel workers. It would appear that it is not a lack of interesting material close at hand that sends the anthropologist up the Amazon.

The final point that must be made about the sociologist's frame of reference is that, although he regards the factory as a complete society, he does not regard it as a discrete or isolated one. The members of the factory society are members of other societies too. The family is a small society, so is the neighbourhood, and there are many other small social groups, each with its own social system, that function inside the wider framework of society as a whole. Each of us occupies a number of roles simultaneously, and there is a continuous reaction between, or rather an infiltration from, one social system to another. To return for a moment to the newly-promoted foreman: when his role in the factory social system changes, other roles may be affected too. Before being promoted, the foreman may have been an active member of a trade-union branch, but such a role would probably be incompatible with his new one. His domestic role may change; he may now be able to afford to marry or to think about starting a family, or he may acquire additional status or authority at home. Rarely, however, do all his various roles change simultaneously and adjustment to change is facilitated by the fact that its direct impact is felt only in certain areas of life.

Sociologists have criticized the work of Elton Mayo in that he appears to have studied the Hawthorne factory with a complete disregard for its social background. A similar criticism can be made of the research more recently undertaken in the Glacier Metal Factory by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. The only reference made by Mayo to trade unions, for example, was to the effect that they were so seldom mentioned that it was not thought necessary to discuss them. Similarly, there is no reference in his work to the economic framework of American industry or to the social class and occupational structure of America.

It is, however, quite unrealistic to attempt to explain industrial behaviour in terms of the dynamics of the factory situation alone. The social class structure of our society has a profound effect on motivation and behaviour inside industry. Political institutions are important too, so are the bitter memories that industrial workers retain of exploitation in the past, memories which are still operative in

determining their attitudes. The sociologist in studying a factory has, therefore, to concern himself not only with the social system of that factory and the interaction of role and personality in determining behaviour inside it, but he has also to consider a wide background of social institutions, covering the family, the community, and the economic and political organization of our industrial society as a whole.

SECTION III

LABOUR AND MANAGEMENT

CHAPTER IX

MANAGEMENT AND TRADE UNIONS

By J. O. BLAIR-CUNYNGHAME, O.B.E., M.A.

WHEN examining critically any human institution, it is always salutary to have a look at what has gone before, not only thus to gain perspective and balance, but because any aspect of contemporary society naturally owes its present form very largely to the thoughts and actions of men and women in relation to events and circumstances in the years gone by. Wherever there is present a strongly predominant thread of emotional continuity, as with trade unions, this is more than ever important. That an injustice or hardship suffered for a generation takes three generations to eradicate is no mere platitude.

It is no part of this brief analysis of contemporary management's views of trade unions to attempt a history of organized labour, but to so many young and even middle-aged managers the modern structure of complex trade unionism presents such an appearance of permanence and inevitability that it is well to recall the striking changes through which the movement has passed in a comparatively short time. One of the most common conceits of mankind, which gives rise to many serious misjudgments and misunderstandings, is that the present is of supreme importance. In this way the essentially dynamic nature of the vast moving fabric of mankind's development is largely overlooked, and faulty emphasis is inevitably placed upon problems and events which concern us today or loom large in front of us for tomorrow.

It is but eighty years since the two Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1876 and the more important Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875, usually known as the Combination Act gave immunity from indictable conspiracy to one or more persons doing things in furtherance of a trade dispute. The Trades Disputes Act of 1906 gave to acts, which the Statute of 1875 protected from criminal liability, a similar immunity from civil liability, and, equally important, gave to the trade-union funds immunity from liability for civil wrongs, i.e. torts.

Three other principal landmarks in the relationship of the State to trade unions were, first, an Act in 1913, which allowed a union to apply its funds to any lawful object provided in the rules, except only that support and payment of parliamentary candidates should be approved by a majority ballot of members, with the right to contract out. Secondly, there was the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927, passed after the General Strike of 1926, which declared a strike illegal if it had an object beyond the furtherance of a trade dispute in an industry in which the strikers were engaged, and if it were designed to coerce the Government either directly or by inflicting hardship on the community. Amongst other things, this Act additionally qualified the immunity granted to trade-union funds by the Act of 1906, as described above. Thirdly, there was the repeal of the 1927 Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act by the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1946.

This rather bald summary of the principal expressions of the formal attitude of society, legally organized as the State, towards the voluntary organizations of large sections of industrial society, formed to protect the interests of the men and women in the ordinary business of earning their living, gives the bare outline only of the striking growth of trade unionism in less than a century to its present position of accepted economic and political significance in the affairs of this country.

The Present Object

In attempting to set out the salient points of modern management's view of trade unionism an extensive licence of generalization must be granted and taken. There is such a wide variety of size, method of organization and constitution amongst the trade unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, that it would clearly be impossible, without this generalization, to present, in reasonable compass, any analysis of management's criticism and appreciation of the work and actions of the trade unions as a whole.

Again, management's view of trade unionism will be influenced just as much by the history, size and constitution of the particular firm or industry as by the complexity of the trade-union movement itself.

It is proposed, therefore, to assume for the present purpose that there are three principal types of trade unions—

1. The Craft, or skilled, Union, comprising men and women engaged in one particular craft or job, including unions representing managerial or supervisory staff.

2. General Unions, covering in the main unskilled or heavier work, with membership in a very large number of industries up and down the country.

3. Industrial Unions, which may include certain of these described in (1) and (2) above, but where the members are principally confined to one definable industry—e.g. N.U.M., N.U.R., A.S.L.E.F. and to examine the management's views of their merits and defects in relation to three principal fields of activity—

(*a*) Wages, salaries, hours and conditions of work.

(*b*) Individual grievances, including redundancy and the like.

(*c*) Responsibility for and participation in joint consultation, training schemes, and measures designed to increase productivity generally.

Wages, Hours and Conditions of Work

In general, there has been a less fundamental change in the trade-union approach to this highly important question than is often suggested. Tactics obviously have to be suited to the circumstances of each particular wage claim, but the long-term strategic objective of any union to improve the standard of life of its members must remain the same.

Since the war, major wage claims, such as those on behalf of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, have been submitted annually to the employers. During the earlier of these years, the claims were in the main based upon the significant rise in the cost of living, as measured by the index of retail prices issued by the Ministry of Labour. When there has been little movement in the index, the claims have been argued on the grounds of a proportionate share of rising money profits.

The cases put forward by the various trade unions or groups of unions have quite frequently been supported by lengthy and well-reasoned economic argument of a kind, although sometimes there has been a more impressive appearance of incontrovertible evidence than actual substance. During the period immediately succeeding the first severe economic blizzard of the winter of 1946-47, when a real measure of wage-claim restraint was undoubtedly accepted by the unions, the arguments usually took the convincing form of a plea to maintain the minimum standard of the lowest paid worker—often the general and unskilled workers—while latterly the claims have more often been for the same or proportionate increases to all grades of staff, particularly, of course, where the case is presented by an industrial union.

In the end, however, the claims boil down to a straightforward

request for more money. This is hardly surprising, and indeed it is more so that there should have been so much academic criticism of trade unions for initially claiming very large increases, supported by apparently unanswerable arguments and then accepting in the end, as a compromise, a considerably smaller figure.

Industrial management, accustomed still to the comparatively unfettered play of supply and demand in a free price economy, finds it a good deal less surprising that a high price should first be asked and a lower one finally accepted, than academic exponents of wage theory appear to do. After all, many a manager asks for a higher salary than he expects to get, and there doesn't seem to be any valid reason why a union should not do the same on behalf of its members.

Many industries and firms, of course, never actually take part in live negotiations with the trade unions for increases in wages. Over large sectors of industry there are sliding-scale agreements linking wages to the cost-of-living index and, again, countless firms accept the outcome of negotiations conducted on their behalf by representative bodies of employers, while the smaller ones—and some of the very biggest—await the outcome of a wage claim lodged in their industry, or in an allied one, and then unilaterally advance their own rates proportionately.

In certain of the public service nationalized industries, into the traditional pattern of negotiation and arbitration there has been injected a disturbing feature in the shape of a final direct appeal by the union—usually an industrial union—to the Government. On one occasion at least there has been a joint appeal of this nature by both employers and unions. This has directly introduced the possibility of a national wage policy, and at one time this inability of nationalized industry to use the ultimate argument of the private employer—that he has no more money in the till to grant an increased claim—looked like introducing a potentially dangerous difference between the two.

In the event, however, this dangerously totalitarian turn to wage determination has never really materialized, and a comparison of the wage increases in nationalized and in private industries generally has shown that in the main the former have not been larger than the latter. This is partly due to a sensible responsibility on the part of the industrial unions concerned and partly to the insuperable difficulty experienced by the craft unions in asking for more money for the same job in a nationalized industry than in a private one!

Nevertheless, management is entitled to be critical of trade-union wage policy on the ground that central negotiations, carried out on

behalf of large numbers of members employed under widely varying conditions in different parts of the country, in firms of every conceivable size and degree of profitability, inevitably lead to a rigidity of the wage structure which may be damaging to the national economy in the long run.

If to this situation is added the granting of the largest increase to the lowest paid workers—or even giving the same actual money increase to all grades in accordance with the traditional pattern of differentials—then the result is a serious deterioration in the relative reward to the highly skilled or responsible job. With the incursion of the trade-union representation into the supervisory and higher administrative grades of staff this process is accentuated by the unavoidable compression of a wide range of individual jobs, where the value of the work performed is largely dependent upon the personal qualities of the man himself, into a uniform set of salary scales. Justice and consistency may well have been achieved, but at the expense of real incentive and reward for outstanding effort.

The wage pattern and its relation to the hours and conditions of work have become increasingly complicated over the years by the successive settlements of claims conducted on the basis described. In consequence, there has been some talk of the need for sweeping simplification of the whole structure.

It would, indeed, be valuable if this could be achieved quickly and over a wide field, but change in these matters of the money a man earns and the way he earns it must always come slowly, at any rate until human nature itself undergoes a dramatic change. It seems, therefore, very unlikely that there is any short cut to simplification which would be at the same time practical and acceptable both to employers and employed. The most that can be done in this respect is to emphasize constantly the serious dangers to the national economy in the long run of the present inflexibility and relative reduction of the reward to the highly skilled and responsible jobs.

The trade-union machine is inevitably slow to respond to the pressure for changes of basic policy such as this, but has usually shown itself capable of sound and intelligent compromise with fresh circumstances, if these are genuinely and persuasively presented to them by the management across the negotiating table.

Despite, however, the defects of the present system of determining wages and salaries in British industry which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs, the record in terms of stoppages of work, or

disputes and of relative economic recovery over the years since the war, has not been at all bad. The country's costs in some industries are almost certainly high compared with world standards, but other factors besides wages and salaries are contributing to this state of affairs, and management as a whole in this country would probably consider it a very poor bargain to lose the influence of responsible trade unionism in the determination of rates of pay and conditions of work, in return for full freedom to deal with each and every employee individually on these complex matters.

Redress of Individual Grievances, Redundancies, and the Like

The advocacy of a trade union on behalf of a member who alleges unfair treatment in some way or another has undoubtedly been greatly strengthened by the general condition of full employment which has prevailed since the war. Even if it never be used by the union in arguing a case with the management, the potential sanction of strike action, whether it be official or not, against the current background of full order books and shortages of skilled labour, is a powerful influence which a responsible management cannot afford to ignore. Indeed, it would appear that without this weapon there is very little effective pressure which a union can bring to bear on the management to redress the great majority of grievances, real or imaginary, which arise in the industrial field.

In fact, however, this conclusion is far from the truth. There is a growing appreciation on the part of enlightened management of a moral obligation to ensure that a man or woman who alleges unjust treatment should be given at least a fair chance of stating a case on appeal. This developing sense of the importance of justice in industrial society is, of course, a natural consequence of the rapid evolution of society as a whole in this respect. The massive social and politicial changes in recent years represent an increasingly effective demand by individual men and women for recognition and fair treatment in every aspect of their relationships with each other. It is probably true, therefore, that there is a much greater readiness in industry to accord a rough code of justice to employees than the trade unions will admit, and which hardly requires the stimulus of possible strike action before it is given practical form.

It is by no means uncommon for firms, and even whole industries, to set up formal procedures for appeal by individual employees against what they regard as unjust decisions by the management, and although

this in itself is no guarantee that an employee will invariably consider that the final decision is fair in all the circumstances, the very existence of such an arrangement is nearly always found to be beneficial to the general relationship between management and men.

Some trade unions handle these cases better than others and, as always, a great deal depends upon the particular trade-union official and upon the manager concerned.

The lower ranks of management are naturally suspicious and often highly critical of any formal appeals procedure, and regard the reversal by higher management of a decision taken in an individual case, as a result of trade-union representation, as seriously undermining the basis of their authority.

There is no simple answer to this obvious difficulty, and it will continue to be one of the major points of friction where the stresses of developing society will be most keenly felt for years to come. Carefully handled, however, by intelligent trade-union officials, who, together with enlightened management, are appreciative of the ultimate impossibility of distinguishing between justice and injustice as absolute measures, a significant contribution to well-being, and therefore to efficiency, can certainly be made by dealing promptly, patiently and objectively with each case of this sort as it arises.

There remains perhaps the most deep-seated of all the grievances which an employee may harbour against the management. This arises when he loses his job through redundancy. Here the trade-union attitude today seems to the average manager to be less convincing although understandable on the short-term grounds of protection of the interests of their members.

During times of heavy unemployment, the traditional trade-union approach to impending redundancy was frequently a strong plea for spreading the smaller work load over the same labour force by short-time working. This was understandable on humanitarian grounds and, where the expected duration was temporary only, on long-term economic grounds as well. Such a practice was, in fact, often adopted by management, although it resulted in actual inefficiency and heavy losses.

Against a background of full employment, however, a trade-union resistance to any reduction of the labour force, whatever the root cause, enforced by an overt threat of strike action is, on the face of it, less easily supportable in the long-term interests of the members.

A great deal in fact depends upon the precise reason for the surplus

of manpower and the circumstances in which it occurs. In the case of the big industrial unions, for instance, were they to be confronted (which is unlikely) with a heavy measure of redundancy arising either from technological change or a generally declining demand for the product or the service, this would mean men having to leave an industry where they had worked exclusively up to that time. Here there would clearly be grounds for the earliest consultation between management and unions, and the most critical examination of the problem with a view to alleviating the distress by stopping recruitment, re-training and planned transfers to other industries and areas.

Where, however, as is more common, the redundancy is within one unit or group of firms within an industry, or of a particular craft in one area, where a demand for the same skill exists elsewhere, the attitude of the unions will usually be determined by the reason for the redundancy. Should it be due to a temporary recession in demand, there will be great pressure to work a shorter week and in some measure to spread the smaller amount of work over a given number of men. Should the redundancy be likely to be permanent, arising either from technological change or a permanent decline in demand, then the unions will bring powerful forces to bear to obtain compensation for the men displaced and the maximum contribution towards their transfer to other jobs, either in the same locality or elsewhere.

It is true that a partial reason for the strong feelings on this subject and for some of the pronouncements on redundancy, which are nearly always over-simplified and made in general terms rather than with regard to the circumstances of the particular case, is of course to be found in the bitter memories of the bad days of the 1930s—and before that—when the competition for jobs was a struggle for existence. At the same time, however, under current economic conditions and against the deepening sense of responsibility by society as a whole for the men and women who compose it, there seems less justification than hitherto for significant amounts of unemployment to develop suddenly and to persist.

In other words, a great deal can be done by the management in the way of intelligent planning ahead and full consultation with the trade unions concerned. Similarly, given full information as early as possible, trade-unions, although still quite clearly primarily acting in the interests of their members, are in a much better position to make a constructive contribution to solving the difficulties before they arise.

There are many instances where management and unions have

together agreed upon a procedure for dealing with redundancy and there are, of course, several ways in which a far-sighted management can reduce the severity of the effects. For example, long-term planning of manpower requirements, if generally carried out throughout industry, can largely prevent the painful circumstances arising from the necessity to dismiss men a few months after they have been taken on or, as between different firms in an industry, can permit the deliberate matching of surpluses in one place with shortages in another. Legitimate and useful pressure can be brought to bear upon managements by trade unions to adopt such practices as these.

In the main, the responsible trade unions, craft, industrial and general, are quite alive to the risk of using their powerful bargaining position to attempt to secure indefinitely the retention of labour in firms and industries when judged by commercial considerations (or by those of a slightly different nature that may sometimes apply to nationalized industries) it can no longer be economically used. The grave consequences of this to the standard of living of the very men and women who comprise the membership of the unions is too clear to be ignored.

Joint Consultation, Productivity and Training

Joint consultation between management and their employees by means of works councils and advisory and production committees is not by any means a development only of the post-war years. It varies greatly in form and effectiveness and in some ways has suffered both from the formality with which it was inevitably vested in the recently nationalized industries, and from the prominence given to it by Government and trade-union spokesmen as the apparent panacea for all ills—and particularly as the "Open Sesame" to productivity—in the years immediately succeeding 1945.

Trade-union attitudes to joint consultation have varied from the frankly hostile, based upon a fear of undermining the union's authority with its members, to attempts to use it as a means of securing participation in management. From the management point of view nothing but good can ensue from any process which will effectively enable the experience, knowledge and skill of the man on the job to be brought to bear in the formative stages of the approach to any problem. The principal risks which must be avoided are prolonged discussion of matters by those who have no special knowledge to contribute, the use of such a procedure to delay decisions which may well be unpopular among

sections of the employees for that reason alone, and the abrogation by the management of the ultimate responsibility for the decision itself.

Too often it would appear that trade unions of all three categories have applied insufficient thought to their real objective in pressing for joint consultation, and to the best way of achieving this. The industrial unions, not unnaturally, seem to have the clearest sense of reponsibility for the well-being of the industry, and of course, their officials the most comprehensive knowledge of the industry's problem. But even here, when consultation moves from the plane of top management and union officials to lower management and employees' representatives, where the real potential benefits must surely lie, all sorts of doubts, suspicions and difficulties arise.

So far as top level consultation is concerned, where national officers of the unions themselves participate, the craft and general unions, for different reasons, are frequently handicapped by inadequate knowledge of the particular industry and by insufficient time to devote to its problems in the face of a wide range of pressing commitments in different industries throughout the length and breadth of the country.

In both cases there often seems to be a lack of communication between the national officers of the bigger unions and their respective members who have a real contribution to make in consultation with the local management on the workshop floor.

Lastly, the extension of formal joint consultation procedures to categories of middle and higher management, where trade-union membership is growing rapidly, requires the most careful and constructive thought, if it is not to disrupt and displace the normal process of consultation which is effectively carried on, day in and day out, in the ordinary give and take of the process of dynamic executive management.

Despite these weaknesses, however, the ever-widening field of contact between manager and managed which is provided by the formal and informal procedures of joint consultation, now being developed generally throughout industry, can do nothing but good. At the least it provides a means by which the constant frictions can be reduced and brought under control before they cause serious trouble, and at the best an efficient co-operative application of the available knowledge and experience to the solution of industry's problems as they arise.

As regards training to develop both the particular technical skills, whether in engineering, chemistry, accounting or the many other specialized functions of a modern industry, and also the more general

or social skills of management and supervision, the trade unions have always shown the liveliest interest and are making an effective contribution.

Some of the most fruitful joint consultation takes place on the general subject of training and closely allied topics, such as promotion and recruitment. The craft unions have, of course, a long tradition in this respect and continue to take the keenest interest in apprenticeship schemes in particular, but the industrial unions, the general unions and (an important subdivision of craft) the clerical unions, all display a lively sense of responsibility for general education and training in management skills, not only as a basis of individual advancement of their members, but to increase the efficiency of the firm or industry.

In this respect, management in certain firms and industries could well take a leaf from the union book. On the more specialized subject of modern techniques designed to increase productivity, and in particular with the development and explanation of Work Study methods, the T.U.C. itself and some trade unions are again making an effective contribution. The Research Department of the T.U.C. runs courses for the explanation of an instruction in Work Study while considerable sums of money are now being spent by a number of trade unions on general training courses in the principal economic problems in various industries and also on the basic problems of management and supervision.

There should be no illusion, however, that the trade-union policy on these matters is entirely disinterested. The trade unions and the T.U.C. are the first to point out that the interest of their members and of industry generally are co-incidental so far as the development on the fullest possible scale of measures likely to increase productivity are concerned. There is no shadow of doubt, from the trade-union point of view, that a share of any increased productivity must accrue, in the shape of a higher reward, to their members. Management can take no serious objection to this but can only reserve the right to argue over the size of the share. After all, it is what a manager expects for himself from his own contribution to the economic well-being of his firm!

Conclusion

To sum up, therefore, there is little doubt that the effective influence of the trade unions in the industrial field has very considerably increased in the last ten years, and it is probably true that this influence is greatest in the nationalized industries. There are positive advantages in the

development, but also some dangers. It is most important, however, that the calibre of the officers of the unions should be maintained at a high level, if these merits are to continue to outweigh the drawbacks.

The apparently increasing interest which trade unionism is taking in political affairs, by discussion at union annual conferences and at the T.U.C. itself, is more the product of the greater publicity which is inevitably being given to the contrast between the industrially based expression of political socialism on the one hand, and that from the other important elements of our society which support labour politically, on the other, than of any fresh incursion of the trade unions into politics. The trade unions have always formed the major foundation of the political Labour Party from the earliest days of the latter, but hitherto there has been little in the way of challenge to the powerful influence which they have wielded.

The growing appreciation by trade-union leaders of the fundamentals of the economic problems confronting this country in a world economy, and a consequently greater area of common analysis of objective—but not necessarily of means—between them and management, has inevitably aroused suspicion amongst their most active members that their interests are being overlooked in an unnatural alliance between the bosses and the trade-union officials. The frequent public calls in the Press for greater discipline in the unions and for a higher degree of unanimity between officials and the rank and file is accordingly more than a little misguided and can probably only be fully achieved by a totalitarian regimentation of the membership of a union by the executives in a policy which would be wholly and ideologically opposed to the real interests of the country or to our democratic way of life. There are, in fact, one or two unions where that apparent solidarity is in fact achieved, but they are not happy examples of typical British trade unionism.

There is a much wider measure of sympathy and understanding for the rights of the individual man and woman in industry on the part of management than there used to be, and as a result, and partly through such means as joint consultation, both formal and informal, there now exists a far greater number of important points of contact between management and employees than hitherto. This provides a more extensive and effective framework for the hard, practical business of constantly breaking down the countless frictions which will continue to arise as society progressively evolves.

Generally, in fact, there has been a less dramatic change in the basic

relationships between management and the trade unions and in the respective tasks which each must continue to perform than some would have us believe. It is sheer escapism to maintain that the changes of the last few decades, or even of the last few years, have so reduced the remaining objectives of the trade unions and brought the viewpoints of management and unions so closely into accord that there is really no need for the latter to play the traditional role any longer.

The rate of social and technological change is not likely to be reduced in the foreseeable future, and the consequent pressures and stresses which this will continue to produce in industrial society will make even greater demands upon the established means for dealing with, and reducing them, than ever before.

Conversely, there is equally little real justification for the view that most of the economic difficulties which have recently confronted this country can be attributed to the inflexible and outdated pressure of the trade unions for more money for less and less work. The undoubted frustration, anxiety and unhappiness of which only too many men and women are conscious in this modern age, and which are evidenced in inertia, laziness, unwillingness to work hard and co-operatively, arise from a far deeper rooted cause than this.

Man is becoming increasingly aware of the necessity for something more than a mere material reward for his work if he is to derive a genuine satisfaction from this difficult business of living, and until he finds it he will continue to be restless, full of apparent contradictions, but never, by any means, wholly bad—just unhappy.

CHAPTER X

TRADE UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT

By EDWIN FLETCHER, M.A., A.S.A.A.

DURING the past four or five years trade unions have been paying increasing attention to training their officers in production and management subjects. Many unions have taken some action or other in this direction, although—on both sides of industry—there is an odd group or two which finds it difficult to understand what is happening or, for extreme right or extreme left politics, feels an instinctive desire to oppose it. The argument in the following paragraphs is primarily directed at employers, and therefore must start with an account of the various types of production and management training which are being sponsored and utilized by the trade-union movement, but about which there has been very little publicity.

Like other successful schemes of training, the T.U.C. facilities are based on the principle of making available a wide range of alternative and complementary facilities, from which the pattern of training of any individual can be tailored.

At the bottom of the pyramid are various one-day and week-end schools—organized with the W.E.A., N.C.L.C., individual unions, as well as the T.U.C.—at which in one form or another the responsibilities of the trade-union movement in production and other economic matters can be discussed. Obviously, there is a fairly precise limit to what can be taught in a week-end, but at this early stage it is a question of attitudes and the removal of misconceptions. The importance of such schools, usually of a most informal nature, should not be underestimated.

The best-defined stage of this trade-union production and management training is the one-week course organized by the T.U.C. at their Education Centre at Clapham.[1] It is staffed primarily by the T.U.C. Production Department with the assistance of outside specialists, who are brought in not because of any lack of trade-union teaching ability

[1] Transferred late 1956, to the new T.U.C. Headquarters, Great Russell Street.

but because the week's course is based on three aspects of the subjects: (*a*) the management technique itself; (*b*) why management is proceeding along these lines; and (*c*) the trade-union implications of the various techniques. The subject of Motion Study is, therefore, *introduced* by a prominent consultant, and is followed by trade-union discussion. Time Study is similarly introduced, and followed by practical work and discussion with a trainer from the T.U.C. Production Department. Job Evaluation is introduced by an official of a prominent firm which has adopted the technique after reaching agreement with the responsible unions. The introduction of these three "outsiders" during the week has contributed to the success of this course, through which—at Clapham or at separate union (A.E.U.) summer schools that have utilized the T.U.C. facilities—over 1,200 union officers have passed.

There is no intention in the mind of the T.U.C. Production Department of "selling" any of these techniques. It would be wrong of the T.U.C. to do so, for their introduction must depend on individual circumstances and the attitude of employers, on how they are introduced and if there has been adequate prior and detailed consultation.

Of course it is impossible to complete the study of any of the subjects in one week, and probably as many questions are raised as are answered. There is therefore, (*a*) further study of individual subjects at week-end schools, and (*b*) a second week with roughly the same subjects, but at a more advanced level and with more practical work; this developed with the detailed co-operation of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

A further stage in the training facilities is at technical colleges. Due originally to the initiative of the Transport and General Workers' Union and the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, a one-month technical college course for trade unionists was developed at Birmingham. As a result of guaranteed attendances by the N.U.G.M.W. this was extended to fourteen technical colleges in various parts of the country. About 2,000 local officers of that union have taken the course, which proved very useful in developing its own training services. The greater part of the curriculum was within the Work Study range.

Superimposed as the most advanced practical training regularly provided for union officers is that which can be arranged with one or others of four firms of industrial consultants, and lasting for periods up to four months. It may be taken primarily on the workshop floor—usually in an industry other than that from which the officer comes in order that the principles rather than the current details will be given

prior attention—or in residential training establishments run by some of the industrial consultants. While several dozen union officers have now received such training, the value lies not so much in the number attached to any union as in the increasing number of unions which have the resulting technical advice available for assisting busy negotiators and advising, as necessary, the General Secretary and Executive Committee. Arrangements have been made with the Cranfield Work Study School for trade-union officials to be included in their basic ten-week course, and similar facilities are now available at the Royal Technical College, Glasgow; the College of Technology, Loughborough; and the College of Technology and Commerce, Leicester

Many unions have made use of the facilities briefly described above, in one combination or another, and often have blended in a form of practical training of their own, such as that operated by the Transport and General Workers' Union on a T.W.I. basis or by the textile unions in association with trade organizations. The T.U.C. assists individual unions in their own courses as necessary.

There is therefore now provided within the trade-union movement —and additional to the many technical courses available elsewhere— a wide range of training in production and management subjects, the exploitation of which is having a very noticeable effect on trade-union activities. Technical training is available to the shop-steward and to the full-time official, both chosen for office by their colleagues as people of ability and integrity and usually with a detailed knowledge of the craft and industry concerned.

All this adds up to an annual investment by the trade-union movement in training in management subjects totalling scores of thousands of pounds. More important, however, than the actual scale of expenditure, as far as management-union relationships are concerned, are the *reasons* for these developments.

This training represents neither "acquiescent" trade unionism nor the result of any trade-union desire to do management's job for them. But it is most effective when associated with positive trade-union action of the classical type—extracting higher wage rates from reluctant employers—and, management should note, rarely extends beyond the four-month industrial consultants' training. And in case trade unionists become too self-satisfied about the comprehensive programme, it may be suggested that this post-war generation will probably be mocked at, when history comes to be written, for going in the right direction, but too cautiously, too slowly.

An immediate and compelling reason for trade-union interest is that these production techniques are in industry at present whether the trade-union movement likes them or not. If trade unions wish to make full and good use of their negotiating and consultative rights and responsibilities, their officers must be more than just acquainted with the techniques, their technical jargon and their implications.

There is, however, very much more to it than negotiating rights. The satisfactions desired for trade-union members are much more than pay-packets. There is this nebulous conception of industrial democracy, which means so much and is so compelling in spite of the fact that very few people interpret its day-to-day requirements in precisely the same way. The complex nature of industry today—1956, means that as soon as trade unions and trade unionists claim that they are to have any worth-while say in their industrial destinies, they are embarking on a technical operation.

There are many vivid examples of this, from the effort to make the best use of existing capital equipment through Work Study, to the current introduction of electronic devices. So far within the United Kingdom automation has had little effect on the labour demand position, although there have been some difficulties arising primarily from the methods and circumstance of its introduction. In the motor-car industry this is shown by the fact that, while modern methods of automatic production are being introduced in all the major firms, trouble has been experienced in certain firms only. The resistance has been caused by casual treatment at a time when work-people have been extremely anxious about their own circumstances, and by the absence of adequate consultation prior to the changes, which indicated the employers' unwillingness to allow the trade unions to undertake fully their proper job of protecting their members. No trade-union organization could tolerate this situation without a struggle; but being inadequately understood in several quarters led to confusion in some minds as to the basic reasons for the dispute and to the trade-union objectives.

The justification and, indeed, the urgency of introducing up-to-date methods of manufacture is recognized by the trade-union movement, and only in a few marginal cases, associated more with the process of introduction than with the actual methods of operation, has there been trouble. This is partly because industrial changes are accepted as in the natural order of things and are one of the reasons for the existence of trade unions; and partly because at the industrial or at the plant level

there is usually a share of the increased productivity being directed, after negotiations, to trade-union members. Strong and militant trade unionism can ensure that the proportion is reasonably fair and that the rights of trade-union members are protected during the change.

There is, of course, a danger in generalizing on these matters. Unions affiliate to the T.U.C. but retain their autonomy. They vary in size from over a million and a quarter members down to thirty. They vary in shape from the Craft to the General Union, from the Industrial to the Occupational. But whatever their size and shape, their history, their traditions or the various provisions of their rule book, they are operating generally in the same direction. The justification for their existence is that they are protecting and advancing the interests of their members—interests in the form of wages, conditions, status in industry and a degree of control over the trade.

These responsibilities have two complementary lines of activity: first, extracting from reluctant employers a reasonable share of what is produced—itself a process of putting pressure on the more backward employers which has considerable social value; secondly, being concerned in detail that there is "something in the kitty" to argue about. In conditions of mass unemployment the best way to increase what is in the kitty is to organize work for the unemployed, and trade-union emphasis tends to be in the direction of better control of industry. In current conditions of full employment, unions can more enthusiastically join conversations about labour-saving devices. Maybe unions should be equally concerned with efficiency in conditions of widespread unemployment; but their income contracts with a falling paying membership, while members are members even if unemployed—in contrast to even the most "tender" management which has to think of labour as part of its production schedule.

In general, then, trade-union activities accord with the prevailing circumstances, and the emphasis on the strand in trade-union thinking concerned with industrial efficiency, varies accordingly.

The early paragraphs of this chapter briefly outlined current trade-union training facilities related to the practice of increasing industrial efficiency. Such training is, of course, only an indication of the full positive strand in trade unionism. Even before the war, in conditions of mass unemployment, the trade-union concern with changing the structure of the coal-mining industry (and also London transport) was as much the result of a Work Study type of inquiry as a Socialist gesture. For the trade-union movement is not a Socialist organization:

there are conservatives (mainly, but not only, small "c"!) in the branches and in the higher levels of T.U. organization. The nationalization policy for the coal-mining industry, which developed over the years and was brought to fruition in the immediate post-war period, was fundamentally the refusal of the trade-union movement to tolerate the private control of a basic industry in a form which provided an outrageously inadequate living for hundreds of thousands of workers in about the most unpleasant and dangerous occupation in the country —a refusal to tolerate conditions in which private interests could not attract sufficient capital to mechanize and to make the industry technically efficient. Integration was required, and with it a large-scale injection of public capital. Every political party now agrees with this, though their sectarian rigidity may have forced them previously to oppose the policy. Nowadays it is generally accepted that this action was necessary in the interests of the overall industrial efficiency of the country.

It should in passing be noted that this coal industry reorganization was not associated with any direct representation of the National Union of Mineworkers in the operation of the industry. For what was provided was management in the *public* interest, with the union defending and advancing the interests of its members in the revised situation—revised for a time as much in the way of intentions, as indicated by the Act, as by the slowly developing changes enabled by the Act.

Coal nationalization was indeed an action stemming from the pre-war period, consistent with the mass unemployment then prevailing, as well as with the developing consciousness among trade unions of their responsibilities with regard to industrial efficiency. The fact that they had pay-packets as their major objective in no way lessens the sincerity of their interest in industrial efficiency.

A useful reminder of the developing attitudes of the inter-war years is provided by a quotation from Walter M. Citrine (now Lord Citrine of the Central Electricity Authority), then General Secretary of the T.U.C., writing on "The Next Step in Industrial Relations" in the *Manchester Guardian Supplement* of 30th November, 1927.[1] Lord Citrine posed and considered the question—

> "What conception of trade union aims is likely to guide the representatives of the organized Movement in framing the

[1] Reproduced in *Trade Union Documents*, compiled and edited by Milne-Bailey, and published by G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1929.

general policy? This is the question which raises as a clear-cut issue the meaning of recent declarations regarding the possibility of establishing better industrial relations, with the object of improving conditions in industry and securing a steadily rising standard of life. It is conceivable, but in the last degree unlikely, that the unions may say it is not their aim to increase the efficiency of industry: to do so, in the opinion of some trade unionists, is merely to postpone the inevitable break-down of the existing system, and they consider the plain duty of the unions is to hasten that collapse and to organize the workers so that they can take advantage of it when it comes.

Alternatively, the unions may say their aim should be to keep up the defensive struggle for the maintenance of existing standards and to improve them as opportunity offers, but to accept no responsibility at all for any effort that can be made to improve the organization of industry on the present basis of private ownership. A third possibility is that the unions should actively participate in a concerted effort to raise industry to its highest efficiency by developing the most scientific methods of production, eliminating waste and harmful restrictions, removing causes of friction and avoidable conflict, and promoting the largest possible output so as to provide a rising standard of life and continuously improving conditions of employment.

The third of these alternatives is the one that the trade unions are most likely to consider as a practical possibility."

It takes both sides of industry to make "a concerted effort." It was not until the war, however, that in many firms the "concert" outweighed employer affection for retaining for their own private consideration all "managerial functions." During the war, the National Production Advisory Council on Industry was formed, with the Regional Boards for Industry and the multitude of Joint Production Committees, some good, some bad, some indifferent. Many strategically valuable customs and practices were put into cold storage, many into deep freeze never to be seen again. Here was the positive strand of trade-union activities responding to conditions of national emergency.

Many of these war-time practices and organizations were continued into the post-war period, but with the national sense of urgency reduced individuals were less inclined to subordinate their personal interests to the common good, and their effectiveness diminished. Nevertheless, other special-purpose organizations were formed, such

as the Anglo-American Council on Productivity, in which the T.U.C. was from its inception (indeed, from conception) an equal partner with the Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation. When the Anglo-American special purpose was completed, the T.U.C. helped to form on an equal basis the British Productivity Council. Trade-union support for these organizations has been widespread and sincere. Such lack of support as the B.P.C. has experienced in a few districts has been more from the restrictive attitudes of employers than from trade-union reluctance.

This is only one of many post-war activities in which the trade unions have been nationally associated with the need to maintain our national economic and industrial recovery.

It is, however, at the industry level that the positive "productivity" strand in trade-union thinking can best be judged. In this connection, the existence of a number of trade unions subscribing to the employer Research Associations for their industries is of importance. The Felt Hat unions subscribe to the British Hat and Allied Feltmakers' R.A. to the tune of £500 per annum. The National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives subscribes £250 each year to the British Boot, Shoe and Allied Trades R.A. Other R.A.s which have received financial support from individual trade unions include the Shirley Institute in the textile industries, the British Cast Iron R.A., and the Printing, Packaging and Allied Trades R.A.

These Research Associations are in receipt of a Government scientific research subsidy through the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. They are, nevertheless, employers' organizations, devoted to looking for improved industrial methods and activities, which can be calculated to jeopardize, at any rate, the continuity of employment of trade-union members. However it may appear to the "left" fringe and to the "right" fringe, there are very good reasons why trade-union participation in R.A. activities is mutually beneficial: or so it seems in about fifteen of them, where some form of trade-union representation has been provided on the Governing Body. The employers at least get the benefit of trade-union advice about the human problems of the work of the R.A., while the unions have prior knowledge of changes in industrial practice likely to affect their members and an opportunity to comment on their introduction. The unfortunate thing for management/trade-union relationships is that while some employers have been instrumental in developing a positive and fruitful association with the unions on this specific range of activities and without prejudice

to the extractive wage-bargaining responsibilities of the unions concerned, other employers' groups have replied to advances from unions in a curt way which can only be satisfactorily explained if the employers are still in the most limited "managerial functions" frame of mind. In the more spacious days, with wide margins for irresponsible activities, it would be easy to murmur "their funeral" and shrug one's shoulders. Unfortunately, these self-centred employers are to be found in some of the important industries on which the future of the country very much depends. They presumably do not know or do not care about the effect of such action on the "climate" of their industry, or the effect of the "climate" on the overall rate of industrial development.

On the other hand, the footwear industry is an example of what progress can mean. The employers invited union representatives on to the Governing Body of the Research Association; the union decided to subscribe to the R.A.—such a specific action being so much more important than talk, whatever the size of the subscription. Consistent with these developments, six of the union's officials acquired production engineering training from industrial consultants for periods up to four months; many if not most of the officers of the union received training from the T.U.C. Production Department or from technical colleges. The contribution of the union is such that the independent Director of the R.A. has been heard to say at a management conference that the union is one of the most potent forces in the industry working towards increased industrial efficiency. This is, of course, a general assessment; it does not mean that all branches of the union are or should be equally in favour of the immediate introduction of an individual specialized technique.

Why has the footwear industry developed in this way? It has a good and progressive union and well officered—but it is not alone in this! Is it not primarily that management has created—accidentally or deliberately—conditions in which it is natural common sense for the union to take such steps? This is consistent with defining management as "*creating conditions* in which what you want to emerge will emerge." It is necessary that management should realize the extent to which these determining factors are within its discretion and control.

Full employment or mass unemployment are overall factors which affect the emphasis placed by unions on factors of industrial efficiency. It would not, however, be profitable here to analyse how far those factors are dependent on management attitudes and activities—

management in a general sense. It is better to look at individual managements. Just as there are some industries which have created much more productive conditions than others, so in separate industries there are some individual firms based on good and fruitful industrial relationships, while others stand out as being "strike-prone"—with often a reputation for not caring a damn about industrial relations while at the same time the management grumbles about their "tough" shop-stewards, who of course have been elected precisely because men have to be "tough" to deal with such managements.

The degree of monopoly also has some effect on trade-union attitudes to industrial efficiency, partly because of its effect on prices, but more because monopoly may discourage efficient production and service to the consumer. The absence of security for work-people, e.g. working rules such as seniority agreements or compensation on the occasion of redundancy, are also significant. The conventional pattern of output of a firm—the rate of output which *seems* roughly about right in the prevailing circumstances—is very largely determined by such management action, even though it works itself out partly through work-people's reactions and decisions.

Just look at the way so many firms put themselves in the wrong by being unduly secretive about their financial accounts—the balance sheet and profit and loss account. They often go through a ludicrous attempt at secrecy, even when their accounts are available from the Registrar of Companies. They create conditions enabling one side to score a victory over another, and then talk about the necessity for avoiding sides in industry. They often give no information to work-people, even those who have invested many years of their lives in the concern, or to their unions, while a casual shareholder at the end of the year receives through the post a balance sheet and profit and loss account, statement in amplification, chairman's speech and further details, and an invitation to attend a meeting to discuss the statements. It is of no relevance that the shareholder won't go to the meeting: the point is that in this respect many companies—in spite of the existence, on the other hand, of some very good and progressive companies—still regard employees as little more than the Victorian "hands." Perhaps unions should buy one share in all public companies in which they are interested in order to secure information and status. Regular union attendance at companies' annual meetings would liven them up.

Why the different treatment accorded by most companies to skilled and other operatives on the one side, and girl clerks and typists on the

other? The former—who may well have invested many years of their lives in the firm and industry—are often still regarded as "expendable" (qualified perhaps by the present level of full employment) and with very little recognition of their increasing need for security; while their daughters—who have spent, perhaps, a few months at a commercial school—have much superior staff standards and status. Their labour cost is to be found in the overheads. It is a good thing that the typist has good conditions, but the contrast is very obvious. Is the contrast not bound to act as a deterrent to proper relationships? Can it not be avoided by better management practices?

Trade unions respond to conditions, and it is usually the case that if management is "bloody-minded," then the trade-union reaction will also be "bloody-minded"—action and reaction are equal and opposite. Management may be tempted to say that the opposite is true. There may be something in this, and the trade-union movement is far from perfect. But it should be no satisfaction for management, or in any way a "let out." Management has the executive responsibility: they get their higher salaries not for working harder than operatives—in general they don't—but rather for taking more responsibility.

Hence trade unionists are entitled to take a poor view of the existence in many industries of really inefficient concerns side by side with really efficient firms. Why these poor firms continue to exist is not entirely clear. It may be partially the degree of monopoly, or too much restraint on the part of trade unions, or a lack of reality in our much boosted private enterprise, or it may be an irregularity in development which is natural to industry whether in public or private ownership. The phenomenon is, however, of considerable trade-union significance.

There is plenty of evidence of this efficiency differential. Cases which come to mind and are worth detailed investigation are the facts reported by Mr. Frank Nixon, Assistant General Manager of Rolls Royce, Ltd., Derby, in the March, 1954, issue of the *Journal of the Institute of Production Engineers*. Mr. Nixon showed graphically "on a comparative basis, the cost of a number of components, produced by similar methods and at comparable rates by different firms. His information had been obtained from a number of sources in a variety of industries, and amongst the components are machined parts, forgings, precision forgings and castings, pressings and fabrications." Mr. Nixon's components showed several costs nearly two and a half times the lowest and a series of differences which demanded further examination. After an analysis by Rolls Royce, Ltd., differing detailed practices

were discovered having a considerable influence upon overall costs. Mr. Nixon reports—

> "Amongst these differences were found in one case a material utilization of 41 per cent., as compared with 55 per cent. in the best case, and accounting for £4 in the cost of a £20 component."

Then there was the earlier case reported in the August, 1952, *Times Review of Industry*. A Conference of the Brassfoundry Industry at Birmingham held a "cost clinic" and invited the submission of costs of a job, the drawings of which were circulated in advance. The costs suggested for the castings varied from 4s. 6d. to 14s.—no doubt partly due to differences in real costs, and partly to differences in costing procedures.

These are merely two particularly interesting cases among many covering almost every industry. The existence of these high-cost producers is of concern to trade unions. These are the firms which are in the minds of the employers during negotiations. Naturally, an employers' federation looks after its weaker brethren just as does a trade union. The existence of these firms prejudices the possibility of negotiating a higher base rate even when profits are generally high, unless the union concerned is technically well-equipped and more forceful than usual in negotiations. They prejudice the possibility of good bonus earnings for their employees as well as continuity of employment in conditions of increasing competition, and they affect the price level. They are, therefore, a very real trade-union problem, and to offer—in one form or another—co-operation in the solution of this problem is plain trade-union common sense.

Will trade-union participation be invited? Not in many cases, but in some. Optimistic trade-union officials sometimes say that the battle for recognition has been won. This may be so at the top or governmental level, but is a dangerous generalization. There are many sections of industry where the position is far from satisfactory, some employers being in a state of reluctant *toleration* of unions, while a rather more progressive element would be happy with *acquiescent* trade unions. Only a few have reached the stage of understanding and accepting that it is natural trade-union common sense to be directly concerned with increasing industrial efficiency, while at the same time exercising the "extractive" processes basic to any trade union in a democratic society. This in spite of the fact that it has been shown in many cases that there is a substantially increased productivity attainable from a

joint approach, from *participation*. The choice of toleration, acquiescence, or participation in the matters of industrial development, is very much at management's discretion.

Then why is there in this country such a casual attitude by employers to this problem? We are dealing, of course, with the usual formula with a dozen variables, but standing up like a sore thumb can be seen the general management complacency about the teaching of industrial relations, the facts of industrial life. Management must spend more time not only on the system and procedures of industrial relations but on the underlying relationships, and the natural reasons for the attitudes taken up by workers and the organizations which they have created to defend and advance their interests. A thorough review of management education in Great Britain is needed in order to show how its content and methods can most rapidly be improved and a more realistic contribution made to meeting the serious economic challenge facing the country.

CHAPTER XI

JOINT CONSULTATION

By R. D. V. ROBERTS, B.COM.

"ANY management method, to be successful, must recognize, respect and accept as an asset the inherent dignity of the individual and his tendency to act for a purpose. Management must, above all, understand and encourage the individual's desire to exercise his own will to choose to act or to be idle. The full energies of men are propelled from within." So said Mr. G. R. Clapp, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority in an address on the T.V.A.'s working philosophy of industrial relations. It seems a good basis on which to build joint consultation in industry.

Every now and then in the dynamic life of industrial nations ideas catch the imagination of industrial leaders. Scientific management, rationalization, profit-sharing, stock ownership, copartnership have all in their time provided such ideas. "Communications" and "executive development" are popular today. One that has persisted over a long period with varying degrees of emphasis is "industrial democracy" or, in other words, the "adequate participation of the workers in the control and management of public services and enterprises." The case for industrial democracy rests fundamentally not on the possibility that it may lead to increased productivity, decreased industrial strife and improved conditions for the workers (although it may have these results), but on the fact that it will give each worker the opportunity to participate in the making of decisions affecting his industrial life and so enable him "to exercise his own will to choose to act or to be idle." It has a moral foundation in the sense that it recognizes and respects human individuality with all that that implies.

It is not an effective argument against industrial democracy to assert, as do certain writers, that workers in general do not want to influence the aim and purpose of the factory community but are concerned mainly with retaining satisfactory jobs, a reasonable standard of living and pleasant relations with their immediate fellows. "Does anyone want to run their own industry and elect their foremen—or do they

prefer to get off home a bit earlier to the garden or television set?" asks one such writer. As if gardens, television sets and other leisure occupations were symptoms of a decadent industrial community and not normal interests of whole human beings! It is as inadequate to argue against industrial democracy on these grounds as it is to argue (as most of these writers certainly would not do) against political democracy on the grounds that it is actively sustained by a minority only. Such writers also fail to suggest an alternative system of industrial relationships which has fewer dangers and weaknesses.

Theories of Industrial Democracy

There are three broad lines of thought on the form industrial democracy might take—

1. Wages and conditions of service should be determined by agreement between management and the trade unions, but all other questions affecting the industrial life of the workers are the prerogative of management. Under this conception the trade unions remain a permanent opposition who can, as occasion arises, challenge managerial decisions. These independent trade unions are the workers' defence not only of their living standards and working conditions but also against the unjustifiable exercise of managerial authority.

2. The workers should control, or at least have an equal say with the management in controlling, the undertaking. This is the syndicalist conception. It has been rejected by the British trade-union movement, but is to be found in a modified but interesting form in the system known as "co-determination" in the coal, iron and steel industries of Western Germany. Its weaknesses stem from the old problem of the degree of responsibility which must be accepted to justify the exercise of power.

3. Some form of consultation which gives the workers and the trade unions the opportunity, through discussion, to participate in formulating decisions on all matters affecting them or the people they represent, but which does not take their executive responsibilities from the management or their freedom, when necessary to oppose, from the trade unions.

This last alternative avoids the fatal weakness of the syndicalist conception and does not reject at the outset the possibility that the workers have a contribution to make. It provides for change in the social structure of industry in the more democratic direction which

can be expected in a political democracy with educated and responsible citizens, politically alert workers, full employment and, most important, in which great changes are taking place in the nature of the technical processes used in industry. It can be promoted and encouraged by either—

(i) developing in supervisors and managers a readiness to consult informally with their groups before arriving at decisions, or

(ii) providing a formal committee system where trade unions and/or elected representatives of the workers meet representatives of the management.

The first method has been emphasized in some recent sociological studies. It is based on the view that all social ties are derivatives of primary family relationships and that the first requirement of consultation, so far as the worker is concerned, is therefore the development of a consultative relationship in the primary working group, i.e. between foremen and workers. By itself it depends upon the conversion of line management to an acceptance of the need to secure democratic sanction from the working group for management decisions at all levels and to its continuous practice. The second method gives the workers a right, through their representatives, to be heard; whether or not there is consultation does not then depend *solely* on the attitudes of supervisors and executives.

The two approaches are complementary, and until they exist together industrial democracy must be incomplete. Within the limited scope of this essay it is not possible to discuss both methods, and I shall therefore confine myself to joint consultation through a formal committee system. If justification of this choice is required, I would add that there is evidence that formal joint consultation stimulates the development of consultation as part of the adminstrative routines of an organization at every level. It provides a framework within which the greatest possible element of informal consultation can develop.

Principles of Joint Consultation

Joint consultation in British industry usually consists of an organization of committees made up of representatives of the management and elected representatives of the workers, meeting at regular intervals. The exact constitution varies from industry to industry and from undertaking to undertaking. I do not propose here to analyse the constitutional arrangements for a joint consultative committee with a

view to determining the best form, but merely to point out some of the conditions which I consider have to be fulfilled if joint consultation is to be effective.

The consultative committee should cover a clearly identified management unit such as a factory, a colliery, or a power station. It may be necessary in large works to have subsidiary shop or departmental committees linked to the main committee, and for the main committee in its turn to be linked with a council covering a whole undertaking, as with Imperial Chemical Industries, or covering a whole industry, as with electricity supply. The appointed representatives should include the highest management representatives within the sphere of the committee and the elected representatives should represent manageable "constituencies" of workers of all types, including supervisors.

The function of the committee is to provide a medium for consultation on all matters of interest to the management and the workers, other than wages and conditions of employment which are normally the subject of an agreement between the employers and the trade unions. The committee has no executive power unless, as has happened in some cases, this is conferred on it by the management in certain clearly defined fields. Its conclusions are expressed as recommendations to the management. Where the highest representative of management in the sphere of the committee is a member and participates in the committee's work, the only recommendations not accepted by the management should be (*a*) those which it has no authority to accept because they affect works or departments outside the sphere covered by the committee, or (*b*) those which further investigation by management have shown to be impractical. If other types of recommendations are rejected, this clearly means that there is something wrong with the undertaking's policy for the delegation of authority.

Items for discussion on a consultative committee can come both from the management and from the workers; in the case of the latter, usually through their elected representatives. While the main responsibility for starting consultative machinery and guiding it through its first stages rests with management, it is not uncommon to find that management is hesitant and uncertain and that the workers' representatives seize the initiative and use the committee as a medium for discussing the provision of welfare amenities and for raising complaints about physical conditions of work. This in turn can result in management either decrying the committee as another form of complaints procedure

or accepting it as a safety valve where workers' representatives can blow off steam. A new committee has often to learn a sense of social responsibility by painful experience. The workers from an authoritarian factory may be perplexed and troubled when placed in a democratic situation. They may misuse their new freedom to work off their old-standing resentments, and they may very well dislike the new responsibility thrust upon them. Having no responsibilities has its satisfaction, and people have to learn that democracy not only gives rights but also imposes obligations.

It is clearly right to lay the main responsibility for making the committee work on the management. They are in possession of the information, power and responsibility which are now to be shared. Their attitude—and much can be done by means of executive development courses and management training to promote the right attitude —is fundamental to the success of the committee. It has often been held that if the management and workers do not approach joint consultation in the right spirit, if their attitudes are not right, it will never work properly. There can be little doubt that, like any other democratic conception, it depends more on attitudes of mind and the basic values of our society than upon formal structure. But this should not be interpreted to mean that joint consultation should not be introduced until the right attitude exists. For just as effective participation by way of franchise in both local and central government activity strengthens democratic attitudes and the exercise of responsibility fosters responsible attitudes, so the practice of joint consultation helps to create the right attitude and to develop a democratic climate of opinion.

A start can be made by encouraging management to take the initiative in providing information to the consultative committee; this is shown by the experience of the electricity supply industry which has had a comprehensive system of joint consultative councils and committees since 1949. In the first year or so, little information was presented to the 450 local committees in the industry, but with the sustained and personal encouragement of the members of the electricity boards and their chief officers and the encouragement and guidance of the National and district consultative bodies the position has been so altered that by 1956 over 80 per cent of them received progress reports from management regularly at every meeting. Simultaneously improvements have taken place in the form and quality of the reports so that, as well as covering technical and commercial progress, they

now deal with the activities of employees and with future plans and developments.

Information is fundamental to any democratic system and must be readily available on all aspects of an undertaking's work and to all employees if joint consultation is to work. Information which seeps down the line management through the foreman to the worker is likely to be narrow and related directly to the job in hand. Whether it will be relevant to the position and function of the worker in the company is dependent upon what his position and function is conceived to be. Imaginatively conceived, it must do more than tell him that his function is to operate press 10 in M bay and produce so many parts in eight hours a day. This type of information merely confirms the feeling that the ordinary worker, as such, is just a hand, paid to do a not too unpleasant task and that he is of little account when the undertaking's policies are under consideration. The worker is a member of a class or grade, and usually he is highly conscious of it. The discussion of the undertaking's policies between his duly elected representatives and representatives of the management is the best way to assure him that he is in the picture. So frequently in the field of human relations in industry it is not so much the facts which count as what people think about the facts; the value of joint consultation as a symbol of partnership and enhanced status may be very high indeed.

There is considerable evidence that workers want to know more of the policy of the firm, of how their job fits into the work of the firm as a whole, of the social content of their work and of the value to the community of the commodity or service which they produce. Such knowledge can be acquired through joint consultation since it is a means of producing contacts between grades and because it makes possible the organized discussion of these central issues in an atmosphere of joint responsibility. To get representatives of all sections to face up to differences and to recognize the extent of common objectives; to ensure that the ordinary worker can feel that the point of view of his own group is fully represented at the top level; to substitute personal acquaintance and respect for remote official contacts between leading members of the higher and lower ranks in a firm's organization—for these purposes joint consultation is indispensable.

Effort needs to be made to establish and then maintain strong lines of communication from the committee to all sections within the firm; the work of many good consultative committees has been vitiated by their failure to achieve these. Minutes, news sheets publishing

information of the committee's and the firm's activities, reports by elected representatives to their constituents—these and other methods have been tried. The most important link, from the point of view of the success of formal joint consultation, is that between the elected representative and the worker on the floor of the factory. The right way to gain and maintain the interest of the worker is to ensure that the basic unit of election and of consultation is brought near enough to him for him to be personally concerned with it. Periodically there should be opportunities for the consultative committee and the management to meet all the workers to report to them on the work of the committee and the firm and to answer questions. In the electricity supply industry during 1955-56 nearly 300 meetings of this kind were organized by the local committees, many of them in the evenings and almost all of them partly in the workers' own time. The interest shown by workers at these meetings both in the work of their own unit and that of the industry generally shows that they are anxious to obtain information about their industry and to express a point of view, provided they are confident that it will be sympathetically received. The number of workers who attended these meetings varied considerably but, in general, the average ranged from 10 per cent in one area of the country to 24 per cent in another. There was evidence to suggest that pronounced lack of interest in a meeting was not unconnected with the relations between the local management and workers and reflected a lack of confidence.

Reference has previously been made to the importance of information being relevant to the worker's position and function in the firm. A man is unlikely to assimilate and use information unless it has a clear bearing on his own position. If it affects him, it is likely to catch and hold his attention. One way of making items of information relevant to a worker's function is to make his function relevant to the information. This involves something more than the passage of information. It involves accepting that the worker's function is to operate press 10 in M bay and to help operate the undertaking. Dynamic consultation depends upon active participation, which in its turn requires the discussion of possible courses of action and, where necessary, the modification of management's intentions. Managers will frequently refer to the importance of developing in the worker a *feeling* of participation, a sense of belonging. But to try and make the worker feel that he is participating without giving him real participation is to attempt to fool him, and deception is an explosive foundation for industrial

relations. Real participation consists of sharing with the workers the responsibility for productive efficiency. Management has long considered productive efficiency to be its sole concern—a "managerial prerogative"; the worker's role apparently is to be told *ad nauseam* that everybody's standard of living is dependent upon industrial productivity and exhorted to work harder, remove restrictive practices and avoid absenteeism. Management must get over its "I can't be wrong" attitude and get down to the job of producing goods and services in a true partnership with the workers. The problem of achieving such a relationship is the problem of leadership in a democratic situation —the problem of reconciling the authority of management with the natural desire of workers for a voice, directly and effectively, in determining how production can be increased, waste eliminated and costs of production otherwise reduced.

It has been a treasured illusion that those who—by reason of title, salary or what have you—have authority to make decisions actually do make them. In fact most well-rendered answers grow out of the assembled facts which usually point to one wise decision. The making of decisions is not a function reserved for the top; they are constantly being made at all levels in an industrial organization. The organized workers want, and should have, a practical means of contributing their ideas and an effective direct participation in the creative phase of management.

The functions of joint consultative committees should consequently include that of eliciting from employees of all ranks suggestions designed to increase efficiency, reduce production costs and eliminate waste; to review them; to recommend the adoption of those that are practical and feasible; and to explain to employees whose suggestions are not adopted the reasons why they have not been accepted. The management and the workers should then share equitably the resulting benefits, through improved working conditions, increased earnings, lower costs and in other feasible ways.

While there is nothing incompatible between the national negotiation of wage rates in an industry and the introduction in individual works of bonuses based on productive efficiency, it should be a cardinal principle that such bonuses are equitable and not considered as a substitute for wage increases. Any general wage advance should be negotiated between the employers and the trade unions. Application of creative participation through joint committees exists in some progressive undertakings, including, for example, the so-called

"Scanlon plan" adopted in certain American undertakings. This consists of assessing a "normal" labour cost for the unit and then devising means of giving the workers the benefit of anything they can save under the "norm." Each department in the undertaking has its joint committee of management representatives, including the departmental manager and the foreman, and elected representatives of the workers. They meet once a month to analyse the production reports and cost figures, consider suggestions from employees in the department and decide whether they should be tried out. If the management have some new ideas to introduce they lay them before the committee too and get suggestions. Minutes are kept of the meetings and all suggestions for improvements are recorded, together with specific reference to those which have not been put into effect, have been held in abeyance or rejected as not being feasible. A joint committee for the undertaking considers suggestions which concern more than one department, reviews the minutes of the departmental committees and passes final judgment on suggestions held in abeyance or rejected at departmental level.

In such circumstances a wide range of information about costs, waste, production planning, future developments, personnel relations and the like becomes relevant to the function of every worker. Where in addition bonuses based on the productive efficiency of the unit are given to all employees, there is an added reason for identification and the undertaking approaches the definition of an efficient economic system as "not one in which private gain is replaced by social purpose but one in which the common economic life releases the immensely powerful productive instincts of all individuals, and in which economic rewards are used to reinforce (working with and not against) the rational and moral appreciation of the common good."

I have already referred to the fact that a consultative committee has no executive function unless this is conferred upon it by management in certain specific fields. But in fact, where the consultative committee is functioning well, the distinction between the executive and the consultative function loses much of its sharpness and significance, and the meaninglessness of the phrase "management must manage," which is still commonly used, becomes apparent. In any industrial undertaking, whether it has joint consultation or not, responsibility is widely delegated, and a consultative committee on which top management sit and which is representative of the undertaking as a whole may well be making reccommendations *de jure* and decisions *de facto*. With

top management participation it will, unless that management is irresponsible, be adequate for the committee to confine itself, for the most part, to making recommendations, for these will be accepted. The fact of acceptance will provide substantial evidence for one of the most common communications which managements try to convey to workers, namely, that the whole working force is a team with common interests. The functioning of the consultative committee mirrors not what management professes, but what it does.

Nevertheless it can add to the workers' confidence and participation and demonstrate the managements' confidence in the committee when it is given some executive responsibility. This is usually done in the social field covered by welfare, safety, health and training. In certain European countries, where consultative committees owe their existence to legislation, powers of decision or supervisory powers are accorded to them in the social field. From its inception in 1920 the Miners' Welfare Fund, financed out of a statutory levy on each ton of coal produced, was administered by a central commission, with district and local welfare committees representing the mineworkers and the colliery managements. In industry there are a number of outstanding examples of management having surrendered its right to the arbitrary exercise of power. Where the funds to be administered by the joint bodies in the social field can be apportioned on the basis of output, this again emphasizes the relationship between the consumer rights of workers and the productivity of the undertaking.

It is important that foremen and supervisors should be represented on the consultative committee since they are responsible for dealing in the first instance with day-to-day difficulties on the shop floor and are a key group from the point of view of productive organization and informal consultation in the primary working group. It is still too frequently the case that they are excluded, and where this occurs, they tend to decry consultation, partly because they have no recognized part to play and partly because they do not understand it. To know that representatives of the rank and file workers are meeting with the top management and that they, as foremen and supervisors, will learn of the outcome later on is inimical with their self-respect. The foreman is the loose-coupling linking the workers and management; in a united team he must be given his proper place.

There are related matters of importance. The foreman and supervisor must be trained in the methods of democratic leadership; selection

must be systematized, and in addition to attaching importance to technical proficency and seniority, those who do the selection must satisfy themselves that the candidate has the ability to secure the co-operation of men. Foremen and supervisors, when they are selected, must be given training in supervisory skills. Where there is any significant number of foremen, the desirability of establishing a foremen's council should be considered.

No discussion of joint consultation would be complete without some reference to the essential part that the trade unions must play in it. In the past the trade unions have stood outside the structure of industry, with little responsibility for its conduct save that of securing the observance of agreements into which they have entered on behalf of their members. During the war the position was modified somewhat by the establishment of joint production committees which involved the trade unions, at all levels, in some measure of responsibility for securing efficient production. Since the war the Government and the Trades Union Congress have frequently appealed for co-operation in increasing productivity in all industries. But the implications of acceptance of this responsibility have not yet been thoroughly thought out by the trade-union movement.

In the last resort the wages and conditions of employment of the workers in a particular industry depend upon its prosperity, and the trade unions therefore have an interest in increasing efficiency and productivity. The problem is how to reconcile their traditional role with a role in which they are participants in management. Clearly their traditional role, on which the whole trade-union movement rests, must not be sacrificed. This was recognized by the National Joint Advisory Council to the Minister of Labour and National Service in January, 1947, when they recommended the setting up of joint consultative machinery "provided that it did not deal with questions relating to terms and conditions of employment, which are normally dealt with through the ordinary machinery of joint negotiation." The view of the Council was apparently that the trade unions could ride both horses so long as they did not try to ride them at the same time. The success of such a plan depends upon a large dose of goodwill, commonsense and understanding. It is a case of freedom being retained on condition that it is exercised with considerable discretion.

It has already been shown that the basis of appointment to an undertaking's joint consultative committee is by the election of

representatives by manageable "constituencies" of workers and appointment by the management. The principle of election by secret ballot under normal democratic conditions may still leave problems to be faced in the relationships between the elected committee members and the shop-stewards. The best way out of this problem is that adopted by many private firms and by the nationalized industries, of requiring a special trade-union qualification for election to the joint consultative committee. It is here that the danger of overlap is greatest, and it is here also that the advice of skilled and organized workers is likely to be specially valuable.

In a large company having more than one factory, or in a nationalized industry, there is everything to be said (including the fact that it will ensure the success of joint consultation locally) for giving the workers an obvious and active share in advising on regional and national policy, and for providing committees to which issues unsettled at the local level can be referred. At these levels the workers' representatives are usually appointed by the trade unions, in contrast with the position at local level where they are elected by the workers. Usually wage negotiations are undertaken by different trade unions for different grades of workers—for instance, manual, clerical and technical—while the general unions cover many industries and grades, and the craft unions recruit skilled workers irrespective of industry. Where there are regional and national consultative committees, they frequently consist, in addition to representatives of management, of full-time officials of general and craft unions, many of whom, while skilled in wage negotiations, may never have worked in the particular industry and consequently lack the knowledge essential to discussions on such matters as changes in methods of production, the utilization of machinery, new safety precautions and devices and general industrial planning. Their responsibilities to union members working in a large number of industries, moreover, make it almost impossible for the harassed general- or craft-union officials to give the necessary time and thought to means of increasing productivity and improving relations in any one industry.

To secure the maximum effect the consultative machinery must be an integral part of the economic structure of the undertaking or industry. This can be ensured by basing any consultative committees established at higher levels directly on the local committees so far as workers' representation is concerned. Since joint consultation must not develop as something apart from the trade unions, however,

provision should be made for the workers' representatives nominated for election to be members of a trade union and for a proportion of the workers' representatives on regional and national councils to be directly appointed by the trade unions.

If experience in the development of joint consultation carries one lesson more than any other, it is that its successful practice is a skilled job. This means that its development requires, firstly, the employment of specialists to encourage and promote joint consultation and, secondly, that management and workers' representatives have to understand its purpose and develop skill by training. It takes knowledge and experience to assess and measure the gain at each stage in the development of joint consultation, to avoid mistakes in procedure and in the formulation of constitutions, to foster goodwill and keep discussion fruitful and to secure that joint consultation promotes and furthers less formal types of contact between management and workers and between higher management and supervisors. While this skill needs to be learnt by management and by workers' representatives, the expert knowledge of the specialist can make all the difference to the rate at which understanding does in fact spread. There is a mass of evidence that education and training of both the management and the elected representatives of consultative committees in the meaning and purpose of joint consultation, in committee techniques, and in the discussion of subjects commonly dealt with by consultative committees does much to promote its acceptance and to improve its working.

It is fundamental that education and training in joint consultation should itself be the subject of consultation. For if it is true that, however much technical efficiency can be improved or however much alleged managerial incompetence can be eliminated, the main obstacle to improvement is the existence of a wrong attitude of mind in the persons that industry employs, it becomes important that that part of industrial education which is aimed at developing understanding should not be the sole prerogative of the employer. Where management does control it, there is the danger that they will attempt, unconsciously perhaps, to impose their own standards. These standards will be a product of their own special needs and experience as managers, and so will inevitably differ in degree, if not in kind, from those of the workers. Training in joint consultation and industrial education generally must not become associated in the minds of the workers with the type of management propaganda current in the U.S.A., which

extols the free enterprise system and the significance of private business. If it does, it will defeat its own ends.

Conclusion

With many admirable exceptions, private industry in this country has not made any very striking response to the exhortations made to it for the past thirty-five years by governments and national bodies representing employers and the trade unions that it should not merely make provision for joint consultation but should also take steps to see that it becomes effective. Why should a device which is given almost universal public approval meet with such limited success? Is the answer best provided by considering some of the difficulties, among which probably the most important are the suspicion and ignorance which determine the attitude of many managers, trade-union officers and workers? On the other hand, several of the industries brought under public ownership since the war have made relatively rapid progress in establishing viable systems of joint consultation.

Perhaps the explanation of this difference is to be found to a large extent in the fact that the Nationalization Acts laid upon the public authorities certain obligations to develop joint consultation. I know that the view is widely held in this country that successful consultation cannot be imposed on management and workers and that spontaneous development is to be preferred. There is nevertheless something to be said for the opposing view (now reinforced by the experience of the nationalized industries) that the machinery of industrial democracy should be provided as a means of expression for the workers and of impressing on administrators and technicians the importance of obtaining democratic sanction for their decisions. This view would logically lead to establishing joint consultation by Act of Parliament and perhaps defining the functions and responsibilities of the committees. While there can be little doubt that joint consultation (like any other democratic conception) depends ultimately on the right attitude of mind of those affected, it is equally true that practice and participation strengthen democratic attitudes and create a democratic climate of opinion. Such a development would be in the line of what has often been described as the specifically British element in industrial relations —"the greatest possible element of voluntarism within a statutory framework."

Finally, let me refer again to the function of management. This is to contrive and organize in a contest with things; to persuade by the

force of fact and the practice of a living goodwill. The art of letting facts persuade men is the undeveloped promise of modern management. Too many managers still operate in an atmosphere charged with the primitive impulses of personal power and the magic of command. Loyalty is given to organizations which offer the chance to their members more completely to fulfil themselves through significant participation. Joint consultation provides the opportunity for management to put their policies to the test of democratic sanction and for workers to participate in determining these policies.

CHAPTER XII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY: ITS IMPACT ON THE WORKER

By Nigel Balchin

We are accustomed to think of all history as divided into neat sections, each section being sharply defined by a date at the beginning and a date at the end, like the reign of a king or the duration of a war. The system has the advantage of simplicity, but it is doubtful if it has any other. For unfortunately, the great social developments of history do not start or end with a bang; and though we may wake up one morning and notice that change has undoubtedly taken place, the moment when we first notice it is clearly not the moment when it began.

When we talk of the "Industrial Revolution," therefore, we are not dealing with something like the "French Revolution" or the "Russian Revolution" which, however long they may have been in incubation, became accomplished facts within fairly clearly definable dates. As Trevelyan points out, "it is as difficult to say when the 'Industrial Revolution' began as to say when the 'Middle Ages' came to an end." All we can say is that somewhere between the middle of the eighteenth century and the accession of George IV in 1820 there took place developments which in themselves changed the face of England and ensured that it would be changed still further.

To a generation like our own, which takes industrialism for granted, even this vague statement has some value. For it shows, as we often forget, that practically the whole structure of modern industry has been evolved in less than two hundred years, or considerably less than a tenth of the space between the Athens of Pericles and our own day.

I make the point because in any objective consideration of industry it is essential to realize that we have no immemorial wisdom and experience to guide us and no tradition of ages on which we can safely rely. Man does not instinctively build factories nor work in them a certain number of hours a week because of some law of nature. In so far as industry, as we know it, is an expression of basic human

instinct, it is of instincts which can be, and throughout most of recorded history have been, expressed in quite different ways. The necessity for men to work if they are to live was imposed by nature. But that the working life should be the life of the average industrial operative is a necessity which mankind, wisely or unwisely, has imposed on itself.

But although the change was man-made, it was not, in the first instance at least, by any means the deliberate choice of the worker. Men did not leave the fields and go into the mines and the mills as a matter of taste. The early developments of the Industrial Revolution took place because those who had economic power saw a greater opportunity for profit in industrialism than in any other direction; and the average worker, as always, had no choice but to adopt the type of working life which gave him the best chance of avoiding starvation. When we remember these things—that industry is an essentially artificial, man-made system, created in less than two hundred years, and having its origins in no more exalted an idea than the exploitation of other men's needs for profit—it is not suprising if its impact on the worker has not been favourable in all respects. The only wonder is that it has not been more completely unfavourable; and for this there appear to be three main reasons:

1. Long before the growth of democracy had placed any real and effective power in the hands of the industrial worker, that magnificent and perilous thing, the human conscience, had begun to feel that there were certain limits to the extent that wealth for some men should be produced at the cost of misery for others. Lord Shaftesbury had no immense body of industrial workers whose votes he was setting out to win: and the Ten Hours Bill was carried through Parliament, not by workers but by Fielden, the biggest cotton spinner in England. It is as well to remember that there *were* men who cared what happened to the industrial worker before he was in a position to look after himself.

2. The step-by-step widening of the franchise after 1832 placed increasing political power in the hands of the worker and enabled him, by the operation of the democratic process, to insist on the gradual elimination of the worst aspects of early industrialism.

3. Since industry demands not only production but customers for what is produced, the worker inevitably gained some profit from industrialism in the form of a higher material standard of life—which particularly with a rapidly growing population, was a vitally necessary step.

It would therefore be fair to say that whereas in its origins the

Industrial Revolution was almost entirely a movement by which the few who had economic power profited at the expense of those who had none, the whole subsequent history of industry has been a gradual redressing of the balance, until today, in a nationalized industry (and indeed in some large non-nationalized organizations), little or no trace of exploitation by private individuals remains. The worker is the servant of the community of which he is also a member; the conditions of his employment are the conditions which that community thinks fair and reasonable; and the justification for the whole system is its effect upon *him*.

"Natural" Man Compared with the Industrial Worker

In considering the impact of the industrial system on the worker there is a widespread tendency to compare his lot with that of some highly theoretical "natural man." We are bidden to consider a man, naked and alone, upon a desert island, unaided (and unhandicapped) by other human beings or the resources of civilization. His energies, in the first place, will clearly be directed by the primary instinct of self-preservation—he will work to keep himself alive. There is the earth and there is he, and he can get from it what he can take; and if, after keeping himself alive he has any energy left, he is free to use it exactly as he will. If he cares to build himself a hut, then he will have the satisfaction of having a hut; and if he prefers to lie and look at the sea, then he won't have a hut but he will have the satisfaction of looking at the sea. In short, his "working life" is entirely devoted to following his own instincts and desires, and the connection between the work he does and the satisfaction he gets from it is clear and unmistakable. With this, we are asked to contrast the working life of the factory operative in a modern industrial civilization. Firstly, the work he does is useless without the co-operation of a large number of other people. Secondly, if it is to be effective it must be done at times and in places chosen for him, and not by him. Thirdly, it only has a very indirect and complicated relationship to his own needs and desires.

Now at first glance this seems to be a poor exchange. The factory operative has sacrificed the vital factor of freedom, and he has lost the satisfaction of seeing and enjoying the things that he has made for himself. But in practice we know that the comparison is valueless, for two main reasons:

1. The factory operative has not, and never had, a fruitful desert island of which he was the sole inhabitant and proprietor. Before

industrialism ever arose at all, he was committed, if he was a poor man, to using much of his effort for the benefit of others who owned the land which alone could feed him. Industrialism has not taken away the freedom of the poor man because he never had it in any known civilization.'

2. Although he is not directly producing what he wants, he is doing so *indirectly;* and by combining with other people in factories he can hope to enjoy a material standard of life far higher than that of the man on the desert island.

In short, the comparison of the industrial worker with the "natural man" tells us very little about the impact of industry. The pre-industrial worker was a member of a civilized society who had already accepted many of the advantages and disadvantages which being a member of society involves. The truer comparison is between a present-day industrial worker and a present-day *non*-industrial worker —between, say, the man who works in a factory and the man who works on a farm as the true successor of the days before the Industrial Revolution. We must distinguish, in short, between the impact of industrialism and the mere impact of living in society at all.

From this point of view it is clear that the real impact of industrialism on the life of the average man, though profound, has been somewhat less profound than is sometimes implied. It did not create the necessity to work for a living. That has existed as long as man. It did not create the exploitation of one man by another. That has existed in every civilized society. It did not even create the principle of combined effort rather than individual craftsmanship. No individual craftsman built the pyramids. What it *did* do was to alter the balance of importance between natural and manufactured articles, so that the typical producing unit became the factory rather than the farm; and thereby to turn the bulk of the population from rural dwellers and outdoor workers into urban dwellers and indoor workers.

Contrasting Farm and Factory

Here there is clearly an interesting and highly debatable balance of profit and loss. Thus—

1. Agricultural work takes place largely out of doors, in direct contact with nature. Industrial work does not. This cuts both ways. For while Nature at her best provides working conditions which no factory can approach, at her worst she imposes others which are extremely unpleasant, compared with which a modern air-conditioned,

centrally heated factory is a very pleasant place in which to work. Fundamentally, however, the essential difference is that outdoor work takes place in a setting *which is always changing* with the progress of the seasons. Nobody, however little enthusiasm he has for country life, can fail to be interested in the mere changes in colour and texture of the fields through the growing year.

2. For the same reason, the nature of the job to be done by the agricultural worker is more varied. He is not carrying out *an* operation but a *cycle* of operations, each cycle taking a year to complete. His rhythm is the long, slow rhythm of nature, not the short one associated with most man-made articles. This again cuts both ways. For whilst it is possible, up to a point, to arrange the rhythm and timing of industrial production to suit industrial workers, it is impossible to arrange Nature to suit agricultural workers. No cow has yet been bred which understands that it must not require to be milked on bank holidays, and no ewe who understands that she must produce her lambs during the proper and convenient eight-hour working day.

3. The agricultural worker usually sees and is often concerned in the *whole* of the process of production. He has the creative satisfaction of an end product which is obviously useful as a reward for his efforts. The industrial worker, all too often, sees nothing but an intermediate stage in, or a small contribution to, the productive process, which, in itself, has no obvious connection with life as he knows it. This point can be, and often is, overstressed. Many agricultural products have to be processed away from the farm before they are used. The man who grows sugar beet does not see sugar as a result of his efforts, nor does the sheep farmer see woollen garments or even legs of mutton. But the ultimate usefulness of what he has produced, and its relationship to his own life, is at least fairly simple to understand; more so, let us say, than that of a man who is producing a small part in the manufacture of heavy industrial switchgear.

I am the last person, I hope, to sentimentalize about the jolly ploughman or the joys of being a farmer's boy. But nevertheless there is an undoubted fascination about dealing with Nature and the soil which very few artificial, man-made productive processes can equal. If anyone doubts this, let him compare the conversation in their leisure time of typical groups of farm labourers and factory operatives. Farm labourers are often cynical enough, in all conscience, about their employers, their pay, or their conditions of work. But they are very seldom cynical about, or uninterested in, the actual job of farming or

the beasts or crops which are under their charge. They talk "shop" in their leisure time in a way which is very rare amongst factory *operatives*, though common enough amongst factory executives.

Yet there is, of course, another side to the medal—

1. The comparative regularity and lack of change about factory work is a positive advantage to people of a certain temperament. Young girls, particularly, whose real instinctive interests lie in quite a different (and much more important) form of production, often prefer an absolutely monotonous mechanical job which they can carry on without conscious thought, whilst happily day-dreaming.

2. In the same way the importance of a lack of creative satisfaction in a useful end product can be over-estimated. Not every man has the creative, artistic, craftsman urge—or if he has it, it is not pronounced. The belief that every man is a burning creative artist *manqué* has led to a great deal of criticism of industrial work which is not fully justified.

3. The number of people employed in a typical factory is considerably larger than that employed on a typical farm. The working life of the factory operative, therefore, offers a much wider range of social contacts than that of the farm worker. Moreover, outside actual working hours, it becomes possible to organize social activities and benefits for the larger factory group which would be out of the question for the small farm group. Many large industrial organizations offer not only a working life but almost a complete social life as well.

4. Perhaps most important of all—it is upon industry that the material standard of life of a highly civilized community mainly depends, and this is reflected in the relative material standard of life of the industrial and agricultural worker. The rural worker, both because of his wage rates and because he lives in a rural area has on the whole a lower material standard of life than the factory operative. He may be, and often is, better fed. But he is not surrounded by all the advantages of an urban civilization. The factory worker, as is only reasonable, has more access to the factory product and all that has grown up round it.

Explaining the Purpose of the Industrial Job

The above is, of course, a very brief and inadequate comparison. But it serves to make the main point, which is that when the Industrial Revolution diverted men and women from mainly agricultural pursuits to industrial work, it altered and greatly *complicated* the whole "object of the exercise." For whereas before the work that people did had a

simple and easily understood relationship to their own lives and their own requirements, much of industrial work can only be related to the life of the man who does it by extremely complicated economic and productive theory. Let us take a simple illustration. This country is short of food at the present time. Now it is simple to explain to the farm labourer that the shortage of food (which he is aware of from his own experience) will be helped if he works harder and produces more. But it is much more difficult to explain to a man in a factory making the reflectors for head lamps for motor cars that if he makes more reflectors there will be more lamps, and if there are more lamps there will be more completed cars, and that if there are more completed cars and we sell them to the Americans we shall have more dollars and be able to buy more wheat in the world market. Similarly, the country was at one time short of electric current, and most of us suffered from it because at certain times we were discouraged from burning electric bulbs or heating apparatus. But it is a very difficult business to explain to a girl who spends her time putting three screws into a small assembly which passes her on a moving belt that the reason why she can't put her bedroom light on is that we are short of generating plant, because there isn't enough x, because there isn't enough y, because there isn't enough z, which in some way is affected by the things which are made with the machine tools of which her assembly is a small part.

In short, I submit that the impact of industry upon the worker has been to destroy the simple and direct significance of the work done, and hence to sever the mental link between "work" (as one sees it) and "life" (as one knows it). In these circumstances "work" is liable to become something which has no logic or point *in itself*. Its sole significance is that it enables one to earn money, which *does* have a very important bearing on life. The nature of the work is quite irrelevant. It might as well be digging holes in the ground and filling them up again. All that matters is that it shall produce the money necessary for one's needs, and that the conditions surrounding it shall be as tolerable as possible. It follows that in the circumstances there can be no serious question of *enjoying* work. No one can enjoy an objectless activity. What one enjoys is the things that can be bought, out of working hours, with the money earned. The satisfaction, in fact, is purely indirect.

The Rewards of Labour

Now in earlier days, when a minority who had economic and

political power were in a position to exploit a majority who had neither, this position, though deplorable, was not completely illogical. The fact that men and women should spend the best part of their lives in a mere struggle for survival was more reasonable when the ability to survive at all was something of a feat. Moreover, the age was one of religious faith. Life on earth was widely regarded as a mere short interlude before a blissful eternity. Many of us will have met elderly survivors of an earlier industrial day who regarded having kept themselves and their children alive as a fair return for a lifetime of very hard work and now looked forward with quiet confidence to a reward in the next world. But unfortunately, whilst democracy and enlightenment have gradually altered the worst detail aspects of industry, there has never been a philosophical reconsideration of its whole *object* and its whole bearing upon the human spirit. We no longer accept the cynical old-time boss-exploiter. But we have inherited, and apparently accepted without comment, much of his creed. For all he said was "People shall spend the best part of their lives in making material gains for my benefit"; whilst what we appear to say is "People shall spend the best part of their lives in making material gains for themselves and each other." Though the beneficiary has been altered, the basic belief —that it is always reasonable to buy material things with the lives of human beings—remains the same. Even the most liberal and progressive industrial thought of the period between the wars was mainly concentrated on making work *less unpleasant*. It concerned itself with seeing that people at work were warm, that workshops were light and clean, that fatigue should be reduced, that there should be hot water in the cloakrooms and so on. These were noble objects and I do not gainsay them. But nobody asked what seems to me the fundamental question —given that the modern factory is as hygienic and comfortable as a prize cow-house, why on earth should anybody want to spend his or her life going to it at all? Why, say, should a girl of twenty spend eight hours a day—half her waking life—sitting in a factory doing a job for which she cares, and *can* care, precisely nothing? The story has often been told of the Cabinet Minister who, when visiting a mine, had brought before him a miner who was a notorious absentee. The Minister said, "They tell me you turn up here four days a week. Why is that?" To which the miner replied, "Because I find I can't earn as much money as I need in three." This story is usually told as an example of the naïveté of the miner's attitude. But surely there could hardly have been a more logical answer? Here was that rare person, an

industrial worker who, instead of taking the week's work as a matter of course, positively related it (if in an over-simplified way) to his real wishes and requirements.

Two Questionable Assumptions

The answer I shall receive, of course, is quite obvious and to me quite unsatisfactory. It is that society can only consume what it produces, and that since people wish to maintain and improve their material standard of life, they can only do so by productive work at or above their present level and by present methods. This reply seems to me to contain two major assumptions, both of which are very questionable—

1. It assumes (as indeed every political party of whatever colour assumes) that people require not only a high standard of life but an ever-increasing one, and that to achieve this they will pay (and continue indefinitely to pay) anything. I do not believe this is true. Of course everybody wants a higher standard of life—given that they can have it for nothing, or at a price which they regard as reasonable. But I do not believe that they will pay, and go on paying, *anything* to achieve it, *given that the facts of the bargain are clear to them.* Indeed, when the relationship between effort and standard of life is clear-cut, as it is to some extent with straight piece-workers, it is the universal experience that people settle down at a level of effort far below their maximum maintainable capacity. The extra money which they could earn by working harder is simply not worth the extra effort. This is where the impact of industry upon the worker has produced a complete confusion of thought. For in a complicated system in which people's demands are upon the products of others rather than upon their own, the average worker simply does not see the closeness of the connection between his desires and his efforts. The fact that he desires a higher standard of life in no way necessarily implies that he is willing to buy it by increased effort. It is far more often a demand for *a bigger share of what is being produced already.* His demand is upon "society," and he does not see that after a certain comparatively early point society is himself.

It is impossible to blame the industrial worker for his vagueness over this matter since, until very recently, few people took the trouble to point it out to him, and some people at least positively preferred that he should remain in ignorance. The less reputable politician wished him to think that his standard of life depended not on his efforts but

upon his vote; while the capitalist manufacturer, to whom a rising standard of life meant an increasing market for his goods, was perfectly prepared to join in the game of suggesting that material prosperity was the only proper aim of society. In consequence, over a period of years the worker has had it drummed into him that a constantly rising material standard of life is not only his inalienable right but the proper be-all and end-all of social effort. This attitude finds amusing expression in a recent book on advertising, which claims that, *inter alia*, advertising has the virtue of stimulating people *to fulfil their duty as consumers*—in other words to play their part in the game of taking in ever-increasing amounts of one another's washing. Thus the entirely natural desire of the worker to get the best possible material return for his labour is neatly misrepresented as a violent and insatiable demand for more and more material things, and used, where necessary, to justify the utter waste of his life in producing them.

Everybody combines to point out to him that he needs, or would like, many material things that he hasn't got—which he knows to be true. But nobody spends much time in asking him to consider whether some of the things he already has are worth the effort of producing them; or whether he would not be a happier man if he devoted less time and effort to producing material things and more to enjoying the large range of things which the world provides free. The logical end to this process is seen in America, where the possession of a vast range of material things is widely felt to constitute a reasonable aim in itself for life—almost without pretence that the things have any use or any happiness-value except as symbols of some abstract concept of "success."

2. The second major assumption (and in my view, major fallacy) is that the dullness, fruitlessness and waste of life widely associated with industrial work are an inevitable feature of productivity; that work, in fact, is a dull business by definition. There may be a limited amount of truth in this. I certainly do not suggest that man can fulfil all his material desires in a complicated industrial civilization without a certain amount of distasteful effort. But I have no doubt at all that much of the dullness and pointlessness could be removed from industry, not only without loss of output but with a positive gain. It is a simple fact that the standard of effort in most of industry is far below the maximum maintainable level; and it is below it solely because the incentives now offered are almost entirely material, and material incentives have never been those which called forth men's and women's greatest and most enthusiastic continuous efforts. A man will work

hard to keep himself and his dependants from starvation. Thereafter, however, with every step upward in his material standard of life, the appeal of the material reward decreases.

The Enjoyment of Work for its Own Sake

Now industry, having inherited the traditions of the Industrial Revolution, in which men had to work or starve, has never really bothered its head much about anything but material incentives. If you want a man to work you give him money, and the possibility of giving him interest—of giving him a job which he wants to do *for its own sake*—has barely been considered. Indeed, I have heard it said with real indignation that if one once started *that* sort of thing one would soon not know whether a job was work or play—with the implication that there was something almost immoral in the idea that people might enjoy their working lives. We have reached the stage in which we are acutely conscious that the material standard of life of the worker is important, and that the physical conditions under which he earns his living must be good. But we have not yet faced the fact that, since work occupies the best hours of the best days of his life, it is overwhelmingly important that this work shall be a satisfying activity —in short that the complete man must not only be physically fit and materially prosperous but spiritually fulfilled and satisfied.

Modern industry has suffered from too many well-meaning but essentially materially-minded humanitarians and too few philosophers— from too many people who worry about the details of men's lives and too few who are prepared to go back to first principles and ask those desperately difficult questions about the meaning and object of man's life.

It seems to me this confusion as to the "object of the exercise" is the fundamental difficulty in our industrial civilization. A structure built for one purpose—the earning of profits for some men and the avoidance of starvation for other—has failed to find a new and satisfactory reason for existence as its object changed. The impact of the huge and complicated industrial structure on the worker has been to confuse his mind as to his real desires and requirements, and to leave him (and all of us) with a vague impression that man exists for industry, rather than vice versa. He assumes that what the industrial system can give him must be what he wants, because he can see no alternative. He accepts resignedly and almost without complaint, as a law of nature, that half his waking life must be spent in colourless and unsatisfying activity—

that "work" is not a part of "life" but a means of purchasing it. It is not surprising in these circumstances that he wishes to spend what leisure time he has in a frantic and almost hysterical attempt to make up the balance by the fantasy of the cinema or the excitement of a gamble. If for half his life a man is not fed, it is not surprising if he wants great lumps of rather raw meat in the other half.

We are all rather smug nowadays about some of the horrors of the earlier Industrial Revolution. We cannot see how society (which presumably contained a reasonable proportion of men of goodwill) could work small children till they dropped and send little boys up chimneys. We should perhaps be better employed in wondering what our successors will think of us, and how they will explain our willingness to sit an eighteen-year-old down in a factory for eight hours a day, week in week out, deprived of colour, excitement, emotion and everything else that he or she desperately needs. The reason is exactly the same in both instances. Children were worked in the mills and boys were sent up chimneys because people could not see, otherwise, how the textile industry could function or how society would get its chimneys swept. In other words, there was a risk that society's standard of life might suffer. That is exactly our argument for the worst aspects of industry today, and the answer is the same now as it always was—no material standard is worth the waste of human life and the deadening of the human spirit. And until we recognize this, and act by it, then industrialism must be, on balance, a loss to the mass of mankind, even if every factory operative drives to work in a Rolls Royce.

The Dangers of Materialism in Industry

I sum up my argument, therefore, by saying that the most important impact of industry on the worker (and on all of us) has been to sell him exactly that materialism that we most deplore in the early industrialists—and to leave him feeling that all that was really wrong with the old-time boss was that he grabbed too big a share of the material cake. We have done nothing to show him that what was really wrong with the old-time boss was that he had a completely faulty philosophy of life, and that after a fairly early point the material cake is not the only key to a satisfactory life. Until this is recognized there is a danger that all our much-vaunted development in industrial liberal.sm will simply release the worker from slavery to others and leave him a slave to himself.

SECTION IV

THE TRAINING OF POTENTIAL MANAGERS

CHAPTER XIII

THE PLACE OF THE TECHNICAL COLLEGE

By H. L. HASLEGRAVE, WH.SC., M.A.(CANTAB.), PH.D.(LOND.), M.SC.(ENG.), M.I.MECH.E., M.I.E.E., M.I.PROD.E.

IN most branches of their work the staffs of technical colleges have both to meet and to foster demands. They meet demands for courses of instruction, made by industrial or business concerns or by students themselves, and in a few branches they foster demands for courses in those spheres which the staff feel are necessary for the local community and the nation. Both these aspects have arisen in many colleges in connection with management training, and have given rise to a wide variety of courses throughout the country. Some of these management courses have been given under unsatisfactory conditions, produced by the eagerness of college staffs to meet local demands pressed strongly by management or personnel of industry, coupled with ignorance of the real aims of such courses and of the conditions necessary for their operation. The existence of such ignorance is understandable, because most colleges are concerned with a large core of orthodox work which has developed according to a uniform pattern over fifty or more years, and because, although some form of management studies has existed for many years in important industrial areas, management courses of training are relatively new. In a few colleges the provision of such courses has been prompted by the strong belief of the staff that industry needs the help that colleges can give, and pioneering work has been embarked upon in the faith that there would be stimulated a demand for such courses. The lines of thought lying behind this pioneering work have been different, and no obviously best pattern for courses has yet emerged. Indeed, it is doubtful whether it will be proved that one way is the best. Thus the provision of management courses by technical colleges throughout the country is uneven in distribution in both quantity and quality, both of which characteristics depend upon the natures of local industry, and the personnel in industry and the colleges.

THE PURPOSE OF MANAGEMENT TRAINING COURSES

Although both the aims and the natures of courses in colleges throughout the country vary, the fundamental, if in some cases unconscious, reasoning behind the initiation of the courses has been the same. This reasoning can be condensed into four stages.

First, there are those in managerial positions who think that "management cannot be taught and therefore management training courses at technical colleges are useless." Such thought is based upon the examples of successful businesses being created by men who have had no apparent management training. The technical college response to this attitude is agreement with the belief that management, of itself, cannot be taught, but emphasis that successful managers, although not attending management courses, have trained themselves by thinking over their problems outside business time, analysing difficulties, searching for solutions, and asking advice of others, including operatives with years of experience, and so have prepared themselves for the facing of future problems. It is suggested that this was training of a type which included the passing on to the developing manager of information and advice gained by others, and this training could profitably be extended to bring a greater fund of information and advice to the assistance of the young prospective manager.

Thus we are brought to a stage of agreement that some training in management can be given, but to the consideration of those who say that "management is an art and can only be developed by experience in managing and by advice from others." Staffs of technical colleges are brought into daily contact with more diverse types of human nature than staffs in any other educational institutions, and so appreciate that this statement can be true of many present and future managers, but is not applicable to all. In general, a manager requires some knowledge of each of the following aspects: materials and their properties; utilization of materials by machines, processes and methods; economics of production; buying; selling; dealing with human beings. If he is engaged in productive industry, he is likely to have had a technical training which has given him a good knowledge of materials and their utilization, and perhaps a superficial knowledge of the other aspects indicated. But, in order to become an effective manager by taking responsibility for production, he will require much further knowledge of economics, buying, selling and human nature. Some of this knowledge, particularly that which is factual, can be gained by the study of

books, or by attending lectures or the presentation of papers, and the technical college can provide means for acquiring the knowledge that will be suitable for many managers or prospective managers. It can also incorporate in its means provision for the pooling of experience, with resultant development of the ability to sum up facts, analyse possible courses of actions, and decide the most suitable action.

So the third stage of reasoning leads to agreement that some form of study can help the development of management ability, but to consideration of the opinion expressed by some, including industrialists, that the course of study is best given before a man or woman enters industry or business. There is a strong school of thought in technical colleges that is opposed to this theory as being applicable to every potential manager. This school of thought is based on the belief that management is an art that cannot be developed without doing, and that help to the development comes from a course of study which should be based upon the background of industrial or business experience. Those who think in this way believe that factual knowledge is better given as related to one's own experience, than to an imaginary experience; that discussions are of more value if they deal with personal industrial, or business, experiences, and so can result in the pooling of students' own individual experiences.

The Technical College Type of Course

This reasoning brings to the final opinion that for many potential managers the management course should be of a sandwich type, consisting of suitable interlinked periods of "study" and management practice, the course not being commenced until industrial training has been gained, and then so arranged that at each stage the trainee has opportunities of relating the knowledge gained in his studies specifically with his day-to-day experiences. The trainee thus relates study and discussion so closely to his daily work that "learning" and "doing" become interlinked continuous training.

The provision of a management training course based upon this theme entails very close co-operation of industrial and technical college staff. Obviously, it is necessary to decide what the technical college can give in this partnership, and some further basic consideration of the essentials of management are necessary.

If material things only were used in the work being carried out under management (namely, machines operating, without assistance from human beings, upon materials), efficient management would depend

mainly upon technological knowledge, and experiment with it in the nature of observation and deduction. Successful management would then result mainly from securing technological knowledge and acting upon it. But human beings enter into operations at various stages, and since the human being is a complex person, sometimes unpredictable individually, considerable additional problems are encountered by his introduction, and things additional to technological matters have to be considered. As industry has developed, the emphasis has changed from machines to methods, and thence to human beings, attention being paid now to their comfort, welfare, interest, economy of effort, and incentives, and a little, but very little, to their souls. In the search for more efficient production we are now searching for ways of making the individual more efficient. The manager of many years ago had to deal with human beings, but under less complicated circumstances than now, and could not call upon many technological aids now available. The present-day manager has an increased scope of materials with which to deal, and a much increased range of machines and processes from which to choose. He has to comply with many more laws and customs relating to treatment of workers and to buying and selling. To acquire the knowledge of all these aspects essential to enable him to carry out his duties adequately would be almost impossible without some help. The help that a technical college can give is the passing to him of factual knowledge of laws, regulations, technological and other matters; giving him an understanding of the principles in the branch of science or technology in which he is engaged, and helping him to acquire ability in applying those principles; giving means for developing his powers of analysis, forming decisions and judgment: and assisting him in understanding, leading and persuading others. This help can be incorporated suitably in a sandwich management course.

Methods Used in this Type of Course

Before commencing such a management course, the student should have acquired much of his necessary technological knowledge, a large amount of factual knowledge, and that knowledge of human nature obtained by living and working with others. The technical college can then commence by drawing upon his own limited experience of managing, can build upon it, using the experience and knowledge of others, and can then introduce additional knowledge and scientific data at times when it can be used. In the periods between attendance at college the trainee should try to use his knowledge, and be guided

and assisted in this by a practising manager, and on his return to college should then discuss his experiences and decipher what more can be learned from these. After the course of training has ended the manager needs to be further stimulated at periods by discussions, by the injecting of further batches of knowledge, and by the experience of others who are met in the isolated lectures, week-end discussions, and short-duration conferences organized for these purposes by the technical college.

The periods of study in a management course at a college thence embody three sections—

1. The acquiring of factual knowledge through the media of lectures, reading of books, pamphlets and papers.

2. Engaging in discussions with fellow-students and sharing experiences, pooling knowledge, analysing facts, methods and reasons. In doing this each student subjects himself to self-analysis to reveal why his tasks were done in the actual manner adopted, and whether the manner adopted was best under the circumstances.

3. Engaging in projects, by participating in small groups, each of which investigates a practical problem. In each investigation data is obtained, sifted and analysed; decisions are taken and solutions proposed; and all this is done under stress provided by limitations of time and competing with the students in securing aid in the projects, the central object of which is to make students think, plan ahead, make decisions and develop their powers of initiative.

Interlinked with these sections are the phases during which the student applies his knowledge in his daily work, gaining there experience to be analysed in subsequent sessions at the college, and so gradually develops still more those mental and personal talents that are stimulated during the discussions and projects at the college.

Nature of Staff Required and Their Duties

The whole of the work undertaken at the college must have close relationship with industrial or business conditions, preferably with the actual conditions experienced by the students, and the staff of the college must therefore be well acquainted with such conditions. This calls for frequent and lengthy visits of the college staff to industrial and business concerns, as well as for personal contacts between teaching and industrial staffs. It is often said that a teacher of management must have held a managership of high standard, and many argue that, because it is almost impossible for a college to recruit to its staff

personnel who hold high management positions in industry, technical colleges cannot provide management courses. But it has been argued above that management is not taught, that the trainee develops his abilities to manage by doing, and that he is aided to this purpose by the college. Thus, it is suggested, it is not necessary for staff engaged on management courses in colleges to have held high rank as practising managers. It is necessary, however, that each member of staff should have had some industrial, or business, experience so that he has personal knowledge of the conditions, and of the personnel, in industrial or business concerns, and can correlate his knowledge with current industrial conditions and practice. The essential task of the full-time teacher in these courses is to obtain factual information, guide and sum up discussions, prepare data, allot projects, assist in the analysis of solutions and give criticism.

Each member of the full-time staff, in general, specializes in a particular branch, this "specialization" entailing obtaining all available matter relating to his subject, obtaining knowledge of methods adopted in various firms, and the experience gained with such methods, and sifting essential points from specialist lectures given to the students. He arranges that these specialist lectures are given, as far as possible, by men who are holding very responsible managerial positions; he "briefs" such lecturers and thus ensures that the central theme of the course is maintained. The full-time staff can build up a considerable fund of knowledge, using experience gained by responsible managers, to pass advice, help and stimulus to the students. In this way it becomes practicable for a great wealth of management knowledge and experience to be passed to the student, although the full-time staff are not actually practising managers.

It is not sufficiently realized, however, that a large technical college is equivalent in many ways to a large factory. It is organized in departments, controlled by departmental heads having wide responsibilities, and themselves controlling supervisory staff: it has the service departments of maintenance, clerical, welfare, refectories and hostels. Hence inside such a college there is a large fund of management practice and experience available for the use of staff. Technical and practical knowledge exists in the various departments that is available to staff and students concerned with management courses, and the close contacts between these departments and local, regional, or even national, firms enable the services of specialist lecturers of high standard to be obtained.

Difference Between Management Studies and Management Training Courses

There has been some failure to differentiate between management studies and management training. Management studies are concerned with the acquiring of the factual knowledge involved in many branches of management duties, and knowledge of the experiences gained by managers. Since leadership in industry has now become very much a team operation, each member of a production team must know the strategy and tactics to be employed, and personnel in all branches should know something of the branches in which others specialize. Thus it is desirable that personnel other than those in the direct management train should have some knowledge of managerial duties that can be acquired by means of management studies. Hence in many colleges courses of lectures in organization, economics, accountancy and similar subjects, are given to full-time and part-time students in technological courses. Courses in management studies, leading to the taking of examinations and acquiring certificates, are also organized in the colleges, on a part-time day or evening basis, for industrial and business personnel who are able to profit educationally from them. But these management study courses are not management training courses, although they are playing a very important part, by helping the individual members in industrial and business teams to be more effective members of such teams and by preparing the ground for a later training in management, to be undertaken by a selected few.

It is suggested that the success of management training courses cannot be assessed by examinations of the type usually organized in technical college courses. Examinations might be used as incidental to a course, in giving the student both incentive and target in the acquiring of knowledge and applying it in a certain way, but the real measure of a course comes in the improvement of the abilities of the students to manage. Such improvements are comparatively quickly discerned by industrial staff who co-operate with the college staff, and follow closely both the training of the student in his industrial periods and his progress. Some colleges have not adequately appreciated this point.

Essential Requirements for Management Training Courses

The essential requirements for success of mangement courses conducted at technical colleges are concerned with location of "classes," methods used and staff. In many colleges there has been failure to appreciate fully these requirements.

(a) Location and Methods

The location of the management courses and the methods used are interdependent, and methods have been explained in some detail above. The class-teacher relationship used in a large volume of the work of a technical college is not applicable to these courses. While very much knowledge and advice go out from the "teacher" to the "student," there exists a great deal of knowledge in the students, arising from their experiences, which must be drawn from them by suitable means and sifted and crystallized by the teacher. Hence, lecturing and stimulated, controlled, discussion must be carefully co-ordinated. Conditions must be very suitable for both aspects. There must be easy, and adequate, means for the use of visual and audio aids, and also seating, with or without desks, that produces an intimate, relaxed atmosphere conducive to ready discussion. To those who are actively engaged in industry the extraneous noises produced by students in adjacent rooms, and accepted as part of the surroundings by those accustomed to technical colleges, are most disturbing, and the hard seats and desks usual in a college are detrimental in another way. These details may appear small—they are important.

(b) Staff

The role to be played by the full-time staff has been explained. It is essential that industrial personnel should have confidence in their abilities and it is essential that the staff should keep in close touch with industry, and with pending developments. It is difficult for a teacher to fulfil this latter requirement. Even if it was possible to recruit to the full-time staff one who holds a most responsible position in industry, it is probable that within five or more years he would no longer be completely abreast of modern developments, even if he took the precautions open to him. One must rely upon the most modern developments becoming known to the college through the specialist "guest" lecturers. The college cannot offer adequate financial inducement to "guest" lecturers of this calibre, and has to rely partly upon the desire of such executives to contribute towards the advancement of their profession throughout the country.

The ways in which the full-time staff can keep up to date are by frequent visits to industrial establishments for comparatively short periods; frequent contacts with industrial personnel; undertaking consulting and investigational work; spending extended periods, particularly, in industry on an exchange basis. It is likely, in the

initial stages of development of a management school within a college, to be difficult to effect an exchange of staff at the necessary level. But after some two years or more of close co-operation in this work of a college and local industry, the exchange is likely to be possible. It is desirable also that the exchange should be of a more lengthy nature in some cases—namely, that a teacher, after three or four years of teaching service, should go to industry for a similar period and then return to college teaching at a higher status. There are difficulties bearing on pension rights that have to be faced in this interchange of staff. The position of a Head of Department presents more difficulties, for the range of headships in technical colleges is such that it would not be easy for a Head to go to industry and return to take up a more remunerative position as Head of Department, after spending three or more years in industry. One possible means of ensuring that a Head of Department remains up to date, personally, in management practice is that he should be a practising manager in a business or industry, as well as Head of Department. He should be allowed to assume an active directorship of a concern of high standing. This would necessitate a somewhat revolutionary change of policy for many governing bodies of colleges, particularly of those colleges in which it still is not appreciated that the methods to be used in successful management courses require that the terms of weekly hours of teaching adopted in the normal work do not apply.

Existing Provision of Courses

The theme explained above, underlying management training courses in technical colleges, is applied in different ways in colleges throughout the country. Although the "sandwich" nature of the course operates in all, the period of attendance is adjusted according to local or regional circumstances and according to the grade of personnel for which a course is planned.

There are courses embodying three, six and twelve-weeks continuous attendance at the college; courses embodying one day per week; Saturday morning courses; and evening courses entailing attendance on two evenings per week. The courses are designed for management personnel from the potential foreman to top management; some cover a wide range, such as general foremanship; others cover a narrow range, such as some aspect of quality control, or of methods study. There are refresher courses ranging from a two-hour period, to one-week full-time attendance, and the provision of occasional evening, or half-day,

specialist lectures. (Particulars of many courses are given in the book published by the British Institute of Management.)

A few colleges, usually those organizing courses embodying full-time attendance of three or more weeks, have recruited a staff of full-time teachers who assist other colleges, by giving advice and by conducting teaching work. In this way experience gained by individual colleges is being disseminated to many colleges.

In this field there can be no uniform pattern, and no single course that is the best. The colleges are trying to satisfy recognized local needs, and are also trying to prepare managers for the tasks they will have to face in years to come. For this last purpose vision, idealism and faith are necessary, but they must be based upon sound experience and knowledge. Gradually there is being built up in this country a nucleus of technical college staff with abilities, experience and understanding of management training. The process of building it up is slow, but care must be taken in increasing the growth lest quality should suffer.

CHAPTER XIV

TECHNIQUES OF MANAGEMENT EDUCATION

By C. E. J. De Leeuw, B.Com., M.O.M.A., A.M.I.I.A.

Techniques of education require a reasonable awareness of purpose and some guiding principles. The past five years have seen the development of a great variety of courses, and education and training officers receive prospectuses and pamphlets by almost every post. We who organize these courses invariably state our purposes and methods; but the study of these bald statements cannot give much basic information. It is interesting to know that the aim of a course is to provide a "clearer appreciation and understanding of underlying principles" and that the methods employed are "discussion, case-studies, conferences and role-playing, where appropriate," but this will not lead, for example, to an analysis of the comparative merits of full-time and part-time courses or explain when and why the various teaching techniques are applicable.

The more one reads and hears about management education the more one is impressed by the insight of the report on Education for Management. Influenced by this monumental report, certain generalizations have rapidly achieved a wide and ready acceptance. It is now generally recognized that management education is concerned with training *for* management and not training *in* management; that the management student must be taught the implications of his studies rather than a detailed and specialized knowledge; and that the human factor being inherent in all management situations, must be given due emphasis in management education. The present chapter attempts no more than an examination and elaboration of these main ideas.

But here one hesitates out of sheer deference; for many seem to regard these ideas as sacrosanct and beyond discussion. One educationalist may pronounce that we must pay more attention to the training of leaders; another reply that we can no more train leaders than managers. This is dangerous and difficult ground, and the discussion is abandoned; but no one is satisfied. Again, exaggerated claims are sometimes made for new teaching methods, such as role-playing or

case-studies. The detractors reply that we must use a variety of techniques; which is true enough, but a reply that often eschews discussion. However, after five years of rapid development, there are signs of a national stock-taking, of which this book is but one example.

Three main generalizations can be made about management education. First, the approach is humanist; secondly, the method is scientific; and thirdly, training must be given in social skills. I propose to examine these statements and then see what light they throw on teaching techniques.

First, the humanist approach. Since the modern manager leads a team of specialists, his education must give him the implications of many specialized branches of knowledge, so that he can talk sense to the specialists, co-ordinate their efforts and make imaginative suggestions. The manager is concerned with human relationships, whole situations, values and ends—which makes him by any definition a humanist philosopher, like Adam Smith's "philosopher of industry." The manager, having obtained his facts through appropriate channels of consultation and research, must evaluate these facts and make decisions. But facts can never be equated with decisions; so there can never be any one law of a human situation, only a number of possible solutions; and the manger in making up his mind is ultimately alone with his own values, judgment and bias—his own brand of humanism. Management training must educate this humanism. This can only be done by a humanist approach to studies combined with training in social skills. Social skills will be considered later; but before proceeding with the next item—scientific method—it is necessary to introduce a digression to indicate the wide scope of this humanist education.

Humanism is not the prerogative of the line officials: the staff specialists must also enter into the picture. The criterion is not solely whether the specialist has line relationships with subordinates, as some specialists may have very small staffs: the real criterion is the degree of authority that is inherent in the function, for management is not only "power over" but "power with," and a specialist may have little or no "power over" but enormous "power with." Furthermore, it is not enough to say that a line official must be able to pick the brains of the specialist: the specialist for his part must be able to appreciate and anticipate the requirements of the co-ordinating manager and present information in an assimilable form. How often does the accountant complain that it is a waste of time trying to use modern techniques for the presentation of financial information to top management and

boards of directors? But is not this his management problem? The staff specialist is himself something of a humanist and requires some specific management training in addition to his specialized studies. The cost accountants were quick to realize this. Now, all the functional specialists are alive to the situation; though still more needs to be achieved in the direction of humanism. The straws in the wind indicate that the commercial professions will yet come under the spell of humanism.

If management education is humanist, it is no less scientific; there is a sort of parallelism. On the humanist side there are no standard answers; which, paradoxically, makes humanism all the more difficult to teach because of the insistence in management education of a thorough-going application of scientific method. The place of scientific method can best be understood by comparing the scientist and the manager. The scientist is interested in the growth of knowledge—all is grist to the mill. The manager is not immediately concerned with the growth of knowledge, which is the task of his specialists; he is, however, vitally concerned with the rate of growth, and with balance and order. The scientist is constantly attracted by peripheral knowledge; he is research-minded. The manager has to maintain a steady overall view; and, being a leader as well as a co-ordinator, must often supply from his breadth of vision the imagination that the specialist lacks.

The manager is a scientist, therefore, in so far as he can only interpret and co-ordinate if he is versed in scientific method and in the methodologies of the specialist activities. Methodology is the key—what most of us are left with after we have forgotten the detailed knowledge of our youth, so assiduously acquired. With a grasp of methodology the manager can command as much or as little detail as he requires in his task of making decisions: his science is thus subservient to his humanism. This is akin to the Greek conception of the scientist. In Aristotle's *Poetics,* science is subordinate to poetry—to humanism; the Greeks, in fact, could not have conceived of a scientist who was not first and foremost a humanist. This also brings to mind the social accomplishments of the Greeks, and the thought alone is a fitting introduction to the third point, that management education must give training in social skills.

Let us start from the familiar proposition that management studies provide training *for* management, not training *in* management. This distinction is fundamental, for only by exercising responsibility can we become responsible, and not through any amount of theory. But

this statement is not as simple as it seems and can lead to completely wrong conclusions. In particular, it has been used to support the view that colleges can give no training in social skills. The argument is this. A person is put through all the motions of swimming and masters them perfectly on dry land; in the water he is unable to swim. Similarly with the training in social skills given by colleges: there is absolutely no guarantee of performance in real situations, any more than teaching about responsibility will make people behave responsibly. The analogy (it is one taken from a Higher Management lecture) implies that training in social skills is tantamount to training managers. I, myself, consider that there can be no effective management education without training in social skills.

That theoretical knowledge will not automatically lead to performance is incontestable; but it is practical training that is under discussion, not theory. I do not propose to dwell on specific social skills such as interviewing, public speaking or chairmanship, but will confine myself to training in leadership, which is the real bone of contention. Straight away it must be urged that training in leadership can lead to no more than the leadership of the training situations. Thus, if all the training tasks are performed in the classroom, then only classroom-leaders can be trained; if a whole college is involved, then college-leaders can be trained. This is not to claim that managers can be trained; quite the contrary. The issue is whether there is a tendency for leaders trained in our educational institutions to become leaders in industry and other walks of life; whether better methods of training can increase this tendency. The sure instinct and whole tradition of British education is to training leaders, in the belief that they will make themselves leaders of their working environment.

Is there any justification for this view? A tradition of leadership has the weakness that youthful leaders may tend to think that a transition to leadership in working life is automatic and inevitable. Moreover, the case-histories of leaders are fraught with surprises. There are schoolboys who belie their promise; though this may mean no more than that they have landed themselves in the wrong professions. There are the unexpected leaders, thrown up in moments of crisis. This may be due to faulty methods of selection, or to no methods at all; and even the best methods may fail, because the only valid test is performance on the job. Unheralded leaders may, of course, be a compliment to a democratic society; for in an ideal group all are potential leaders. Everything considered, the evidence indicates that

for the individual there is a consistent pattern of development: school leaders do in fact, tend to become leaders in industry. This is the principle underlying the biographical interview, which has won general acceptance.

It is possible to accept the idea of a consistent pattern of development and reject the view that leaders can be trained at any stage in their careers. It can be argued that leaders are born, not made, and will lead in any situation. The analogy from swimming deprecates training in social skills. Presumably there is no objection to theory: the contention is that ultimately the student must teach himself; must learn by doing. No one would dispute this; so we seem to be arguing at cross purposes. Let us examine the analogy more closely. One cannot help wondering why instruction is confined to dry land. In any case, what understanding of social skills can be gained from the analogy of solitary swimming? The responsibility of racing is another matter. A water-polo match, involving leadership, team responsibilities, strategy and match temperament, is better still. Teams, moreover, are constantly practising. (Does not this suggest practice for management?) It may still be argued that the only way to acquire match sense is to play in matches; and the only way to acquire management sense is to manage. So we are back where we started.

There are four intractable facts: colleges, through management studies, provide training *for* management; industry alone, through experience, provides training *in* management; schools and colleges believe they are training the leaders of the future; and there is evidence in support of this latter view. What is it that links these facts? The organic link is the group-leader situation. The science of management may be defined as the science of the leadership of groups towards objectives. (It is possible to add: "through, motivation, decision-making, planning"—whatever degree of definition is desired.) This definition does justice to all the principles of management. But management is far more and far less than the science of management: far more because it is a humanist activity; far less because managers do not need an expert knowledge even of their own pet science—all they need is the methodology. In the light of our own definition it can be said that the active leadership of any group whatever involves all the principles of management. And it follows from this that the leadership of a team, a firm, a family or a nation are management situations; for no group can be led towards an objective without direction, organization, motivation, planning co-ordination and the rest. Even the

simplest group-leader objective situation reveals, on analysis, a surprising complexity, often obscured by the lack of specialization: but specialization is not a principle. The classroom, therefore, is certainly a management situation. Does this mean that the classroom provides training *in* management? Not in business management. Nor in the management of the nation; though educationalists may loosely claim to give training in citizenship. Nor in any form of management other than classroom management. Similarly, the team can only train in team responsibilities; the family in family responsibilities; and so on. The connecting factor is that, being management situations, they are all subject to the same principles of management. The dividing factor is the immense variation in the nature of objectives, groups and environments. Humanism, the heart and soul of management, both divides and unites. It divides because the decision-making wisdom of management is born of experience and is therefore limited and local. It unites because there are common elements in all experience. In consequence of these uniting and dividing factors, there can be no automatic transference of leadership from one field to another; leadership in one field, however, creates a propensity to lead in other fields. Thus the responsibilities of leadership create in the schoolboy a propensity to learn by experience in business management, if that is his real profession; while experience gained in family life is some training for business life, and vice versa. Any leader will combine in his character a veritable network of leadership propensities acquired with teams, clubs, societies—all manner of groups. The position may be summarized as follows—training *in* leadership in one field provides training *for* leadership in compatible fields; and, within the same field, training *in* at one level of responsibility is only training *for* at a higher level.

What are the implications of this for the training of business managers? First, leadership in other fields is not training *in* business management; though it may be training *for*. Secondly, the training of managers extends right back into childhood and is influenced at all stages by innumerable leader-relationships with society. Thirdly, the process by which training *in* at one level provides training *for* at another not only links all the levels of education and connects education and business, but continues up through all the levels of business itself, so that, for example, experience of middle management is still only training *for* senior management. Lastly—and this is the crux of the matter, as far as we are concerned—education for management is most effective

when the enormous possibilities for group activity in classroom and college are exploited to the full.

Leadership is a function of the total personality. It cannot be singled out and trained like interviewing or chairmanship. All that can be done is to foster group conditions in which leadership is forthcoming. In this sense, and in this sense only, can leaders be trained; and then—this cannot be emphasized too often—only leaders of local situations. However restricted and limited this training may appear, it is of immense significance—the genius of British education has been to recognize this.

In management studies power is added to this technique of group activity by the humanist nature of the studies, for humanism and social skills go together. How better can students be taught about problems of decisions than in a live context of decision-making; and, conversely, what more propitious circumstances for group activity could possibly exist than where humanism is the chief object of study?

This leads to a consideration of the kind of group activities that are feasible; for these are the main techniques. At once a host of questions, and many misgivings, come to mind. Can there be any group life where evening classes are concerned? Are full-time or part-time courses the answer? Can industry help? It is now proposed to study some of these problems in relation to the three principles examined above.

It has been implicit in all that has been said so far that the humanist aspect of management education involves the weighing of opinions, the consideration of personal problems, the evaluation of ends—in fact, discussion, which is the basic activity and technique of management education. It is not unusual to contrast discussion and lecturing. Lecturing, it is held, is ideocratic, leader-centred, inspirational. Discussion is democratic, as both group and leader, through organized participation, make a maximum effort at understanding their problems. Those who favour lecturing maintain that the characteristic of inspirational leadership is that it inspires and that good lecturing may give rise to endless discussion after the lecture, whereas the discussion method, by belittling the inspiration of the leader, and giving every encouragement to the garrulous and opinionated, wastes time and leadership, and may provide no stimulus to lasting discussion. Moreover, the teacher cannot draw from the students knowledge which they do not possess. What is needed, therefore, is not more discussion, but better—more inspirational—lecturing.

These objections to the discussion method will be considered presently. For the moment, a distinction is needed between lecturing, in the sense of lectures, and exposition. Management education, by virtue of the scientific aspect of its studies, requires a considerable aggregate amount of exposition. My own experience, based on observations of supervisory, middle executive and senior management courses, is that about half the time is devoted to exposition and about half to discussion, though the exposition is not always undertaken by the teacher but by members of the class who have specialized knowledge. Exposition must be accompanied by questioning and discussion, not merely to elucidate obscure points but to stimulate a process of inquiry that may result in new contributions to knowledge. But if this were all, then management education would be no different from any other form of teaching, and our case would resove itself into a plea for good teaching. And it could still be contended that the inspirational lecture with its aftermath of discussion is a more adult process than the "teaching" method.

In management education the call is for both teaching, more narrowly defined, and group discussion. Although the stress is not on facts, the factual content of management studies is nevertheless high, but the facts are drawn from so many fields that in no one field can the knowledge compare with specialist requirements. On the scientific side the purpose of management education is to provide tools with which the relevant facts can be ascertained; these tools are scientific method and the various methodologies. How often do we meet specialists who have a mastery of scientific method in one field but who are incapable of rational thought in another? The management student must be trained to apply scientific method to every aspect of business. But facts have no relevance apart from judgments and decisions—the humanist ends of management. And yet from another point of view facts shape judgments. The interpenetration of science and humanism is inescapable. Teaching must be subject to constant interruption, modification and reorientation through group discussion as the members pool experiences, assess opinions and engage in their humanist activities. It is not enough to have lectures that bring discussion in their train. The dynamics of the educational group must reflect the dynamics of the management process.

Let us illustrate this conclusion with a practical problem. Consider the vexed question of hand-outs. Many people are of the opinion that previously distributed hand-outs reduce exposition to a minimum,

enable the teacher or lecturer to talk round his subject, and provide more time for discussion. Some industrialists are most insistent in this respect. The whole point is that the hand-out is regarded as a substitute for the lecture—it is, in fact, a published lecture. There is a choice of alternatives: either the lecture or the hand-out; well-run, up-to-date institutions, it is implied, choose hand-outs. But this time-saving conference technique is not suited to the management-studies classroom, aiming as it does at solid education in methodology and humanism. Methodology cannot be taught by a superficial coverage of a vast syllabus. Management education must be selective on account of its scale of values, its teleology, its organizing and unifying humanism. There are topics where a nodding acquaintance, a sort of librarian's awareness, will suffice, and topics where study must be in depth. It is at these points of deeper contact that the methodology is primarily acquired. But the topics for this close attention are determined not only by teaching experience but by the interests and personal problems—the humanism—of the group; and this can only be revealed through the dynamics of discussion. The danger of prior hand-outs is that they restrict spontaneous development by ignoring this humanism and wrenching ideas back to the printed formula. Hand-outs issued after class meetings are no better; they bear no necessary resemblance to the proceedings and constitute, in fact, an independent text-book; a text-book, moreover, to which thinking increasingly reverts with stultifying effect. The teacher who prepares hand-outs is engaged on two different tasks—teaching and writing a text-book—and the two skills are not necessarily compatible. The teacher who, in living contact with his class, can question, expound, discuss and lead in a truly group effort at understanding, may be quite unable to write any imaginative text-book, for this may take him out of his medium. If the hand-outs amount to less than a text-book—a skeleton of knowledge—then more than anything else will they induce that set pattern of development which is the very antithesis of management education. This example, though showing how methodology and humanism interpenetrate, is primarily concerned with methodology. It is now necessary to consider more closely the relation between discussion, humanism and social skills. It must be shown that the discussion method can exercise the judgment and promote group activities of sufficient vitality to give training in leadership and social skills—never forgetting that as far as industry is concerned nothing more can be acquired than a propensity for management.

We are slowly beginning to understand something of the behaviour of groups. This much can be said of education: major developments at all levels, from infants to adults, are most likely to come from a clearer understanding of the nature of groups. The success of group life in the classroom does not depend solely on discussion; attention must be paid to the arrangement of the classroom, the size of group, the personality of the members, the time, duration and frequency of the meetings, and many other factors. Every teacher must be struck by the way groups begin to take shape through some strange process of elective affinity even as the students take their places for the first time, before a word has been exchanged. Discussion, however, is the living principle, yet it may be marred, if not destroyed altogether, by neglect of the most elementary mechanics of organization. If discussion is desired, then students should face one another in the normal attitude of conversation; so that words can come with the full force of the personality, and everyone observe the attitudinal gestures and noises of everyone else. If there are no tables, arranged committee-wise, then the desks should be moved round. Educationalists are always hammering away at the need for more discussion. Why, then, do they still have desks in their classrooms? How can students, all facing the same way, communicate with disembodied voices?

Before dealing with class activities it is necessary to consider the teacher and the students. The teacher is not a mere promoter of discussion. Under normal circumstances it is not particularly difficult to get a discussion under way. But the fact of discussion may mean little in itself. Discussion may be keen and plentiful; as discussion it may be of excellent quality, but as far as management education is concerned, a great waste of time; for discussions are not necessarily good because of the good things in them—there is the question of purpose—and not even good because students enjoy them—most discussions are enjoyable. If discussion is easy, the discussion method is not. There is more to it than an informal chat and a general exchange of views: the teacher has to prepare the ground thoroughly and never cease experimenting. He must also provide strong leadership. It is sometimes imagined that if people from industry are brought together they will educate themselves on account of the magnitude of their combined experience, before which the teacher seems to lose his identity. This notion is also encouraged by current interpretations of the discussion method, which tend to regard exposition and inspiration as leader-centred and undemocratic.

The general view is that teachers should have some business experience. The policy of technical colleges is to achieve a balance between full-time and part-time teaching staff; and the tendency is to encourage full-time teachers to take up industrial consultancy or research work. In practical experience every student may surpass his teacher in some branch of business; some in all branches; and in the case of courses for senior executives the teacher may well be the least experienced member. Academically, of course, the full-time teacher is in a very strong position. There is much information from the universities and research workers that can be made available to industry—the teacher is a go-between, a broker of ideas. Moreover, with the discussion method, the teacher learns from his students, and acquires teaching experience of the problems of many firms, which will help him, not by serving as a substitute for business experience, but in his task of co-ordinating and stimulating group discussion. It is neither necessary nor possible for him to have first-hand experience of all he talks about; but by drawing attention to developments, he can keep his students on the alert, guide their studies and promote a questioning and analytical frame of mind. Here is an example. A student on a senior management course had recently become a manager of a mine. Previously, without ever analysing his behaviour, he had adopted a thoroughly consultative attitude to his workers, and been what we would call a democratic leader. But this experience was only training *for* his new job; and he had to train himself *in* responsibilities. He thought that perhaps he should behave in a way we would describe as leader-centred, certainly less democratic. By learning about the various types of leadership, by studying the research evidence, and above all by discussing his problems in the classroom he came to realize that his ideas of how he should behave in his new situation were consistent neither with his own pattern of development nor with accepted principles. The teacher, who had no experience of mines, nor of senior management, had been able to help him in conjunction with the deliberations of the group. The teacher's job was not to give training *in* management, certainly not in mining management; his job was to manage his students and lead them in a co-operative effort to prepare *for* industrial management.

In management education there is much initial resistance to the teacher. This does not apply to senior executives, but is marked in the case of middle executives. Senior executives, men of experience,

are willing to assess a teacher on his merits; they accept the classroom situation and judge its product for what it is worth. Middle executives are sensitive to the strong leadership of the teacher as he sets about—one might say, *if* he sets about—forming a well-knit group. Some students are highly intelligent but lacking in sociability; others have social skill but are not very intelligent. All are ambitious. Every type of attitude emerges. Over-confident leaders try their hand and are found wanting. Tensions appear within the group, and difficult self-adjustments have to be made. The teacher in helping to resolve these tensions may encounter strong resistance. Quite naturally, too, middle executives, who in industry are very much on trial, will unconsciously submit the leadership of their teacher to a trial of strength.

How then does one judge a good teacher of management subjects? Standards of assessment will become evident as we consider the activities he has to organize. At this stage, however, it may clarify matters if we note how a teacher should not be judged. Not merely by his business experience, important as that may be. Not by his skill as a lecturer, though clear and vivid exposition is essential. Not by his ability to stimulate lively discussion, for discussion may lead nowhere. Not by his failure with any one student, however intelligent: a group may reject a student so that the group life may be meaningless as far as he is concerned; and the exclusion do him serious harm. Not even by failure with any one group, for groups may come to grief through no fault of the teacher, a possibility one has always to keep in mind when using the discussion method with management classes—the stresses set up within a group may be so strong, through some inexplicable clash of personalities, or whatever it is, that successful teaching may be wellnigh impossible. The difficult group is the bane of every good teacher of management subjects, who may sometimes release forces he cannot properly control.

What of the student and his qualifications? Some firms would like to see all candidates for management courses carefully selected. There are many specialized management courses run by technical colleges, where students are sponsored by their firms—all day-release courses, for example—and in the main this system works satisfactorily; though with specialized courses there are always problems of status and experience to be settled by consultation; and admission has to be controlled to give balanced groups. The real difficulty is with evening students studying for the Intermediate Certificate and Diploma examinations. Should these students be selected? Some firms think

they should. But educationalists can no more presume to select potential managers for industry than they can to train in management. Teachers manage their classrooms, and can therefore only assess general educational suitability for their classes. Even this is difficult enough, for with students of management subjects there can be no rigid academic standard of admission; the best way probably is to explain the aims and methods of management education to prospective students, and let them talk themselves into the course or talk themselves out of it. I do not think that selection panels of business men would be practicable. And I am not sure they would be desirable. A firm—it may be a firm or a particular manager—may not encourage employees to study for a professional qualification: the course is too long, too academic or too general; the instruction is not what it should be; the firm has its own training scheme, or can tell employees all they need to know. Some students—and good students—do not wish their firms to know they are in attendance. Or it may be that firms consider that certain employees will not go very far and should not be encouraged to undertake training beyond their capacity. And there are all manner of industrial misfits. Unpromising students do present themselves; a selection panel of business men would probably reject them on account of their poor record, unprepossessing appearance or inability to express themselves. The reason for not excluding them is at bottom the belief that education can teach self-expression, give confidence, develop character—train in the social skills. Time and time again educationalists are surprised by the all-round progress of students they once thought to be unsuitable. A selection panel might be too prone to judge immediate suitability for the responsibilities of middle management.

Those who want selection panels are really asking for a concentration of scarce resources on students of high calibre. The view is that first-class men are being kept away by the present haphazard system. One of the advantages that can be claimed for evening classes is that they provide training in representative groups. The educational structure of evening classes in my own department is roughly as follows: no educational qualifications—40 per cent; General Certificate of Education (ordinary level)—30 per cent; General Certificate of Education (advanced level), professional qualifications and university degrees—30 per cent. The average age for third-year Intermediate students is about thirty-five.[1] In the representative group the middle

[1] When this was written Mr. De Leeuw was Head of the Department of Management Studies at the Polytechnic, Regent Street.

executive can meet the people he must come to terms with in industry, and at all levels. A representative group does not mean a lower level of attainment, for the aim is not scientific knowledge as such, but a blend of science and humanity, and the acquisition of social skills.

When discussing methodology it was possible to talk in general terms and not refer to the teacher and students beyond saying that the teacher must take account of the interests and experience of his students. As soon as humanism and social skills came under review, it was necessary to pause and introduce the teacher and students as people. In the formation of a group the first steps, after the dispatch of routine matters like registers, are the introductions, and ideally the students should receive, or take down, particulars of the group. The teacher himself must have a record of the careers and business interests of his students and a means of identifying them, such as name cards, otherwise he cannot lead an effective discussion in the early stages. Then the course should be introduced—its purpose, scope and method—though students should not be overpowered, as aims and methods should be progressively developed as the course proceeds. Middle executives need to know that they must aim at implications and relationships rather than specialized knowledge; that there are no set answers to management problems and that they must learn by discussing problems and making contributions from their own experience—in fact, by making a group effort. (Methodology, humanism and social skills are lofty concepts, and should wait for a suitable occasion.) It would be uncouth to lecture them on these introductory themes, and the waste of a golden opportunity. Questions should be asked. Why do they come? What do they expect to get—what would they like to get—out of the course? What do they think a manager needs to know? This is common courtesy—the conversational style, which should set the whole tone of the course. This opening conversation can be followed by a general outline of the course, reference being made to the occupations and interests of the group, the aim being to bring the students into the picture at the outset. It is surprising how quickly a sense of community and common purpose can be created in this way by observing the proprieties and being true to life.

As the group develops its power, tensions will inevitably be produced, and call for strong leadership from the teacher, which members of the group, or even the group as a whole, may contest. This is the time for a major devolution of responsibility from the teacher to the students, who should be encouraged to give talks, read papers, collect material,

act as chairmen—any responsible activities the teacher or the group can devise.

Case-studies may be introduced with profit at this stage when the group has its own problems on its hands and the need is for discipline, responsibility and a sense of proportion. Case-studies are a discipline that can reduce the over-confident to silence, an exercise in rapid decisions for which responsibility must be accepted, and an example of live problems to which there are no text-book solutions. Case-studies can be introduced with almost therapeutic effect at this susceptible stage. The case-study method, which uses published case-studies, cannot in my view be the sole method of training, except on specialized courses where the students have already had a good general training. Research information, for example, cannot be imparted in this way. Moreover, with published cases, the group discusses other people's problems and not its own. What can be done, however, is to to train students in the methodology of case collection, so that they can present their own problems more systematically, and know what problems to present. When a student volunteers a problem it is often far too complex and without shape. The best case-studies never originate in complex situations. A very simple day-to-day decision or problem is chosen. This is written down and examined. More facts are required; they are collected, and the position analysed again. Further facts are collected, requiring more analysis. Certain facts are eliminated, others amplified. Gradually a case with a well-defined structure is evolved. The limiting factor in business is time; decisions have to be made with an intuitive grasp of certain facts. But it is a good exercise for a student to submit himself to the occasional discipline of building up a case out of his simple decisions and problems. Such cases presented by students have the advantage that additional first-hand information can be supplied to the group. There is never enough information in a published case; the reply that decisions in real life have to be taken on inadequate information is not true to life as the manager has some total awareness of the situation. Published cases, therefore, tend to be long, if not cumbersome.

With courses for senior executives the discussion of live cases is a major technique; to such an extent that courses may be organized on this basis. The representative of a firm, who may or may not be a member of the group, presents a management problem, with all the necessary documents and explanatory material. The group discusses the problem and makes recommendations. The representative then explains the decisions that were in fact made, and these are discussed in

relation to the recommendations of the group. A variation of this method, which is suitable for evening classes, is for an industrialist to prepare a written case, which is discussed by several groups. Recommendations are made by each group and are presented at a joint meeting of all the groups, presided over by the industrialist. After the various recommendations have been discussed the industrialist explains the steps that were actually taken, and these are discussed in the light of the recommendations.

Once a group has become sufficiently integrated and knowledgeable, then group specialization should manifest itself and be encouraged —an informal syndicate approach. The great success of the Administrative Staff College at Henley has caused some people to think that the syndicate method can be applied only to courses for senior executives. This is not really so. At our universities students are told that they must abandon the teacher-taught attitude, and that there is only one category—students. Professors who have a wide field to cover explain that they must rely on undergraduates for much of their specialized knowledge. Students who come to grips with their subjects, quite naturally and informally organize themselves on syndicate lines. If a student wants the most up-to-date information in a topic, he will, more often than not, approach a student, or group of students, with a reputation in that field. Teachers in technical colleges are faced with the same problem of a wide coverage of knowledge; the inevitable solution is to promote specialization within the group and to pool the knowledge. What is this but the syndicate method or approach? Incidentally, this is one of the best ways of teaching the methodology of management subjects; by providing points of deep contact for individual students or small groups of students.

The teacher may wish to arrange a programme of industrial visits. They should be worth-while in themselves; and they are seldom worth-while unless senior executives meet the students. Visits acquire a special significance if they are made to firms from which the students come, particualrly if these students do the organizing. All manner of new responsibilities and relationships are then created. A student who organizes a visit is seen by his firm in a new light, as organizer and host, and as a member of a student group; while his fellow students see him in action, as it were, for the first time. And a new relationship is established between the firm and the college through the student and the group. Unfortunately, few visits can be arranged for evening students. Day-release students enjoy a real advantage in this respect.

Foremen attending part-time day courses, for example, can visit one another's firms—being practical, they learn most by discussing their experiences; and it is therefore essential that they should know the setting of the problems they discuss.

If the teacher is to get the maximum attention from his group, then he must appeal to the total personality, and therefore not neglect the visual imagination. Films have some excellent uses: as demonstrations of the development of improved processes or work; as case-studies; and so on. The projector and the epidiascope have their place. The discussion method is noteworthy, however, for the impetus it has given to wall charts. In themselves they are usually well thought out; and they inspire confidence by giving proof of planning and conscientiousness. Yet, with the exception of charts that are used for reference purposes, and charts that are hung up as permanent reminders, they may be more of a hindrance than a help to management education. The visual appeal, in my opinion, should come through blackboard technique and not through static charts. Charts which are a combination of text and illustration—some are in lengthy series—are substitutes for lectures, and their success will vary in inverse proportion to the quality of the lectures they supersede. Charts which are substitutes for the exposition of rudimentary facts are a source of distraction, for they give too much information at once. If charts are intended as an aid to discussion then they deny the very principles of discussion, for not only do they not ask questions but they prevent the teacher from doing so by presenting the data for him. So often in management education when students are told anything, they immediately appropriate the idea and claim that it is obvious common sense, almost beneath their attention. If a question is asked, then, out of the welter of opinions, a common-sense approach may emerge, which the discussion has shown to be anything but obvious. Visual illustrations are indispensable, but they must spring spontaneously from the requirements of the discussion. Only blackboard technique can achieve this. Wall charts have all the disadvantages of hand-outs. Blackboards have open minds.

As the group progresses through the use of these and other techniques, more and more of the responsibilities of leadership devolve from the teacher to the group and more and more consultation becomes necessary. The teaching syllabus itself, as distinct from the official or guide syllabus, becomes a matter for frequent consultation as the interests of the group are developed. Teaching techniques should also be discussed and executives become familiar with the problems of

teaching management subjects. They do not need an expert knowledge of teaching techniques, but they do need to understand the implications, because one of the objects of the group method is to train the members to teach one another. They should learn to view the problems of teaching management subjects as part of the wider problem of communication, in which they are vitally concerned as managers. In this way the whole of their classroom experience becomes integrated in a joint effort with the teacher.

In my own department a formal system of joint consultation has been evolved. Each class has its representative, who discusses class matters with the teacher. The class representatives, and the part-time and the full-time teaching staff, meet to discuss matters which affect the department as a whole. The task is a formidable one, for the problems of formal consultation in education are not the same as those in industry, and have their own special difficulties of authority, continuity and reporting. But the problems are coming to light, and the students are accepting responsibilities and making real decisions in a truly group effort.

The skills that are acquired through the group method may now be summarized. The student gets practice in speaking; and in discussing rather than arguing. He learns to listen and to participate through keeping quiet. He learns to tolerate criticism; which is made easier for him because he is able to rely on the support of the group if criticism violates the group "norm" or common approach. He learns that his own criticisms must be acceptable; that awkward situations can never be wholly "depersonalized"; that what is logical is not necessarily expedient—in other words, that feelings are facts in any group situation. He learns the therapeutic value of voicing grievances. Through participation in group activities, he learns to be self-reliant and to respect others. He learns to become action orientated. Above all, he learns, or should learn, that the skills he has acquired relate only to the classroom and constitute no more than a propensity to learn all over again, though more profitably, in other fields.

What is the attitude of industry to this emphasis on social skills? The colleges themselves insist that they cannot give training *in* industrial management. The development of executives is not due to study alone but to the opportunities for development afforded by both industry and education, as well as by the many clubs, societies and institutions of a democratic society. When, for example, firms encourage employees who are known to be "difficult" to attend courses

at colleges, they are not thinking primarily of academic knowledge; they expect more than this, though perfectly well aware of the limitations of the classroom. The Polytechnic has established courses on "The Social Skills of Management" for both senior and middle executives. The first courses were for senior executives, but at the request of industry courses for middle executives were organized. The development of social skills is a lengthy process: colleges must be in touch with their students for at least a year. (Evening students remain for five or six years.) As senior executives cannot possibly leave their work for lengthy periods of full-time study, and as the limitations of the classroom make it undesirable that they should do so, at least as far as social skills are concerned, the Polytechnic course is divided into three separate fortnights of full-time study at intervals of several months. During these intervals the executives, in groups of three or four, make part-time attendances to undertake training projects in firms under the guidance of the college, and thus learn to apply their knowledge to real situations—industry becomes the classroom. This is but one local example of co-operation between industry and education.

Training projects, industrial visits, live case-studies, full-time teacher-consultants, part-time lecturers from industry, day-release schemes, sandwich courses—all point in the same direction: co-operation and consultation between education and industry. The true significance of management education can only be understood in relation to this co-operation—interpenetration, one might say, and to the new social significance of industry itself. In the modern era, scientific method, through the agency of industry, has produced specializations at a fantastic pace, without creating new group unities, and even destroying old ones. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most dynamic and far-reaching social experiments of our time are taking place in industry. Management education must be seen in this context. It has implications for every other branch of education—particularly science and technology—for it is part of a new effort to give wholeness to the ever-increasing complexities of life and to create an all-embracing humanism.

CHAPTER XV

A NEW METHOD OF TRAINING IN HUMAN RELATIONS

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FOR some years we have been responsible for a number of courses designed to train executives in the "human relations" aspect of management. Course members have differed greatly in the positions they held as well as in age, intellectual ability and industrial experience. These factors affect a man's capacity to make use of the courses—but all, in our experience, are unimportant beside the student's attitude to the subject.

We wanted a course which would convince students who were indifferent or hostile to the subject, firstly, that the social aspect of management is important and full of difficulties, and secondly, that it can be studied and useful skills and principles can be evoked and learned. Put another way, we needed a course which would develop interest in the subject, and a will to learn where there had been none before.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF EXECUTIVE TRAINING

The course described here, "The Interviewing Skills of Management," was the one we eventually designed to overcome these difficulties.

The ideas which resulted in this course may be briefly summarized—

1. It is difficult to change people's attitudes through lecture or discussions alone. An attitude develops as a result of an individual's total experience, and his self-respect will be bound up in maintaining it. Thus any direct attack (for example, any "logical" demonstration that his point of view is false or limited) will only produce defensive and hostile behaviour. However, new experiences may cause a person to change his attitudes, particularly if they occur in situations where he feels he is liked and respected.

2. The desire to learn in this new situation is most quickly roused if he is presented with a problem or asked to show some skill—if he feels his self-respect is bound up with a successful performance.

This course was planned, therefore, to present the student with a practical situation which he would feel was real and important and which he would have to tackle immediately. We chose the practical situation of interviewing because it seemed to us the basic skill which anyone in a position of authority over others must possess. If a manager cannot encourage others to talk, if he does not know how to listen and interpret, he has very little prospect of understanding other people or of leading them effectively.

The subject also met our other requirements. Practical training in it must involve every student in a "real" situation which he would have to tackle on the spot. This was one participatory method of teaching which no student could side-step. And the problems which arose would obviously be problems of human relations, which could be solved only through an understanding of the people and the principles of human behaviour involved.

Description of the Course

The course was planned to consist of thirteen weekly meetings each lasting three or four hours. The first seven meetings would be devoted to the formal interview, in which the interviewer has to gather a number of specific facts and for which he can do a good deal to prepare himself. We took the selection interview as an obvious and useful example of this type of meeting. In the rest of the course we meant to attempt the more difficult problems of informal interviewing, which in real life usually have to be tackled without preparation. Lecturing and discussions on the general problems of interviewing would be cut to a minimum, unless and until they developed from considerations of the practical experiences of students on the course. (Most of the changes we have introduced since we first ran the course have been in furtherance of this idea.)

In the current syllabus, four of the thirteen meetings—sixteen of the forty-three hours of tuition—are devoted entirely to practice interviews. Every student personally conducts at least twelve interviews and probably sits in on another twenty. He meets the person he is to interview for the first time as the latter walks into the interviewing room. (The administrative problem of supplying the large number of "interviewees" we need has been solved by requiring everyone who

enrols for the course to guarantee to produce at least one interviewee from his firm.)

Meeting 1

The first meeting begins with introductions. We consider these extremely important in encouraging the students' interest in each other, and in developing the friendly atmosphere of mutual respect which is vital to the success of the course. The tutors introduce themselves first, and then invite each course member to introduce himself in the same way, giving his name, company and position and some description of the work he does and his personal background.

The tutors then describe the course and emphasize that it offers practical training in an everyday managerial skill. Course members who have conducted employment interviews are then invited to describe their methods. A course tutor chairs this discussion, and a scheme for selection interviewing is drafted, based on the members' experience.

At this stage, the course tutor will probably try to bring some prejudices into the open, by saying—

> "Whatever their scheme, many people concerned with selection interviewing have some private guide lines which they rely on for choosing people. This may be a general idea of the sort of person who is 'an X Company man,' or a way of summing up a man's behaviour in the interview, or some assumptions about physique or personal appearance. Will you all draw up a list of those characteristics, in so far as you can name them, which give you a favourable impression of a candidate? Then draw up another list of characteristics which give you an unfavourable impression."

Some prejudices are recognized as such by the man who lists them, others are defended. (One student gave a lengthy "scientific" explanation of why men with fair eyelashes are untrustworthy.) This appears a fairly frivolous part of the session, but it serves to rouse some queries in students' minds about the infallibility of such a multitude of faiths.

Some information about the type of people likely to be supplied as interviewees must be collected at this meeting, since it affects the work of later sessions.

Meeting 2

The second meeting is based on the scheme drafted by the course in

Meeting 1. Every scheme recognizes to some extent the need to relate information about a job to information about a candidate, so that it is always possible to consider here the preliminaries to a selection interview. These are grouped under the headings of Job Analysis and Purpose of the Application Form, and the work is kept as practical as possible. For example, the section on Job Analysis is run as follows—The tutors study the lists of people available to act as interviewees beforehand, and decide on a job which might be expected to interest them all. The ideal would be to send the class out to study the selected job in operation, and draft their own descriptions and specifications accordingly. Since this is administratively impossible, a class tutor studies the job, or makes use of one of the number of job studies now collected, and poses to the class as a person who has worked in it. The course task is introduced in some such terms as these—

> "We are all agreed that you can't select a person for a job without some knowledge of what the job requires. Next week you are going to practice selection interviews on a number of strangers. If this is to seem realistic, you must match these people against the requirements of a supposed vacancy. Looking at the people who are coming along, it seems that they might all be interested in the job of [e.g. caterer in a small works canteen]. Unfortunately, you can't go out to study the work of [a caterer] this afternoon, but I have studied the job and should like you to assume that I am in fact [a canteen caterer]. In the next half-hour you can ask any questions you like about my job, and the class will then jointly draw up a Job Specification for you all to work to next week."

We have a number of forms prepared for the selection interviews (a Job Specification Form, an Application Form and a Candidate Assessment Form), and these are shown to the course members at this meeting. Students do not have to use the forms—some choose not to—but they are reminded what information they will have to give later about their interviewees, and it is pointed out that the forms are intended to help them remember these items.

Meeting 3

This is the first session in which students practise interviewing. Practice implies some assessment and coaching—or at least suggestions on how to improve. We have a tape-recorder, and some interviews are recorded at each practice session and played back and discussed with the student. This is probably the most thorough method of

assessment, but even so it has drawbacks. Some students complain that the recording machine "puts them off," records certainly do not convey the whole atmosphere of an interview, and the process is time-consuming. The course tutors visit a number of interviews, staying long enough at each to gain an impression of the *rapport* established, and the interviewer's method. With a large group, however, this would still leave a number of interviews unassessed. We, therefore, call in the students themselves to help. Two students are assigned to each interview, one interviewing, the other sitting back as unobtrusively as possible and noting specific aspects of the conversation. When the interview is over, students and interviewee discuss it briefly; the interviewee describes the receiving end, the interviewer describes and checks his own impressions of the success or failure of his methods. Assessors comment on the opening and closing of the interview, the quality and quantity of information gained, ease of transition from one topic to another, and other points.

It is unusual for assessors to make useful criticisms at the first practical session. They are offered a form to use, which encourages specific comments, and the tutors can now quote the experience of previous courses to show that comments even on one or two questions and answers are more valuable than generalizations. But it is a minor skill for people with no shorthand to remember and jot down phrases while listening to a continuing conversation, and even those sure of its importance only develop this ability with practice.

Another difficulty is that of learning to comment accurately and constructively without rousing resentment. Every student must feel assured that he is among pleasant and capable people, and that he is himself accepted as a competent member, before he can either give or receive the comments on interviewing performance which are sometimes necessary. We have already indicated some ways in which we as course tutors try to establish a general atmosphere of friendly respect. We also rely a good deal on the group adopting something of our own behaviour to course members. The course tutors attend as many of these discussions as possible, both to add their own comments on the interview and to suggest by example how a commentary can be useful without sounding unpleasantly critical. It is at this meeting that a number of students realize for the first time that they are going to have to work hard and that their own theories on interviewing, and their capacities as interviewers, are going to be severely tested. The meeting has a considerable shock effect—and a few people are very

badly jolted by the experience. These people usually react by protesting about the "impossible" conditions—complaints about the interviewing rooms, the design of the forms, the quality of the interviewees, the general administration of the course, the need to interview before another person. We accept all complaints and try genuinely and obviously to remedy such defects as we can. But we have also found it safe to assume that the critics are complaining against a generally disturbing experience, and that the comments will become more favourable once their self-confidence is restored.

Meeting 4

At the fourth meeting, the course as a whole pools impressions of the different interviewees. Each interviewee is considered in turn, and everyone who interviewed him gives a brief talk on whether or not he was suitable for the imagined vacancy. The differences of opinion which always emerge are the starting point for a discussion on the accuracy of interviewing techniques. The students may conclude fairly early that, for example, more objective standards and more detailed headings would have helped. The course tutor notes their findings and makes them the basis for a short lecture in which the conclusions reached by trained interviewers who have tackled the same difficulties are outlined, and the results of any researches which relate to the different problems are given. One of the course tutors may also talk briefly on the general structure of personality, a subject which no longer appears academic because it is related to the problems actually experienced by everyone present in trying to assess a man for a job.

The second half of this meeting is taken up with a demonstration interview and discussion. The ideal demonstration is a live interview by a trained interviewer. But interviews conducted before a large class have seemed to us very unrealistic, and we do not have a one-way screen which would overcome this difficulty. We have used a recording of a good interview. This is difficult to refer back to in detail, however, and so recently we have asked students to study the full script of an actual interview, taken from the original recording. The atmosphere of the interview—intonations, gestures, pauses—is lost; but the interviewer's intellectual planning and something of his method of presentation can be appreciated from the script and studied at the students' leisure. We have not yet given script and recording together, which might prove the best solution.

Meetings 5 and 6

These meetings repeat the activities of Meetings 3 and 4. By this time most students' interest in the problems of collecting and assessing facts by means of the interview is much greater, and some of their interviews show improvement. Their comments on their own and others' performance are nearly always rather more perceptive.

For example, in the discussions at the first practice session the interviewees' comments are surprisingly uniform. Rather few complain about the social aspects of the interview: and some, in fact, remark how friendly their interviews are. A very high proportion, however, complain about general and evasive questions—

> "I feel you should not sound so accommodating. It gave me a feeling of lack of authority. I expect to be asked a lot of detailed questions. I don't feel you can know much about me."
>
> "If this had been a real interview, I shouldn't have known what to do. Should I tell you a lot of things you didn't ask about, which are relevant to the job? Or would that just seem pushing?"

Many people on the course are surprised to discover that they can give at least as much offence by failing to ask detailed and even personal questions, as they may by any maladroit handling of private affairs. Vague questions in an interview can even offset the effect of a friendly approach—

> "You didn't ask anything about my job at X's. You could've asked me how I'd set about doing so-and-so. The fact is, I got the feeling that you hadn't looked at my form and didn't care much about me."

Encouraged by these remarks, most interviewers become more specific in their second set of interviews. For example, one student requested his first interviewee—

> "Tell me something about your activities at X school."

The interviewee complained about this in the discussion which followed, and the course tutor attending this student's third interview noted the improved question—

> "I see you were a prefect at school—that must have involved some responsibilities. What were your duties?"

A related complaint of interviewees is that some aspect of their experience was not covered.

> "You didn't ask about my technical training."

"I got an award for my work at so-and-so. You never found that out—you didn't ask me anything about it."

These remarks do spur interviewers to work out some plan to cover the interviewee's whole career, though the results are not always entirely happy. The interviewer to whom this last remark was addressed was heard to say a few interviews later—

"You haven't won any medals or anything that I haven't heard about, have you?"

The interviewee's highest praise seemed reserved for the interview in which he felt free to give a full and detailed account of himself. This comment was made on an interview in Meeting 5—

"This was an excellent interview. I was allowed to talk about myself and the interviewer got a real picture of how much I knew. The conversation was always relevant to the job."

At this stage in the course, most interviewers begin to form a clearer picture of what they are looking for. Thus, early in one course, an interviewer, after studying the items listed under Leisure Interests on one Application Form, produced the vague inanity—

"Do you dance more than you read, or read more than you dance?"

In the discussion afterwards, the interviewee mentioned this and asked—

"*Why* did you ask me that?"

After a pause the interviewer answered—

"Well, to tell you the truth, I never know *what* to say about Leisure Interests. I don't know why they're on the form."

This point was raised when the class next met as a group, and the student agreed after discussion that this was a useful heading on the form. In his next interview the interviewer did think out each question, and though the meeting was protracted and somewhat uncomfortable as a result, he gathered much more valuable information. Discussing his interviewee afterwards, he said:

"This man put down cricket as an interest, but I found out that he doesn't play himself. He reads the papers and watches on T.V. He has only seen one 'live' cricket match in his life. . . ."

and went on to show convincingly that this behaviour was repeated in other aspects of the man's career.

Improvements in interviewing at this stage of the course seem to develop from a greater intellectual understanding of the purpose of the

interview. The questions are more pertinent because the interviewers are much clearer about what information they need to collect. But other aspects of the interviewing skill are not so improved—the ability to move from one topic to another without making the interviewee feel pushed around, to open the interview in a way which will make him feel at ease, to close in a way which will give him a sense of business satisfactorily completed. These more subtle skills involve more than intellectual appreciation and training—they involve the whole attitude of the interviewer to his task. It is these aspects of the technique of interviewing which are tackled in the second part of the course.

Meeting 7

Meeting 7 begins this second part. From this meeting until the end of the course we attempt to give students a greater appreciation of the social problems of the interview. We try to show the effect an interviewer will have on the interviewee, and the distortions of fact and feeling produced by prejudice or even by the interviewer's clumsy phrasing of a question.

The first part of the course is concerned with *what* questions to ask; this part with *how* to ask them.

The practical work for this part of the course presented considerable difficulties which again we have only partly solved. We cannot reproduce the casual circumstances in which a manager conducts the many informal interviews in his day; it is also impossible to present him with the same range of strangers and acquaintances. We decided, however, that some useful experience could be gained from conducting attitude interviews similar to those given by industrial consultants in Attitude Surveys.

At the seventh meeting, therefore, the course studies the transcript of an attitude interview by an experienced interviewer. They pool their impressions of the personality of the interviewee, and then consider the interviewer's technique, and how he obtained the information. The course tutor makes their discussion the basis for a lecture on personality and attitudes which serves to explain why some techniques are likely to encourage people to talk freely, whereas other approaches produce only defensive remarks.

Meetings 8, 9, 10, and 11

As in the first half of the course, students spend the next four

meetings alternating practical work with discussion of the problems their interviewing work has raised.

The form of briefing for these attitude interviews can greatly affect their success. We have tried various ways of briefing both interviewer and interviewee. The following is one which gives everyone concerned a personal interest in the interview without too many preconceptions as to its purpose—

Brief for Interviewers:

Suppose that this is a special situation, perhaps concerning military or secret service work. You have been asked to lead a small group of men on an unknown project. You do not know these people, nor the work they will have to do, but you do know that they have been chosen as suitable for it. Your present job is to get to know them as thoroughly as possible in the half-hour at your disposal. The success of your project may depend on how well you can do this. Find out about each man's experiences and background, and try to assess his personality. See if at the end you can estimate in what circumstances he will do well or ill, what are his ambitions and ideals, his strong points and his failings.

Brief for Interviewees:

Suppose that this is a special situation, perhaps concerning military or secret service work. You have been chosen to join a small group of men to work on an unknown project. You know that this project is important and that it is an honour to be selected for it, but you do not know who else is in the group or what your work will be. Your leader wants to get to know you and has asked you along for an interview this afternoon. Of course, you are very anxious to form your own impressions of the man for whom you are going to work, and who can probably affect your well-being.

At the tenth meeting a lecture is given on problems of listening. Here students are asked to consider a number of examples of true and false interpretations of the interviewee's meaning which affected the course of different interviews.

Meetings 12 *and* 13

Meetings 12 and 13 differ from the others in one respect. So far, in their practical work and in the discussions arising from it, students

have studied the structure and assessment of the individual personality. In these two meetings they are asked to consider people working in groups, and how a person is affected by others with whom he comes into contact. In these meetings, therefore, the order-giving interview and the discipline interview are discussed as part of the total process of maintaining discipline and morale in the working group. The meetings are used to show how skilful interviewing relates to the general morale of a department, and how the thought which a manager puts into his interview can be applied to all other dealings with staff.

Meeting 12 begins with a discussion of a case-study. A case we often use for this meeting describes the introduction of a new manager into a small firm and his total failure to win respect or obedience from the workers. As in all case-study discussions, students are allowed to take up any aspect of the case that interest them, but are required to analyse why events developed as they did before considering how to improve them.

In the lecture which follows, the tutor takes up the points mentioned and relates them to studies of morale and the circumstances in which good discipline is maintained.

At the last meeting, the class discusses a number of transcripts of conversations and interviews in which orders were conveyed and—in varying degrees—accepted.

Teaching Methods

The guiding principle of teaching on this course is that lectures and general discussions shall arise only as they are prompted by the students' need to solve the practical problems they have encountered. This general principle is, however, interpreted rather more freely in the second part than in the first part of the course, according to the type of student attending. By this stage, some people are anxious to hear about the work done on personality and will listen with interest to lectures on the subject. Others, however, are still fearful of any theories on human problems. When a number of them are present on the course, we have to be even more careful in the second part than we are in the first never to generalize or give any psychological interpretation of the problems they meet. A person who is frightened of this subject very quickly evades the implications of any general comment. He is equally quick to suppose a criticism if he learns that any other member of the course obtained more information from one of his

interviewees, or even enjoyed talking with anyone he himself disliked. In the discussions after each interview given by such a person, the course tutor avoids any criticism and probably any commentary of his own. He concentrates on clarifying the views of the interviewer and interviewee, making sure that he himself understands how both of them felt about their meeting. By showing that he wants to understand what happened from the interviewer's point of view, he shows his respect for the latter's personality and hopes to make it possible for him to comment on his own performance.

The same principle guides the tutor handling the larger class discussions. When any considerable proportion of the course is made up of people who are afraid of human problems, he may avoid all lecturing and confine himself to some aspects of chairmanship. Thus, for example, he might deal with a problem raised by a capable and secure group by commenting, "This difficulty was studied by ABC in such-and-such an experiment . . . and he found . . . ." But some insecure groups sense a criticism even in this sort of reference to more successful behaviours, and have reacted by a detailed cross-examination of the experimenter's methods, designed to prove the reference irrelevant. The tutor must then keep the problem within the experience of the class, doing no more than reflect and summarize the various comments, "Mr. X found so-and-so in his interview. . . . on the other hand Mr. Y saw the same interviewee and *he* felt so-and-so . . . ." This recognition and repetition of the problems may be enough to encourage X or Y to suggest their own solutions. If a group of this sort insists on being told the tutor's views, he may say—

> "Well, such-and-such a procedure worked quite well in the following circumstances. . . . The principles seem to be these. . . . However, the way they are applied must depend on your assessment of your own problems in any particular interview. This is a fact that is true of all skills. Even Teach Tennant doesn't turn all her pupils into Maureen Connollys."

In these ways, and more particularly in the second part of the course, we attempt to adapt the teaching methods to the needs of each new group.

Effectiveness of the Course

Part I of the course covers the intellectual aspects of the interview—what information must be collected and why. We believe that many

students do improve in this aspect of interviewing and have given some examples of this. Part II covers the aspects more concerned with feeling—how the information is gathered. Here again, it seems to us that many students do improve in this respect as the course continues. The reader may, therefore, want to know what in our view constitutes a skilled or an unskilled performance. In the following example, an interviewee in an attitude interview gave the same information to three interviewers in succession. They each responded differently, and their answers in turn considerably affected the course of the interview.

1. INTERVIEWEE: I was exempt from call-up because of my job and because I was over age, but I insisted on going into the R.A.F.
   INTERVIEWER: And were you in the R.A.F. until the end of the war?
   INTERVIEWEE: Yes.
   INTERVIEWER: Then where did you go?
   INTERVIEWEE: I went to my present job.

The interviewee complained of a "jumpy" and "rather critical" atmosphere at the end of the interview, of which this is a fair sample.

2. INTERVIEWEE: Then I went into the R.A.F. although I was over age and my job made me exempt.
   INTERVIEWER: How did you manage that?
   INTERVIEWEE: Well, I was just determined to get in and I was lucky—I had a friend at the Air Ministry and he helped me.
   INTERVIEWER: Were you glad you did get in?
   INTERVIEWEE: Yes, I was. I had a very interesting time and felt I was doing my bit. I did . . . .

The interviewee described this as a friendly interview in which he was encouraged to talk. However, he was most enthusiastic about his third interviewer, who "really made me feel at home. At the end, I suddenly realized I'd told him everything about myself."

3. INTERVIEWEE: Then early in the war I went into the R.A.F. As a matter of fact, I was in a job that was reserved as well as being over age, but I managed to get in.
   INTERVIEWER: You must have felt pretty proud of that.
   INTERVIEWEE: Yes, I did. I'm prouder of that than I am of anything else I've done except for the way I got a job in the slump.
   INTERVIEWER: Uhu?
   INTERVIEWEE: Yes, I got a job in the post office. . . .

This interviewer showed in his first interview the sort of skill which

others acquire only after painfully reconsidering their whole approach. He encouraged his subject to speak freely about the things which mattered most to him, simply by showing an appreciation of the emotional implication of his statements.

It is left to the students themselves to analyse the nature of this skill, through their assessments of their own and other people's interviews. Remarks which show that they are consciously trying to practise the skill themselves are common in our records for this stage of the course. One student expressed himself as follows—

> "I see I have always directed my interviews too closely. I see now I have been missing a lot of the underlying feelings. Next time, I'm just going to concentrate on how the person feels about things."

The course, however, was primarily designed to awaken an interest in human relations, and only secondarily to train in interviewing skills. We believe that it has achieved some success in its primary aim and that it helps students to review problems of human relations rather more effectively than others we have run or observed. It certainly is not a full answer to the problem; but managers who came as sceptics, insisting that they had been unconvinced by similar courses, have found this one interesting and have shown in words and action a new awareness of the human problems in their company. People who tell us they never wanted to come but were "sent by the management," work hard on the course and struggle enthusiastically with the problems they encounter. (One minor advantage of a practical course is that it is fairly easy to know whether any interest shown is genuine. Politeness may give a student the right expression when listening to a lecture, but it will not substitute for attention when he has to act on what he has heard.) We know that the real test of the course comes when the student returns to his job. Do the new attitudes he seems to show while the course is running survive and affect his behaviour when it is over? Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered yet, since any useful follow up must be made a considerable time hence. Certain of the comments we have received lead us to believe that at least some students have changed enough for their superiors to notice it.

It is tempting to present some sort of quantitative analysis of the material collected on these courses, but for various reasons we have decided against doing so. We do have detailed notes of many of the

discussions collected from every course in interviewing that we have run, and also complete tape-recordings of a large number of interviews. But even so, a number of discussions and interviews are unrecorded and it would be difficult to allow for these omissions. Again, records of this sort can only be grouped quantitatively when they have been interpreted qualitatively—a process which leaves the reader at the mercy of the author's standards. Then, too, the changes in performance may be due to many factors in addition to the course meetings. A certain number of interviewers put up a worse performance at their second set of interviews just because they are more aware of the problems of interviewing. Others may do badly simply because they find the second group of interviewees more difficult to get on with. The majority of people on the courses we have run so far have given, we considered, better interviews at their second trial. But some of this improvement is simply due to the interviewer's greater ease and familiarity with the course and the interviewing routine. For these reasons it has not seemed useful to categorize our material or prepare any tables of results.

Problems of Running the Course

Two difficulties in running the course must be mentioned. In the first place, a large number of examples of actual interviews and discussions are required, and these take time to collect, particularly when one's resources are limited, as ours are, to pencil and paper and one tape-recorder. It has taken us more than two years to build up a barely adequate stock of examples of the quality we need. However, this problem is one that can be overcome with time and hard work. The second is more intractable—it is that the course absorbs a good deal of the time and energy of the course tutors and yet cannot be successfully run with a large number of students. Two course tutors are needed if more than ten students are enrolled, and a third should be added if enrolment rises to over twenty. This number of staff is essential if the practice interviews are to be properly assessed, and is very valuable at other sessions. For example, it is usually profitable to divide a large class into groups of eight to ten for discussion meetings, but this can only be done if there is a tutor to take each group. In addition to the classwork, the course involves a fair amount of administration and preparation, and any training officer or lecturer who could not expect either to make a special allowance of his time for this, or to share the work with a colleague, would find it a considerable burden.

We may find ways to economize the staff's time and energy, though so far it must be admitted we have mainly seen how the training could be improved if more staff were available. It seems a fair assumption, too, that any training which will really affect students' thinking and behaviour must always be exacting and time-consuming for the staff.

CHAPTER XVI

TRAINING IN SOCIAL SKILLS

By D. Cleghorn Thomson, M.A.(Edin.), B.A.(Oxon.), F.R.S.E.

Nobody likes to admit that he requires training in social skills, but these are more than ever necessary with the changing status of management in the structure of present-day society. Money incentives fail if they are weakened by social causes affecting the worker's motives and morale. The need thus arises for the development of human relations and leadership skills and for the ability to mix and get on with men of differing backgrounds and abilities. The modern manager must be articulate in framing and getting over orders, and quick to assess, react soundly to, and report on human situations. He must thus be able to make rapid and reliable decisions and possess sound judgment on values and priorities, especially in negotiations and committee work. Leadership skills include, therefore, clear thinking, speaking and writing and intelligent reading in addition to social aptitude.

There is still a certain amount of evidence about the Olympian manager, busy signing things and not very much in touch with the individual problems of the rank and file. It should not be thought that this is all a thing of the past. One has only to look at the various cases of sabotage which have occurred recently in the Navy—the Silent Service. A recent leading article in *The Times* asked: "Is the Admiralty satisfied with the general standards of man management in the Navy at home? Are officers—especially junior officers—really in touch and sympathetic with the ratings of the present time? For every man who smashes machinery with a spanner there may well be more, better endowed with self control, who smoulder silently in contemplation of the same wrongs, real or imaginary. The gulf between the naval officer and the rating is noticeably wide. There has been a general and healthy tendency in recent years to foster the self-respect of the man with the oily rag and the spanner. Has the experiment been sufficiently tried in aircraft carriers?"

The case is even stronger in industry. I remember the remark an experienced manager made to me when I had the task of helping to select trainees for management in the steel industry. How often, he said, when one asks a man, thought worthy of special training for responsibility, if he would like some further training, he answers that he would, but specifies technical training. He is then asked to enumerate some of the problems which have arisen for decision in his shop or department, and one by one they turn out to be problems calling for social, not technical skills; but then nobody admits to requiring training in social skill; it is like confessing to having no sense of humour.

I have defined social skills. I must now say what I mean by technical skills. They represent the kind of proficiency which can be acquired by doing, and by learning the background of doing in theory, technology and tradition; knowledge of engineering practice; manual and craft dexterity; process skill; accountancy and costing ability; mathematical prowess. These skills are learned in part in industry and in part in the college. I do not underestimate their importance, nor do I wish to over-stress the importance of social skills.

The Report of the Urwick Committee on Education for Management (1947) was concerned with such educational facilities employed in the preparation of candidates for managerial responsibilities as could be supplied by formal instruction in a training institution. Social skills are chiefly to be found and promoted outside the boundaries of formal instruction. The Urwick Committee considered that there were four things on which the success of management study candidates depended—

1. Innate qualities.
2. Acquired knowledge.
3. Experience under competent guidance.
4. The degree to which the candidate combines these elements into a balanced personality commanding the respect of those with whom he is associated.

All these qualities are required, in a lesser or greater degree, for both technical and social skills, although the last mentioned is a quality which more particularly appertains to the social skills.

If we examine these qualities in the light of training requirements, we find that the potential manager requires historical, theoretical and technological knowledge to contribute to his factual background and build up his intellectual equipment. Beyond that stage he has to participate in the practice of industry on the spot, learning technical

skills by doing, and observing the relevance of the principles in action. This is the limit of the requirements for purely technical efficiency. For the development of social skills, however, he must participate in discussion and undertake case work and projects based on this technical training and fostering qualities of judgment, sense of quality and priority, character and leadership.

In practice, training for the technical and social skills should proceed concurrently from the earliest stages of a career in industry. Indeed leadership training begins properly at school: in the monitor and prefect system, on the sports field, in the debating club and in the early granting of privileges which carry attendant responsibilities. It may be interesting to note here what a thoughtful schoolmaster said about the "training value" of various school activities: "Organized games give the minimum scope and incentive to the imagination. Hobbies, camping and exploration of the countryside, natural history—all provide infinitely more food for the imagination than do organized games."

Leadership training implies, first of all, self-reliance, self-knowledge and a sense of personal achievement which makes for self-respect and the banishment of timidity. At the age of fifteen or sixteen a boy is beginning to feel the benefit of this training and to see that school is perhaps something more than algebra and essays: that it is, in fact, a training for life in its truest sense. But this is also the impressionable age at which most boys and girls leave school and go to work—and work so often does little to foster the growing realization that education and life are inseparable. The value of early leadership training tends to become lost in the young entrant's attempts to throw off his own personality and to take on the counterfeit semblance of the group to which he now yearns to belong. But the necessity for leadership training remains paramount on entry to industry and continues throughout working life. This is the reason for the establishment in recent years of a number of centres such as Brathay Hall and the "Outward Bound" schools at Aberdovey, Eskdale and Burghead. The aim is to strengthen the young people physically, to awaken their curiosity and intellectual liveliness through project training, and to give to each of them a new sense of personal accomplishment not only in taking charge of himself but also in taking charge of other people. The centres set out to encourage discussion and argument and to foster a readiness of self-expression in conversation and debate.

These aims, modified to meet the changed circumstances of the

trainees, are among those followed by industry in the development of courses for foremen and managers. In the industry to which I belong—and for which I speak as an individual and not as the official mouthpiece—we run courses for middle management based on the syndicate method; these include instruction and practice in the use of the spoken word, in the presentation of technical information (report writing) and in reading—"tearing the guts" out of reports, government pronouncements, etc. We try, as far as possible, to steer clear of the scholastic atmosphere by laying on such instruction and practice for managers and for foremen—and in some degree at lower levels—in relation to the workers' interest in things like films, radio or television. Discussion groups can be fostered, just as people of all ages and grades can be encouraged to attend such imaginatively conducted evening classes as may foster a love of or familiarity with our language heritage. As an example of the kind of training which can be given in these branches of the social skills, I am going to say something of the way in which we have handled instruction in the use of the spoken word among emergent executives. I shall then quote some of my own ideas on the increasing importance of this social skill in the creation of good human relations in industry generally.

Before a particular middle management course began, a series of notes was issued to students describing the importance of design in speaking and the different techniques applicable to narrative, educative, persuasive and social speaking. Then the basis of a good appeal, the fundamentals of sound argument and the use of humour, illustration and dramatic approach were analysed. Every member of the course had to take part in debate, and some had to propose toasts at the dinners preceding the presentation of project work. Moreover, every student was given the task of acting as chairman or secretary of one of the syndicates, and this involved speaking on a report. Thus, those not selected to propose the toasts had the opportunity of taking part in free discussion at the panel sessions, in addition to speaking behind the scenes in committee sessions while the projects were being prepared. Finally each member was given three speeches to deliver some time during the four speaking instruction sessions, and some of these speeches had to be made impromptu.

The spoken word is an increasingly important tool of the executive in his work of disciplining, persuading and guiding. If, as is so often the case, due training has not been given him at the more suitable stage of school or college, it must be right to provide, even in later life,

skilled instruction in some of the techniques involved in speaking with confidence. For when the ordinary man is faced with the necessity of getting up on his hind legs in front of his fellows, he usually speaks badly out of natural nervousness, unless answering a question on a subject with which he is completely familiar.

The salient fact about using the spoken word in industry nowadays is that there are so few with the time or inclination to listen for very long. It was once said: "Whoever could make two ears of corn grow where only one grew before would deserve better of mankind . . . than the whole race of politicians put together." Thus managers who can somehow contrive to make one word serve where two are ordinarily employed will deserve very well indeed of mankind. There is nowadays such pressure on available time in industry that managers must be men of few but telling words. "A common farmer," wrote Dean Swift, in his letter to a young clergyman, "shall make you understand in three words that his foot is out of joint, whereas a surgeon or lawyer after a hundred terms of art, if you are not a scholar, shall leave you to seek." A modern manager must be a practical man like the farmer, and he must deal constantly with men and women who are not scholars.

This leads to the problem of jargon (or "gobbledegook," as it is called by the Americans), for jargon arises partly from the need to achieve brevity in speaking. The growth of jargon is evidence of increasing specialization in many fields of industrial and commercial management, not to mention the universities. A certain academic gentleman—one of seven professors and lecturers who took part in a symposium on "Uncertainty and Business Decisions"—made the following utterance under the heading of "Liquidity and Uncertainty"—

> "The rationale of minimaxing the regret is not shown; it is not clear that this policy has any relationship to the maximization of profits, or of the utility of profits, over time. If the 'minimax regret' is always a better hypothesis than 'maximin' complacency, it is particularly difficult to understand the logic of 'minimax regret' in Marschak's second example. If the firm will not know whether it has missed the boat or not, why should it plan to minimax the miss?"

This passage is, of course, merely laughable, but it is interesting to note how the phrase "missed the boat" suddenly makes it alive and normal for one brief moment—even though it is itself a slang expression.

The mere avoidance of jargon does not necessarily result in a

satisfactory style. In the same admirable letter of advice quoted above, Swift wrote of the frequent use of obscure terms suggesting that "Proper words in proper place make the true definition of a style." This does not mean that good speaking should be over-elaborate. People may be carried away by speakers like Lloyd George with his passages on "Sunsets on the Welsh Mountains," when he would hold people in the hollow of his little hand. But this is not the language of industry. There is a danger too in striving to blind people with science. Of course the scientist can help decision and enrich experience by his researches, his polls and his surveys, but his is not the language of everyday communication.

The use of quotations is another questionable practice. They may be used from innate modesty because one feels that others have expressed the thought so much better than oneself. They may be used out of conceit (realized or unconscious) in order to show off one's familiarity with the apt phrases of the great. And they may be used for want of original ideas of one's own, which is perhaps the strongest reason for limiting their use. But there is no doubt that the modest use of an apt and unusual quotation can give "panache" and distinction to a speech, and that the use of a few words from a deeply familiar classic can point a moral or adorn a tale.

The Americans have given much thought to this matter of the spoken word on all occasions, and a book published in the United States in 1903 and called *The Fraternal and Modern Banquet Orator* has the following on its flyleaf—

> "In every situation, in all pursuits of life, may be seen the usefulness and benefits of eloquence. In whatever light we view this subject, it is evident that oratory is not a mere castle in the air, a fairy palace of frost-work destitute of substance and support. It is like a magnificent temple of Parian marble, exhibiting the most exact and admirable symmetry, and combining all the orders, varieties and beauties of architecture."

While it is not our purpose to transform managers in industry into builders of magnificent temples of Parian marble or into Ciceronian orators at whom the small boys will gape in the streets, effective speech is an essential part of normal communication and is an elementary social skill. Although the grandiloquence of the passage quoted from this old American orator's manual may be faintly amusing, it is nevertheless established that the Americans are well ahead of us in

inducing their citizens to equip themselves with this essential tool of communication. A very wise and experienced American, the Hon. Chauncery M. Depew, wrote—

> "The speaker must never tire his listeners, and know that critical moment of stopping when they will cry for more. His wisdom must be illumined with humour, his unpalatable truths sugar-coated, his story fresh and his method epigrammatical but not argumentative."

This surely sums up the negative as well as the positive aspects of speaking as a social skill. Much has been said about what a good speech should not be—verbose, full of jargon, lacking in style, overflowing with flowery language or scientific terms, or bulging with quotations. More could be added. A speech should not be too loud or too soft or depend too closely on a typed script. The speaker should not be unfamiliar with any aspect of his subject, nor should he be unprepared to the extent of not having adequate notes to keep his points in their proper order. Finally, he should not take on the characteristics of another personality—suddenly, for example, after using long words for years, starting to speak (under instruction) a kind of inverted "gobbledegook," a sort of baby talk.

The positive "plus" quality to be set against all these negative qualities is imagination—the quality that leads to the striking phrase, the living slogan and the unforgettable parable. Such is the quality of some of the speeches which have led to action and endurance. Churchill's zestful "We shall fight on the beaches," which galvanized the people to action; Roosevelt's "My neighbour's house is on fire and I have a length of hose. I must lend him the hose to use"—words which, when inserted unexpectedly in a routine broadcast, resulted in the granting of lend-lease against all opposition. It is interesting to contrast the immediate success of Field-Marshal Montgomery's often repeated speech to the troops, with its phrase about entering Europe, "Pushing them into the sea," made to thousands of soldiers, with the failure of his badly chosen phrase "Starting to crack about the plains of Europe," used to the armoured formation ready to cross the Rhine. This latter was as ill-judged and ineffective, because of its social ineptitude, as the earlier speech was effective and vividly acceptable. Imagination involves the appreciation of the social and mental background of one's listener.

In the final analysis, the basic factor is one of character. A man

speaks effectively if he has that kind of humility which will only let him speak when he knows clearly what he is talking about: a kind of humility which has already taught him to realize that even good talking involves learning a technique, and that one must see the other man's point of view. "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." "Charity," as used by St. Paul, surely meant simply the approach of the socially conscious, kindly, humble person. Perhaps this essential element in an effective use of the spoken word is a part of the art of management, which no degree of education and skilled training can inculcate if it is not already inborn in a man or absorbed with the help of his environment.

I have said much about the spoken word, but I mentioned earlier that in my Industry the courses run for middle management also include instruction and practice in report writing and in reading. In connection with the former, we have worked out our own technique with the Lecturer on the Presentation of Technical Information at University College, London. He is an engineer by training, but has considerable experience in helping medical students, economists and scientists as well as engineers to improve their written reports. He issues a list of hints for the avoidance of jargon and clichés, and gives an introductory chat about style, order and presentation. He then sets the engineers, accountants and administrators pieces of written work to be completed within a specified time and typed over a pseudonym. Later, he marks the pieces of writing individually and has a half-hour individual instruction period with each student. The pieces are then placed in a folder, and all the members of the course peruse theirs and compare the fate of their fellow victims with their own—doubtless attempting to penetrate the pseudonyms. On occasion, the instructor has also given some help with the layout and style of the project reports which are in course of preparation on these middle management courses.

As regards instruction and practice in reading, we have first experimented with the American methods, which claim to facilitate the practice of adept "skipping" and "tearing the guts" out of technical documents. These techniques, which are highly developed in the United States, may prove effective here at a later stage. For the present we have made a habit of selecting reports based on wide general themes and not unrelated to our industry or industry in general; these impinge on students' experience and stimulate an interest in wider implications and considerations. Moreover, reports have been chosen because they are large enough to make selection necessary and "skipping" inevitable.

In the syndicate rooms are assembled identical selections of books chosen to help in the actual exercises being undertaken. In the general library there are available further books and reports which can be consulted by the more adventurous, thorough and experienced readers, should they have the time and the inclination to travel further afield. One of the projects given to the syndicates is always a reading project, and this is purposely placed in the first week of the course. This is because many of the students are found to be quite unfamiliar with the classical writers on management subjects or the language and technical terms which they have made widely familiar. This may be no disadvantage. Many students have experienced delight at their first encounter with such thoughtful writing on the principles of management, and have left with a resolve to read further books and periodicals on the topics raised for discussion at the course. They have been encouraged in this by the enthusiasm of their fellow students, and by the members of senior management and others who act as "firemen" in stimulating their discussions or as members of the panels to which they present their findings.

Over and above the spoken word, writing and reading, there is the fostering of the skills necessary in formal and informal consultation, and by this I mean particularly the skill of getting the best out of a committee. In this country, we have a strong tendency to submit our stickiest problems to committees, probably because of our liking for—perhaps it is even a genius for—compromise. Committees are as important in industry as they are in the Civil Service or in social affairs. A good manager must be a good chairman. There are several kinds of chairmen, and I want to recall three whose practice I got to know very well during the war. They were all very able men and they were all, as a matter of fact, Civil Servants.

The first was a tall striking-looking man, whom we will call Mr. A. He was, as it happened, very interested in amateur dramatics, and he always came to the monthly meeting of the committee on which I served rather like the Old Testament character bringing down the tablets of law from Mount Sinai. He tried, and tried successfully, to make the members of the committee feel that they were lucky to be present at the meeting, because he had got some red-hot news for us and was going to convey to us his personal impression of the latest thoughts of a Minister on a really important national problem. This had a marked effect on all of us at the meeting and our inclination to attend. If a chairman injects enthusiasm into his committee in this

dramatic way, the enthusiasm is contagious, and it is easier to make people feel the proceedings are worth contributing to. It is just like having a small part in a good amateur dramatic performance where not only the best actor but the producer makes you feel that it is a good team to appear with. This kind of characteristic of a chairman has its dangers—if he is of the actor-manager type there will be only one part in the play.

The second chairman I will call Mr. B. He was a plump little man with a shiny red face. He was always very untidy and you felt as he came into the room for the meeting that his deputy had been applying the final touches with a clothes brush in case he looked unprepared. He used to carry a grubby little notebook and turned over its pages rapidly, apologizing that there seemed to be so little of any importance to justify having brought such busy people as ourselves to the meeting from so long a distance. Now I do not mind admitting that as an administrator he was a first-class man who was exceedingly good at getting things done and at standing up for a colleague. But there was no doubt that he was a less effective chairman than the one I have just described, Mr. A. This was because his very modesty in apologizing to us was apt to make us feel that it was a waste of time to attend. It is quite possible, from undue modesty, to play down your part and to underrate the play, so that the younger and less expert folk say: "He is apologizing for the show; why should we even bother ourselves about our small part in it."

The third man I wish to recall (whom we will call Mr. C) was somewhat junior in status to the other two I have mentioned. He was of medium height and looked like a very austere Jesuit missionary. He was rather cold and impersonal of speech, and he did not believe in dressing up what he had to say with any grace or style. When he did speak, he not only always hit the nail on the head, but he said absolutely everything there was to be said on the subject in about twenty words, thereby completely silencing the committee because everyone realized there was nothing more to be said. I suggest that for all his ability and for all the time he saved, he was to this extent not a first-class chairman, because we all came away from the meeting feeling rather frustrated in that we had not, in fact, participated in the discussion for fear of wasting time and repeating what had already been said. In fact, we felt the whole matter under discussion might have been dealt with by the chairman without bothering us at all. Perhaps this was sometimes the case, but this limiting of the opportunity for

participation is a defect in chairmanship, however much time it saves. I think there are many of us who are inclined to drown initiative by conscientious insistence on brevity, and by summing up at various stages so fully that people feel their utterances might let the standard down or waste the time of the committee.

The above deals with the problems of handling a committee from the chairman's angle. But there is a very real problem of the committee whose members are unwilling to make any contribution. A certain Power Station Superintendent told me recently that he himself had to talk for about an hour at committee meetings in order to keep the thing alive. Now, this may have been a perfectly true version of the state of affairs in his particular committee, but it is surely quite on the cards that he may for some time have given the impression—at least, to those on the committee—that he liked doing most of the talking and would be a little critical of other people's participation. The answer to a problem of this kind is for the chairman to speak to some of the committee members before the meeting, asking them personally if they would, as a favour to him, say just a word on this or that item on the agenda.

Committee meetings are not isolated occurrences; they are part of a sequence of events or an organic growth. Quite often they lack success because the chairman has not briefed himself as to what went before, on earlier recommendations and their follow-up, or on the background of the reports coming down from higher committees or councils which are the subject of discussion. It is important to carry on from the previous meeting and to make the members of the meeting feel that they are part of a continuous process; similarly, that what they do will have life after they have gone away from the committee room. So chairmen must brief themselves before the meeting starts, and they must take some trouble also to see that the necessary facts are made available to those who wish to discuss the agenda fully. It should never be necessary to defer discussion of an item because those present feel they need more facts.

A great deal depends on whether the chairman has backed up the secretary all the time, giving him the necessary support in the shape of adequate typing assistance, time to prepare the agenda and papers, time to talk over with people who are sponsoring items the form in which they are to be presented. Sometimes, after the meetings, chairmen do not give the secretary adequate rein on minuting or adequate coaching and encouragement on preparing records. Sometimes it is

necessary to exclude items submitted for the agenda, and it is quite possible to choke off interested members by excluding their items without giving full reasons.

There is one special problem concerning the chairmanship of committees engaged in joint consultation. The chairman here may have two roles, being a manager on the one hand and presiding over a democratic committee on the other. It may be his privilege to share in formulating a recommendation with which he will later have to deal in his capacity as an executive officer. It is this dual capacity confusion which causes some such chairmen to make vague invocation of higher management policy and to refer rather darkly to "decisions taken at a higher level." It is really one of the many functions of a committee engaged in joint consultation to look into the validity of important decisions and, if necessary, to see that they are properly explained and understood.

Above all, it is very important to let the members of any committee go away feeling that they have participated in the discussion and accepted the decisions. If the chairman lays down the law, he may readily win acceptance for his own point of view, but the members may go away convinced against their will, and of the same opinion still. The chairman should pay special attention to the need to know whether he has colleagues at the meeting with special skill or experience; if so, he should not fail to call them in to enrich the discussion from time to time and pay due heed to their points of view.

It must not be forgotten that the giving of the fullest possible information tends to the best atmosphere in a working committee. "There is nothing makes a man suspect much more than to know little," said Bacon, and this opinion is in line with the modern view about the importance of communication up and down. Finally, do not let us forget, even if we are impartial chairmen, that meetings are less moved by argument than by personality, that the emotions very often count more than the intellect, and that no amount of careful reasoning and factual preparation will necessarily avail if you do not make on the audience an impact which is more than intellectual. Robert Burns had a word for it—

> "The hairt's aye,
> The pairt aye,
> That mak's us richt or wrong."

There are other social skills beyond the spoken word, the art of

reading and presenting information, and the handling of committees. The need for these other skills arises from the recognition that workers and managers alike are members of other communities, that the place of work does not stand isolated from the home, the church or the pub, or wider community life in general. Progressive modern industrial concerns, therefore, encourage recreational and social clubs, ministering to the social curiosity of employees and their eagerness to be involved in what is going on in the world. In my industry I have sponsored wall newspapers and lunch-hour talks for employees, to stimulate awareness and interdepartmental communication on common interests shared in the work-place but based outside. I have sponsored campus visits at course centres, where prominent men of affairs have given informal chats. I have sponsored the development of art in the industry, so that reproductions of old and new Masters have been shown in canteens, corridors and work-places, and original paintings in residential centres. And finally, I have tried to develop what I call "Ciceronage" —stimulation of an interest in environment. One of our industrial training centres has been provided with a map of all places of interest in the neighbourhood which may be worth a visit. Those on courses have been provoked to discussion of features on this map, and local celebrities have helped in stimulating the discussions. These people who take courses are, after all, the supervisors and the managers of the future. They will be the better for studying the environment of their district where, in all probability, their immediate surroundings will be clouded by the smoke belching forth from factory chimneys.

It has not been my intention to play down the importance of technical skills, craft skill or factual study in management training—or to over-stress the importance of social skills out of all sense of proportion. Indeed, personnel managers and training officers in industry have sometimes failed in their work through a lack of the sort of confidence and poise which prowess in a technical skill would probably have given them. Workers selected for promotion have quickly developed new social skills and leadership quality through having measured up their technical skill against that of others, and having felt their prowess recognized by others and more fully appreciated by themselves. But we have all seen youngsters emerge on the promotion line from engineering studies or the metallurgical laboratory with degrees and qualifications galore, but unable to say "boo to a goose" or handle a difficult gang of men, clumsy through inarticulateness and lack of social skill.

CHAPTER XVII

TRAINING MANAGEMENT STUDENTS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

By JOHN MUNRO FRASER, M.A.

WE use language to convey meaning from one person to another. But words gather their special associations from the sense in which they are used among a particular group of people. In academic circles, the word "psychology" denotes no more than the systematic study of human behaviour. In ordinary speech, however, this word has a wide range of connotations, many of which are vague and exciting, while some are downright disreputable. It is not unusual to hear someone remark, after describing a rather mean little piece of deception, "Of course, you have to use a bit of psychology." Advertisements for courses in developing a Dynamic Personality show some of the other expectations which the word can arouse in the popular mind.

There is a wide gap between the painstaking and, on the whole, rather dull researches of the real psychologists, and what the ordinary person has been led to expect of those who bear such a title. This confusion of meaning raises a problem in management training, for to offer instruction in academic psychology is to require the student to study a rather dry subject which has only a remote bearing on the problems of his day-to-day experience. He may then complain that the contents of the package are not what he was led to expect from the label. But to forsake the discipline of academic psychology in an attempt to make the subject "practical" is to risk entering an intellectual *demi-monde*, out of which management training must be kept at all costs if it is to be accepted within the existing tradition of higher education in this country.

Students of management have a particular need of help in understanding their fellow men, and any syllabus of management training must include some form of instruction in this important matter. It may well be inadvisable to call it psychology, especially in the early stages, and it is almost certainly necessary to present it differently from

the conventional course in that subject. If a new title can be found, it will evade the confusion which the word tends to call forth in the lay mind. Different methods of instruction can also be tried to find what is most appropriate to the students' needs, without running the risk of becoming identified with some of the wilder flights of "popular psychology."

The Objects of Human Relations Training

In the College of Technology in Birmingham, this problem is dealt with by using the term "human relations" to describe these aspects of the Industrial Administration syllabus. The first task of human relations training is to replace the vague and badly differentiated terms used in ordinary speech to describe human behaviour with something more systematic and precise.

In no aspect of the subject is this inadequacy of language more apparent than in the description of personality. Most of the words we use to denote human attributes, words like "character," "sense of humour," "leadership," and the like, simply do not stand up to examination. They are so vague that one cannot be sure that they convey the same meaning to two different people, and they are so charged with judgments of value that their only real use is to convey approval or disapproval. Not only are human attributes difficult to identify in ordinary speech; the differences between individuals also prove intractable. The fact that there *are* differences is accepted—indeed it would be difficult to avoid doing so—but how these differences are distributed is not generally realized. "Types" are frequently discussed—"the type of person who does so-and-so"—and dichotomies between "the co-operative type" and "the awkward type" crop up in most conversations. What the student requires on this aspect of the subject is some guidance about the distribution of individual differences, and a coherent series of headings under which human attributes can be conveniently grouped. It is important that these headings should be non-evaluative, that is to say, they should describe characteristics without conveying the impression that they are either "good" or "bad."

A second aspect of the subject on which the student needs information concerns what happens when individuals associate with each other. When one is drawn into an established group, it is quite obvious that there is some kind of social process at work which holds that group together and governs the relationships of the people within it. Moreover, the social process in one group may be entirely different from

that in another. But here again words are lacking to describe these differences adequately in ordinary speech. It may well be that social psychology has some way to go before these differences can be accurately and comprehensively accounted for, but it can already provide a series of concepts which differentiate between an authoritarian grouping and an informal one, or an agreeable group and an unpleasant one. With some grasp of these concepts a student may become more aware of what is going on around him in his social life, and from this it should be an easy step to becoming more effective in his relationships with others.

A third aspect of the subject concerns what is called in technical jargon the "culture-pattern." This concerns the complex of attitudes, assumptions and social institutions which make up our way of life, and which is only difficult to understand because we have grown up within it. When we approach a different culture-pattern, say in the South Sea Islands, we may be prepared to find that the natives have certain beliefs which become valid simply because they are universally held. It may, for example, be believed that a certain gesture with the left hand puts the Evil Eye on those to whom it is directed, and that this can only be counteracted by an immediate attack on the gesturer. The stranger may not believe in the Evil Eye or in any such superstitution, but he will be well-advised to avoid that particular gesture if he wishes to preserve a whole skin. Whether the stranger shares this belief or not is of no practical importance whatever. Whether or not he is aware that other people hold it and base certain actions on it, may make all the difference to his survival in that particular community.

Our community life is permeated with beliefs, attitudes and assumptions. This is not to say that they are as irrational and superstitious as those of primitive South Sea islanders. But we cannot claim that they are fully informed or rational either. It is important that a student of management should learn to recognize the fact that attitudes and assumptions govern people's behaviour, in the first place, and that he should, in the second place, try to distinguish between those which, however widely they may be held, have no real foundation in fact, and those which are reasoned conclusions from objective and ordered evidence.

We have three principal aspects of the subject, therefore, in each of which the essential requirements are similar. We require a framework of reference for the understanding of human personality, and another for the interpersonal relationships within our community and its

component groupings. We must introduce the question of the attitudes and assumptions which give a community its cohesion and on which its institutions are based. All of this must be presented in non-technical language which can be grasped in part-time study by a student of middle educational background who has no intention of ever becoming a specialist. At the same time it must avoid misleading over-simplifications which mask the real intricacies of the subject, and which incidentally are soon detected as "phoney" by this type of student.

A Simplified Theory of Personality

The first of these three requirements can be met by introducing

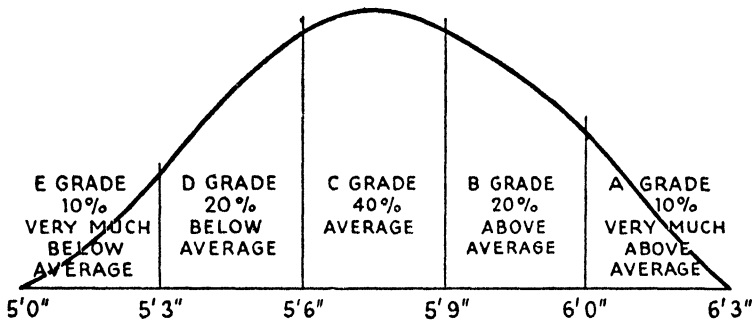


Fig. 1. A Scale for the Height of Adult Males Based on the Normal Curve of Distribution.

students to the Normal Curve of Distribution, which governs most variations within a species, and to which the differences between human beings on any one characteristic conform. From this it is a simple step to setting up a scale for one characteristic at a time, in which most people (40 per cent) will fall into the average grade, rather less (20 per cent) into the above average and below average grades, and less again (10 per cent) into the very much above average and very much below average grades. Fig. 1 shows such a scale for an easily measurable characteristic such as height; the complications about sampling, descriptive scales, their reliability and so on, while of considerable importance, cannot detain us here.

Once we are able to deal with differences on one human characteristic, we are faced with the question of how many characteristics to take into account. And here we are presented with the opportunity of

reducing the vague and unwieldy terminology of ordinary speech to something more definite and systematic. If human characteristics can be grouped under a limited number of headings, each of which is sufficiently meaningful to be readily understood, and sufficiently comprehensive to take in a well-defined area of personality, then the student will be provided with a series of proper categories, within which to organize his experience of other people. The choice of headings for this purpose is as follows:

First Impression and Physical Make-up

Most obvious of all are the physical characteristics of an individual—his height, his weight, his physical strength and fitness. They are easy to define and in many cases susceptible of measurement in standard units. But perhaps more important in our way of life are the superficialities of speech and manner, of dress and bearing. Whether we are aware of it or not, these things exert considerable influence on our relations with other people. They are, however, largely unacknowledged, and it is a very useful exercise for students to consider what is the average in speech and manner, what is above average in dress and turnout, as objectively as he can. Once he becomes aware that there are norms within our community on these matters, he begins to think of the first impression that he and other people make, in a new, and sometimes constructive, light.

Qualifications and Expectations

This second heading covers the cultural background of the individual, his education and training, his experience, and his way of life. It may be that the title has not been entirely fortunate, for it tends to overemphasize formal certificates and examinations as against the more important background of informal knowledge and experience. It does, however, serve to draw attention to the different levels of sophistication and competence in dealing with our present way of life.

Brains and Abilities

This heading deals with the cognitive aspect of mental experience, with the apprehension of the world about us through our senses, and with the "working up" of these crude sensations into an organized body of knowledge. This is an aspect of psychology which has been studied experimentally for a great many years, and it is possible to give the student a fairly coherent and authoritative account of how his

mind works from this point of view. It is also possible to suggest to him that by becoming aware of the processes of understanding, remembering and thinking, he may make them more efficient. Any discussion of how to "improve your memory" may smack of the six easy lessons, but part-time students, who in many cases are also carrying the full weight of a responsible job, are remarkably quick to appreciate the value of anything that might make study more efficient.

Estimating differences between individuals under this heading lends itself particularly to the use of the standard task calibrated on the performance of a representative sample of the population under standard conditions. These "intelligence tests," for better or worse, are becoming an accepted feature in the worlds of education and industry. They are not always used wisely, and inferences are sometimes drawn from them which the nature of the test could never justify. From the student's personal point of view, it is important that he should have an adequate grasp of the theory on which they are based, while it does him no harm to realize that some people will be quicker in grasping the essentials of a new situation than he will, while many will be considerably slower.

Motivation

The aspect of personality which is most difficult to pin down is that which concerns desires, purposes and aspirations. The basic needs of human beings are essentially simple—food, clothing and shelter, the companionship of others, and some form of recognition of one's importance as an individual, probably covering most of them in their simplest form. But each individual has his personal problem of satisfying these needs within the limitations of his own abilities and opportunities in our present way of life, and he has the further difficulty of resolving the conflicts of aims and means of satisfaction with which he will be faced from day to day. It is obvious that there are differences here, some people managing to make plans which give the widest scope to their abilities and enable them to derive maximum satisfaction from their activities. Others seem to be so caught up in conflicts that they never achieve any satisfying outlet for their energies and are continually weighed down by a sense of frustration.

Understanding the motivation of individuals involves thinking in terms of configurations, and this is not always easy for students to grasp. Most of us prefer straight cause-and-effect relations, whereas this is rather a question of "some of the people all of the time, and all of

the people some of the time." However, any awareness of the various forces acting on an individual at any one time improves one's insight into human personality, while it brings to the student's attention the importance of organizing his own life effectively from this point of view.

Adjustment

The emotional side of human personality lends itself to quite straightforward exposition, for the physiological processes accompanying emotion are fairly well understood. Differences between individuals can be explained in terms of the amount of emotional strain to which they can adjust and the different ways in which they behave when the breaking point is reached. Only those with above-average powers of adjustment can cope with jobs which involve high levels of responsibility, and this can be illustrated by references to the various demands of a management position. Discussion of below-average adjustment makes it possible to bring out many of the more usual personality difficulties, but there is a danger that too much emphasis on psycho-neurotic traits may make some students introspective and ineffective. After all, many forms of mental illness involve symptoms which are present in the mind of normal people. In the mental patient, of course, they have got out of control, but it is not unknown for some individuals whose adjustment is perfectly adequate to develop a morbid interest in their own reactions, and to excuse themselves from making a proper effort to deal with their day-to-day life because of their preoccupation with these reactions.

Using these five headings, with a five-point scale under each, we can construct a simplified theory of personality as shown on pages 212 and 213. The requirements of any job can be set out in this form and the assessment of any individual can be expressed in similar terms. It is impossible to deal here with the processes of assessment, but the principal source of information on which it is based is the biographical interview. Not only is this probably the most reliable method for normal industrial use, it has the additional advantage for teaching purposes of focusing attention on the relation between internal traits and external behaviour in different situations.

Unintelligent apprehension of this Five-fold Grading may leave the student with the unfortunate impression that human beings were created to fit neatly into twenty-five oblong boxes on a printed page. Should this happen, he is probably worse off than before he started

	E Grade	D Grade
	10 per cent. *Very much below average*	20 per cent. *Below average*
First Impression and Physical Make-up (including health, general fitness, appearance, speech, manner, etc.)	From the health point of view this will include those who are physically handicapped, through either illness or serious disability. It will cover also those whose dress, appearance, manner of speech and method of approach to their fellows put them outside the pale of normal social intercourse.	This grade requires to have some slight allowance made from the health and fitness point of view. Dress and appearance tend to be rather scruffy or incongruous, speech and manner rather uncouth or liable to cause awkwardness and poor response among other people.
Qualifications and Expectations (including formal education and vocational training, experience at work and outside, and the general kind of life the individual expects to keep up.)	The educationally subnormal fall into this grade along with those whose vocational training is so limited as to be practically nonexistent. The levels of jobs held or expected remain at the lowest form of labouring, and the general way of life is about the lowest in our community.	General education to normal school-leaving age, but some evidence of having been below standard. Vocational training unsystematic and limited to semi-skilled level of job. Little expectation of achieving any degree of security and progress in his working life.
Brains and Abilities (This concerns cognitive speed and range, as shown in the amount and complexity of material that can be learned; also special facility in different activities.)	This grade varies from barely enough intelligence to cope with our way of life down to actual mental deficiency. Only a limited range of extremely simple jobs can be coped with, and in many cases some form of protected environment is advisable.	This level of ability can learn routine work where the task has been laid out beforehand and only requires to be carried out under supervision. Powers of comprehending variations or new situations are very limited.
Motivation (The organization of personality in terms of goals and aims, particularly as regards consistency and realism in their attainment.)	Personality disintegration to a greater or less degree. Unable to settle to anything requiring even the smallest effort or to pursue a consistent course. Drifter or derelict.	This grade can carry out a plan that requires no decisions and where the objective and reward are immediate and easily envisaged. Limitations are shown where decisions have to be made and the objective is more remote and less definite.
Adjustment (The degree and kind of strain which the individual can stand up to, showing especially in the kind of role he can sustain among other people.)	Mental illness, or inability to stand up to the normal strains of everyday life.	Finds considerable difficulty in standing up to strains of normal life. Continual occurrence of nervous illness, difficulties with other people or failures in roles of no great responsibility. Can only cope when allowances are made by those around him.

Note: This chart is no more than a list of headings under which human
be expected between individuals under each heading. It is important
under different headings, *i.e.* a particular person might be A

C Grade	B Grade	A Grade
40 per cent. *Average of the population*	20 per cent. *Above average*	10 per cent. *Very much above average*
Normally fit and healthy, without any superabundance of physical energy. Undistinguished appearance; speech and manner normally unobtrusive, though poise and confidence usually only adequate to familiar situations.	Some impression of extra energy and abundant health. Seems to have taken care with his dress and turn-out. Speech fluent and competent, with poise and confidence adequate to most social situations.	Overall impression of vigour and physical energy. Distinguished appearance and bearing. Charm of voice and manner which enables him to handle any situation which involves other people.
Normal school-leaving age, having done reasonably well. Some form of apprenticeship or systematic vocational training for 3-5 years with part-time classes. Skilled, or tradesman, level of job, where he sets out or plans his own work. Definite expectations of sustaining a stable and secure way of life.	General education to 16/18, and/or well-planned apprenticeship with part-time training of 3-5 years, leading to certificate or qualifications of national status. Higher technical or supervisory level of jobs with aspirations towards middle-class standards in general way of life.	General education to university standard and/or professional level of vocational training. Management or professional job with definite expectation of progress towards a comfortable and reasonably affluent standard of living.
In this grade the individual can comprehend a situation that can be seen, heard and touched; can plan a course of action to cope with difficulties that can be appreciated in real terms.	This is the level where longer-term courses of action can be planned in terms of overall policies, and variations from the normal understood and dealt with constructively.	Able to assimilate complex data and organize it into a coherent whole, and to lay long-term plans and policies which provide for a wide range of possible contingencies.
Goals which are well within the range of ability can be achieved, and a medium-term plan can be prepared and carried out. Still some way from full employment of all abilities and real all-round satisfaction.	Aims and aspirations up to a level which makes full use of abilities and opportunities, planning courses of action which are realistic and effective. Generally succeeds in carrying out his plan and finding a way round or over obstacles.	Making fullest use of capacities and consistently achieving goals of the highest level consistent with realistic appreciation of difficulties. Fully effective in all aspects of his personality, and gaining maximum satisfaction from life.
Able to stand up to the strains of ordinary life so long as no unexpected difficulties occur. Tends to come near breaking point when things go wrong or additional responsibility is demanded.	Able to cope with roles which involve more than normal strain and responsibility. Usually the person to whom others turn in a crisis. Breaking point considerably above normal.	Able to stand up to a very high degree of strain without any signs of breaking point being approached. Rises inevitably to positions of responsibility where decisions of highest importance have to be made.

attributes can be grouped, with an indication of the variations that can
to realize that people will not necessarily fall into the same grades
Grade for First Impression and C Grade for Qualifications.

such a course of instruction. But any theory of personality runs this danger if it is to be made comprehensible to those who are not attempting to study the full complexities of this elusive subject. Everyone must arrive at his own compromise between making the subject hang together on the one hand, and allowing misleading impressions of simplicity to arise on the other. This solution is not put forward as the best one, by any means. The only claim made on its behalf is that it works.

The Structure of Social Groupings

Whenever two people have anything to do with each other, even in a casual conversation, some form of relationship comes into being between them. They become aware of each other as people, and they form impressions and expectations about each other's behaviour. All these things remain intangible, which makes them difficult for the literally-minded person to discuss and accept. But they are real enough, as can be seen by the trouble that people will accept in order to avoid poor-quality relationships and by the value they set on the good-quality, reassuring relationships that occur in their lives.

Students must gain some facility in recognizing and understanding interpersonal relationships, for any social grouping is, in fact, such a network. In a small group it may be flexible and adaptable, with the central figure exercising his control unobtrusively and informally. In the larger group, the pattern must be more fixed and definite and the control by the central figure must be more rigid. Each network of relationships depends upon the members accepting social roles in that grouping, and unless they accept and play the roles which the network demands of them, the whole group will either break up or change its form. Small informal groupings can allow considerable liberty of action to their members as to how they play their roles while still maintaining a satisfactory degree of control. But larger groupings with a more rigid structure demand very limited and stereotyped roles, and can allow their members little or no latitude in the interpretation of these roles. On a parade-ground, for example, the soldier must slope arms in the "correct" manner, or else! What kind of sanctions are necessary to maintain a rigid pattern of relationships with restricted and stereotyped roles, and to support the authority of the central figure, is a question of no little practical import in industry at the present day.

An industrial town is made up of a multiplicity of groupings for

various purposes, and each individual finds himself playing different roles in a number of different groups. He may play the role of father in his family group, of foreman in his working group, of player in a sports group, of a member of the audience in an entertainment group, and of committee member in a club group. The effectiveness of these groups will depend in some degree on how well he understands and plays his role, and if, in any one, he occupies a central or leading role, his effect on that group may be quite considerable. Students of management are trying consciously to prepare themselves for the central roles in our industrial community, and it is important that they should be encouraged to think as deeply as possible about the demands which these roles make upon them.

Some knowledge of the structure of groupings is essential for an understanding of organization. Throughout industry there runs the problem of communication and control at the working point, and this is closely linked with the actual groupings in which people find themselves on the factory floor. If these correspond to the official plan of organization, and if they centre on individuals who are formally responsible for directing their work, then control should be satisfactory. The intentions of those who direct the undertaking will be adequately interpreted there by junior supervisors, and the difficulties and dissatisfactions that inevitably arise from day to day will be either settled on the spot or communicated for settlement to a higher level. But if the groupings that are actually meaningful to the individuals on the job are unofficial, and if they centre on unofficial leaders who have influence without responsibility, then management control at the working point will be at best tenuous and uncertain. The intentions of those who are in formal control of the organization will go through a process of reinterpretation, adjustment and perhaps compromise, at the hands of the unofficial leaders, while a point of view which may be hostile to those intentions will be held continuously before the rank and file. This process of weakened control and compromised communication at the lowest levels may be seen in many large organizations, not only in private and publicly-owned industry, but also in trade unions where it calls periodic and emphatic attention to itself in unofficial strikes.

Any organization may be looked on as a structure of interlocking groupings. Smaller units are fairly simple (Fig. 2) while larger structures which include the various functions of management are more complex (Fig. 3). One point which must be referred to briefly is the

links which hold such a structure together. These are the executives and supervisors who play different roles in two groups, leader in one and

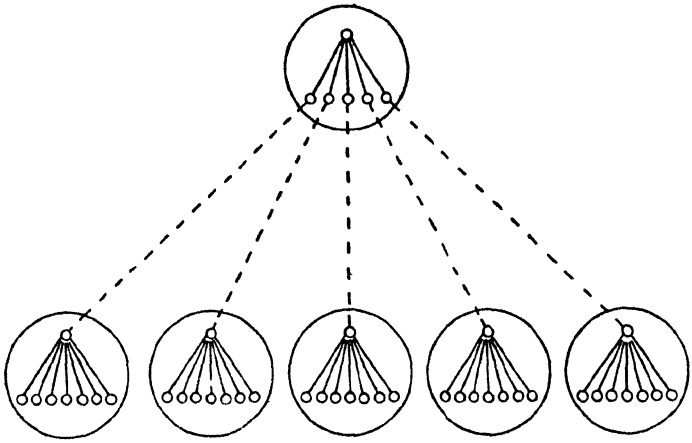


FIG. 2. FIVE PRIMARY GROUPINGS LINKED UP BY A SECONDARY GROUP.

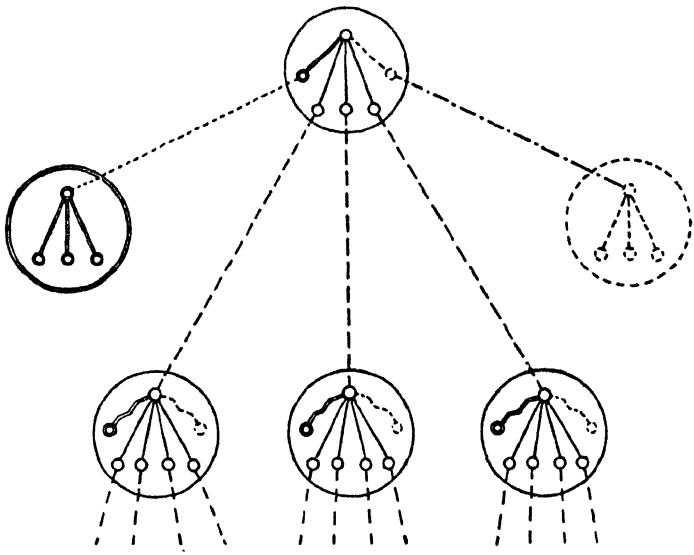


FIG. 3. SECONDARY GROUPS LINKED WITH A TERTIARY GROUP—SHOWING FUNCTIONAL MANAGEMENT CHANNELS SUPERIMPOSED.

subordinate in the other. Through these links must flow the two-way communication that interprets the intentions of those in charge down to levels where the actual work is done, and conversely interprets the

practical difficulties and limitations encountered on the job to those who can make decisions. Furthermore, it is obvious that the health of the organization as a whole depends upon the health of its component groupings while these in turn depend upon how the leaders at each level handle the social process within them. Even though we may not agree that democratic, integrative leadership is a good thing for its own sake, or that it is the best method of handling this social process, we must recognize that authoritarian leadership which relies upon arbitrary sanctions is no longer a practicable proposition when effective powers of punishment are lacking. In a full employment society, the former sanctions for industrial discipline, dismissal and the threat of long periods without work or income simply do not exist.

Attitudes

Within the last 150 years or so this country has changed from an agricultural way of life with most of the population living in the country, to a community of town-dwellers, most of whom work in industry or commerce. This change was mainly brought about by its own internal momentum, for it was largely beyond the control of existing social institutions. The philosophy of Utilitarianism and the economic theories of Adam Smith provided a theoretical justification for allowing the earliest industrialists to make up the rules as they went along. Inevitably these rules bore rather hard on those members of the community whose means of protecting themselves were inadequate. There was a dramatic industrial expansion in the 19th century, but there was also a considerable degree of human degradation and suffering. The social, commercial and judicial institutions of the time made this expansion possible, but at the same time they did not protect the humbler members of the community from exploitation as they might have done. Conditions of work, housing, sanitation, and the inefficiency of local government failed to check, if they did not actually spread, ill-health in the new industrial towns, but in spite of this there were more people alive at the end of the century than there were at the beginning.

The last 150 years were a period of growth; a vast, untidy, rapid period of expansion. Whether we consider that the "good" outweighed the "evil" is probably a matter of individual temperament. What concerns us here, however, is that the different aspects of the Industrial Revolution have left their legacy of attitudes, many of which are enshrined in our contemporary social and political creeds. These

tend to issue in "stereotypes" in terms of which different individuals interpret the present-day industrial scene. We are on dangerous ground here, for those who have been brought up on one stereotype tend to regard all other approaches as "wrong," but most people would recognize the following ways of looking at industry.

First of all there is the "Capitalist" stereotype, which sees an industrial company primarily as an investment of money and is mainly concerned with the security of that investment and the return it shows.

Then there is the "Marxist" stereotype, which sees a company as an accumulation of economic power in private hands, used in most cases to exploit the proletariat. Those who share this approach are usually concerned with protecting the workers by limiting the economic power of the private capitalist or removing it altogether by placing the industry under public control.

There is also a "Paternalist" stereotype, which is concerned with improving the lot of the worker by welfare schemes, pensions, sickness benefits and the like, while accepting the fact that he will remain more or less permanently in a situation of tutelage.

There is also the "Efficiency" stereotype which spotlights the production and control processes in a company and is mainly concerned with the techniques employed, and with their study and improvement.

This is not intended to be a comprehensive list of possible stereotypes, but what concerns us here is simply that the student should understand what a stereotype is, that he should recognize that each of these approaches is valid within its own terms of reference, but that it inevitably involves some degree of distortion of the total picture. How serious that distortion will be depends on a number of factors, most important of which is the attitude of mind of the individual concerned.

The greater the intellectual awareness of an individual, the less likely is his vision to be limited by an inadequate stereotype. Not only should the student be made aware of the fact of intellectual stereotypes, therefore, but he should also be encouraged to take as wide a view of the industrial civilization as he can, and take in as many objective facts about it as he can assimilate. If he is successful in this, even if only to a limited degree, he may see the current stereotypes as fitting into their place among the interests and aspirations of the people concerned.

This awareness can be encouraged in the student's mind by presenting him with as much information as possible about our present-day community drawn from objective sources, such as statistical surveys and the like. This information must be presented with no indication as

to whether the situation disclosed is considered to be "good" or "bad." The salient facts are that 80 per cent of the population live in urban surroundings, that out of a working population of twenty-two million, only about a million work on the land, and that about 70 per cent of all income earners have less than ten pounds a week. We live,

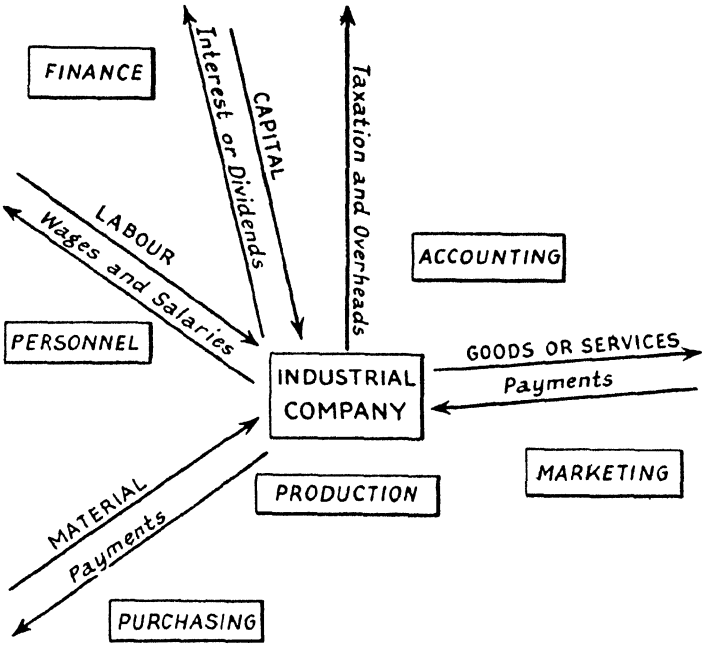


FIG. 4. THE PRODUCTION PROCESS IN AN INDUSTRIAL COMPANY (—>) WITH THE CORRESPONDING CIRCULATION OF MONEY (<—) AND THE MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS NECESSARY TO KEEP THAT CIRCULATION GOING (▭).

therefore, in a community of town-dwelling industrial workers, most of whom have a fairly limited margin for more than their essential weekly expenditure. Prosperity in such a community depends upon a high degree of business activity, that is to say that most of the 55,000 industrial establishments and their ancillary services should be transforming material rapidly into saleable goods and should be distributing the revenue thus received in wages, payments for material, remuneration and replacement of capital, contributions to the National Exchequer, and so on. This circulation can be illustrated diagrammatically as in Fig. 4 and attention can be drawn to the points where it may slow

down or break down altogether. Management is basically the dealing successfully with threats to this circulation whether they may arise on the marketing side, the production side, the financial side, or the attitudes of the people involved.

It is not claimed that this approach to industry is the last word, but that it does provide the beginnings of a stereotype which will lift a student above the preoccupations which he may have developed with individual techniques of management. If it catches his imagination, he may see in it possibilities of a higher standard of living and a greater freedom of opportunity for the individual than the world has so far seen. He may also see the importance of his own job of management in the overall picture of our society.

Conclusion

We have outlined a programme of training in Human Relations under three headings, and if we succeed in conveying anything to students, three types of result should be achieved. In the first place, he should have a greater understanding of human personality and should be able to sum up his own and other people's potentialities more objectively than before. It is to be hoped that this will help him to be more effective as a person. In the second place, he should be more aware of what is going on within the social groupings in which he finds himself, both at work and in his leisure time. This awareness ought to help him to recognize the roles which are expected of him and to play them more effectively. Third and last, he should have a better understanding of our present way of life, its opportunities and possibilities, and should gain confidence in his own ability to cope with its demands.

Most students of management are young men trying to make their way in an industrial society. It may be thought unfortunate that they tend to evaluate education in terms of how it will help them to get on in the world, for the tradition of many of our institutions of higher learning is rather that knowledge should be pursued for its own sake. But education is, in part, a preparation for life, and life is lived in a particular community at a particular time. Our way of life is, and will continue to be, industrial, and many of the positions which attract higher remuneration and regard are the higher posts in industry. Whether our present methods of education are equipping enough young men with the knowledge and skill to aspire to these posts is a debatable question. But management is judged on a criterion of results

achieved in terms of effort expended, and it is perhaps salutary that management training should accept a similar criterion of its effectiveness. If students feel that it enables them to cope better with the way of life in which they have to find their opportunities for advancement, then it cannot be going very badly wrong.

CHAPTER XVIII

CASE-STUDIES IN MANAGEMENT EDUCATION

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THE case-study method of management education, like many of the developments in the academic world which are considered novel or unproved, has been greeted with mixed reactions. It is enthusiastically supported by those who have been converted to the technique by experience. It is opposed with equal vigour by those who suspect it of being another manifestation of the short cut and sugar-coated pill mentality. The majority have no definite opinion because they have only a confused idea of what is implied in the method.

The problem of making a fair and objective appraisal of the case-study method has been complicated by the apparent lack of definition of the term "case-study" and by uncertainty as to its varieties and their uses.

The long-standing use of cases in law and medicine has added to this confusion. In law, those cases are described which led to the establishment of specific legal principles. They are not presented for the student's analysis and criticism. In medicine, cases are primarily used to acquaint students with the symptoms of diseases so that they will be able to recognize them in the future. Management case-studies neither illustrate fixed principles nor describe typical situations common to all organizations. They are based on deductive (or situational) thinking as contrasted with the inductive thinking of legal and medical cases. They set out to equip the potential manager with a flexible analytical technique suited to management problems, no two of which are ever identical because of the human elements involved.

"Case-study" is a blanket term for a selection of facts, either fictitious or drawn from real life, describing a technical or human relations situation, usually in an industrial or commercial setting. Although the term is generally used to refer to cases which present such a situation as a problem designed for analysis by group discussion, it covers a much wider range, in fact everything from a simple illustration to the most comprehensive survey.

Practical Examples

The simplest form of case-study, if the generic definition is accepted, is the illustration. If, for example, a teacher were discussing the problems of changing over from job to large-batch production in an old-established factory, the effectiveness of his lecture would be greatly enhanced if he could introduce an actual experience from such a factory showing how the security of the skilled tradesmen was undermined by the management's failure to take them into its confidence.

The example is an essential ingredient of the successful lecture because it gives the student a point of reference which enables him to relate the fact or theory to his own experience. It also heightens the interest of the lecture and gives it a sense of practical reality. The lecture, illustrated by examples, can be used in any circumstances for any group where the object is to convey factual or theoretical information and not to develop special skills in the student. The successful adoption of this method by either a management teacher or training officer is limited only by his practical experience or his ability to collect the relevant examples from those who have had the experience, particularly his students.

The Success Story

The "success story" is another, usually longer and more detailed form of the illustration. It also differs in its intent, which is basically propaganda designed to encourage acceptance of new ideas and methods by showing what other people have done. This illustrative material ought not to be overlooked by the management teacher, because it is particularly useful for introductory courses on work study, factory management and most other factual (or "tool") subjects. Success stories give students with little or no actual experience in industry some idea of how text-book theory is put into practice. They also enable the student with specialized management experience to get a more realistic view of the other functions of management.

Problem Cases

There are two types of case-study in this second major category.

The first, the limited objective case, describes a human relations or technical problem very briefly. Since it does not include much, if any, background information or enough data to enable the students to assess the personalities involved, the discussion based on the facts in the case is necessarily limited. However, a dramatized incident about, for

example, consistent lateness in a machine shop or the suspected theft of some supplies by one of the chargehands, can serve as a jumping-off point for a lively discussion on the problem in general or other related problems. Unless considerable time is spent speculating about the background and personalities, so that there is general agreement on the assumptions being made by the group, discussion must be in terms of the individual's own frame of reference rather than that provided by the case. Therefore the quality of the discussion depends almost entirely on the experience of the members of the group.

However, because they are brief and relatively simple, limited objective cases are very useful as a training medium for lower levels of supervisory management or as a method of introducing beginners in management training to case-studies. For beginners they have the added advantage of indicating the kind of situations that later cases will present in greater complexity and with more difficult problems. They are unsuitable for those without practical experience in business.

Self-contained Cases

Those cases which describe technical and/or human relations problems in sufficient detail to be complete in themselves produce the best results and have the widest application.

They trace the background of the company and portray the personalities concerned in the case so fully that the student need not refer outside the case for the information he requires in his analysis of the problem and formulation of a solution.

These problem cases vary from a thousand to ten thousand words in length, although the real criterion is the self-sufficiency of the case material. The subject-matter also ranges widely, from technical problems such as the difficulties of introducing an incentive scheme in a laundry to a human relations problem showing the consequences of an out-of-date company policy in an expanding furniture business where the general manager, despite being overworked, is incapable of delegating authority and responsibility.

The situations are presented in their real life complexity. It is the responsibility of the student to proceed in a logical and orderly fashion, first analysing the problem and deciding which are the relevant facts, then formulating his solution and determining how best he can implement his recommendations for corrective action. Finally, he begins to see that certain general implications or principles can be deduced from the case which may have some relevance in other similar situations.

COMPREHENSIVE CASES

Within recent years industrial subjects have become fashionable with artists. Authors too have begun to realize that the emotional conflicts and relationships within industry and commerce can provide rewarding material for a novel. Books like *Dead Man Over All, Sundry Creditors* or *Executive Suite*[1] can be useful background reading and help students to become more conscious of the psychological implications of the everyday problems they encounter in their working relationships with their colleagues on the job.

Scholarly sudies such as *Three Studies in Management, The Changing Culture of a Factory* or the detailed account of *Thirty Years of Joint Consultation*[2] also provide invaluable material for background reading and for discussion of broader issues.

Like the novels, these studies include the analysis with the presentation of the problems. However, teachers can extract the problems and use them as either technical or human relations case-studies.

In general, it is accurate to say that there is a positive correlation between the complexity of the case-study and the student level at which it can be used to the greatest advantage. The practical examples are suitable for any level, but particularly for those students without business experience. The limited objective cases are most useful for lower supervisory levels. Students drawn from the higher supervisory levels and from middle management derive the greatest benefit from problem cases, while comprehensive cases are best suited for post-graduate students or top management.

WRITING CASE-STUDIES

If the various commercial sources cannot provide the case-studies needed for the group being trained, then the teacher can write his own.

He can usually find source material in his classes or among his business friends. No person in commerce or industry has failed to be involved personally at one time or another in some management problem. An argument between the office boy and the filing clerk may reflect management problems as clearly as a controversial discussion among the directors at a board meeting.

There are several important points for the writer to bear in mind.

[1] Allen, Walter: *Dead Man Over All* (Michael Joseph); Balchin, Nigel: *Sundry Creditors* (Collins); Hawley, Cameron: *Executive Suite* (Hammond & Hammond).

[2] Scott, J. F. and Lipton, R.: *Three Studies in Management* (Routledge); Jacques, E.: *The Changing Culture of a Factory* (Routledge); Renold, Sir Charles: *Thirty Years of Joint Consultation* (Allen & Unwin).

He should try to include information about the company's background and to let the personalities in the case reveal themselves through their own actions and comments or through the actions and comments of others rather than in his editorial comments. He must always consider himself a disinterested reporter of the facts of the situation, and his own view should never intrude. He must try to avoid the temptation to make the "clues" to the problem too pointed or obvious.

It is particularly important for the writer to present a problem where there is a nicely-balanced set of alternative courses of action for the student to choose, because only in this way can the greatest value be derived from discussion of the case. Conversely, the teacher must avoid the "atrocity story" where everything is wrong. One case, for example, described a firm employing a thousand workers where there was no personnel officer, no promotion or transfer records, no grievance machinery, no welfare facilities, no systematic selection procedure, no overall wages policy except that imposed by the union which represented only a small proportion of the workers. Apart from the fact that they found this true account quite incredible, there was nothing for the students to do but suggest the perfectly obvious remedies. This type of case limits discussion and is a far less efficient method of presenting factual information than the lecture.

Using Case-studies

In running a case-study session the teacher must remember that he is there to encourage others to talk, not to put forward his own views. He should take the part of an effective chairman by keeping the discussion on the subject, by giving everyone a chance to be heard and by reviewing and summarizing the group's conclusions at various stages, particularly at the end. Moreover, he must perform all of these functions as unobtrusively as possible.

He has other responsibilities as well. He must keep the session within the specified time limits. If he has control of the group's size, he should try to keep it small (ten is a good number). The teacher must try to create an informal atmosphere. He must make certain that the members of the group know one another and that they are intimate with the details of the case. He should know what special information each member can contribute as a result of his particular training or job. He must then be able to capitalize on this knowledge by the adroit use of questions when the discussion has flagged or needs redirection.

However, even before he chooses the cases, the teacher must decide how he is going to use them.

Are they to follow lectures as aids to the student in learning how to apply factual and theoretical information to the real life situation? Or are they to be used to integrate the various specialized subjects into the total management picture?

Should they form the basis of part of a course designed to teach students how to sell their ideas to higher management? A case-study sets problems ideally suited to written report assignments. Furthermore, by introducing an element of role playing, where for example the student reports verbally on the same case to a board of directors composed of other members of his group, the teacher is giving his students an opportunity to gain experience in public speaking and to learn the difference in technique between the verbal and written presentation of the same material.

Their unique value for examination purposes must also be considered by the teacher because case-studies come closest to reproducing those problems which a manager must face on the job. His performance in case-study problems, judged in conjunction with the teacher's personal assessment of his success in the group, can provide a more accurate guide to the individual's ability, potential capacities and the progress he has made during the course than any other measure yet devised outside the job itself.

Advantages of the Case-study Method

Exponents of the method maintain that, short of experience in the managerial situation itself, case-studies offer potential managers the best opportunity for developing those skills essential to effective and successful management. The results depend largely on the student, because the case-study method is based on group discussion and is essentially a participation device.

In the course of analysing real-life situations as they are described in case-studies, students learn how to recognize symptoms of problems, how to examine all the evidence and select the relevant facts. They are then able to see the problems more in the round, and to diagnose them with greater insight and to recommend corrective action with ever-increasing accuracy.

It is not an individual process, however, because the diagnosis which the student makes and the course of action which he ultimately recommends have at least been exposed to and may have been

affected by the views of other members of the group. The personality factors have been carefully considered and have played an important part in the formulation of the student's solution to the problem.

This is not the only way in which the procedure simulates the real-life situation. Just as in business, the student is forced to make decisions on the basis of insufficient information, conflicting evidence and under pressure of time.

Case-studies cover a wide range of subjects in numerous industries at various levels of management. In this one respect, at least, they have an advantage over actual working experience with one company, where the standards are usually local and the possibilities of seeing problems from every level of management very rare. After study of many cases the student learns that the same problem can look quite different when seen from a bird's eye view from what it appears to be from a worm's eye view. He also begins to get the feel of the "atmosphere" at various levels of management in different-sized firms. He acquires some acquaintance with various technical processes and systems in a wide range of industries. Finally, from his experience with cases the student becomes aware of the interdependence of all parts of business. Thus he has learned one of the most important lessons for management. A decision affecting one department almost always has repercussions and ramifications throughout other parts of the organization.

The most fundamental aim of the case-study method is to bring home to the student the paramount importance of the human factor in management and, if possible, to give him insight into his own prejudices and attitudes as an inducement to him to alter his behaviour. In discussing what action is to be taken in a case (a natural form of role playing), the foreman who says "This one is too easy. If I were the managing director, I'd sack the bloody sales manager," or the manager who reacts in an equally emotional and dogmatic manner, is astounded that his views are not shared by the rest of the group. In the process of argument and discussion he may begin to recognize his violent feelings as part of an attitude, *his* attitude, or if he goes deeper, he may discover the reasons for his emotional reactions to the situation. This self-recognition and the changes in behaviour on the job which can stem from it are the *summum bonum* of the case-study method.

Disadvantages of the Case-study Method

Opponents of the case-study method point out its practical and theoretical limitations.

In the first place, case-studies are very time-consuming, and where the teacher is already having difficulty in covering the syllabus in the time allowed he feels justified in rejecting this method of instruction. Furthermore, he feels cases are unsuitable for conveying factual information systematically or thoroughly. They may give undue emphasis to one aspect of a subject and omit another important one completely. They also often waste the student's time and clutter up his mind with what is apparently useless information about technical processes and systems in industries with which he is not concerned.

Secondly, the critics state that cases generally do not contain enough information about a company's background to enable students to understand or give due weight to the firm's traditions in their analysis of the problem. The same criticism applies to the personalities concerned. The knowledge which a person in the actual situation would take for granted about his colleagues after working with them for years cannot easily be conveyed to the student within the scope of a single case-study.

Thirdly, although case discussions usually lead to recommendations for some form of corrective action, students are in a sense being given complete authority without responsibility. This tends to breed an impatient, hypercritical approach which often leads to dissatisfaction when the student returns to his job. He is certain that he sees what is wrong and feels frustrated when his suggestions are not immediately adopted and his ability rewarded by promotion. Because he has been trained to look for faults he tends to overlook the virtues. He has never learned that responsibility for the consequences of an action acts as a brake on the exercise of authority, because in a case-study situation nothing actually happens.

As a corollary to this point, skill in dealing with cases is not invariably an assurance of the individual's skill as a manager in the real-life situation. A student with an agile mind and a trained approach to logical criticism can excel in case-study analysis although he might be unpopular with his colleagues on the job and patently unable to influence their behaviour. (The case-study enthusiast would answer that such personality defects would show up in group discussion and that it is the responsibility of the teacher to take such factors into account in his assessment of the student.)

The efficacy of the case-method depends to a surprising extent, particularly with an inexperienced group, on the ability of the discussion leader. If he is either too directive or too passive in his handling

of the group, if he fails to perform his function of reflecting and summarizing the views expressed, then much of the value of the method is lost. It is quite possible for a group to spend an entire session on a problem completely unrelated to the case unless the leader directs the discussion back to the points at issue.

A Considered Judgment

Even the enthusiast would admit without hesitation that cases are not the same as actual experience in a variety of business situations. But management educators are concerned with techniques within the realm of practical possibility, and although the case-study method is not a substitute for real life, it has much to recommend it as a teaching method. It has limitations, but almost all the same limitations apply to other teaching methods as well.

On balance, the case-study is not as effective as the lecture for conveying factual information, but it is the best teaching method so far devised to develop those critical and analytical faculties which the student will ultimately need in day-to-day management.

It is the only method which instils the co-operative spirit implicit in the group approach to the solution of problems, which is becoming more and more a part of business management.

Cases also come closest to reproducing the elements which make up the real-life managerial situation. Because of this approximation to reality they provide students with a sense of purpose and bridge the gap between the theoretical classroom and the practical requirements of the job.

Above all, case-studies bring home to the student more forcefully and dramatically than any other method the simple but fundamental truth that management is concerned with people and their changeable, irrational, emotional and unpredictable behaviour. If case-studies can make a contribution to the individual's ability to cope with the human factor, then they are an essential instrument of management education.

CHAPTER XIX

TRAINING IN COMMUNICATION: WRITING FOR MANAGERS

By B. C. Brookes, M.A.(Oxon.)

The sole purpose of management communication training is to improve efficiency—that is, to save the time and effort of all employees who write, speak, type, print, file, distribute, read, listen to, and try to interpret meaningless or muddled verbiage.

Effective managerial communication requires in the manager a knowledge of the techniques of using language in speech and writing, but, more important, it requires also an intuitive appreciation of the infinite variety of circumstances which may call for some communicative action. The techniques can be learnt quickly if they are needed, but the intuitive appreciation is usually only slowly, and sometimes even painfully, acquired by long experience. The main problem of communication training is to find a way of helping management students to acquire quickly a better intuitive appreciation of what effective communication demands from them.

The techniques of communication include the correct use of the vocabulary, grammar and syntax of the language in which the communicative messages are to be expressed (and here "language" embraces not only the natural language, in this case English, but all the strictly non-linguistic aids such as diagrams or mathematical symbols). The techniques also include knowledge of the conventions of form and address which are most appropriate for different communicative purposes. All these techniques are adequately described in text-books which are readily available, or expounded in lecture courses which are readily accessible. They are comparatively easy to teach and to learn, providing the students have an incentive for learning them.

But the teaching of these techniques alone comprises only part of any satisfactory training in communication. Any training course based only on grammar, syntax, composition and other techniques is certain to be ineffectual and sterile. Both the lecturer and his student

will intuitively, if not explicitly, realize that some vital element of communication is missing from such a course and feel dissatisfied with its results. This awareness that effective communication requires something more than the formal application of rules of thumb is likely to be more acute in courses for mature students. The student members of management courses are all experienced in communication; they, more than most people, are aware that, in general, communication is not as effective as it might be and that effective communication is not simply a matter of applying rules and conforming with conventions. They will be seeking guidance at a deeper level of understanding.

Those responsible for training in communication need to discover whether such guidance can in fact be given, to what extent it can be made explicit, what form the guidance should take, and how it can best be applied in any specific management training course. In the rest of this chapter there will be described one attempted solution of the training problem, an attempt which, according to the students who have participated in it, helps towards a better understanding of the nature of communication.

The length of the lecture course based on the following material could range from one to ten lectures depending on the maturity of the students, the time at their disposal, and the degree of detail required. It is emphasized however, that communication cannot be taught by giving lectures only; the students must carry out some exercises for critical assessment and must also be given some opportunity of discussing freely any personal problems in communication that cause them difficulties. The purpose of the lectures is to establish between the lecturer and the students an agreed attitude to communication and its problems. The purpose of the exercises is to demonstrate the soundness and applicability of the theses expounded in the lectures and to show how their rather abstract and general ideas can be applied to specific practical problems.

Communication and Management

It cannot be assumed that students appreciate the overwhelming importance of communication in management and so any lecture course must begin with some emphasis on this point.

A community is a cohesive aggregate of communicating individuals; there can be no community without the cohesive power of some mode of communication between its members. It has been suggested that the stable size of an empire in earlier days was dependent on the range

over which communication from its executive and administrative centre was effective—a fact clearly appreciated by the Romans. A small independent community confined to a compact area may be able to survive as a unit with informal speech as its mode of communication, but as a community grows in numbers and becomes widely distributed, its cohesion depends more and more on the establishment of more formal channels and on more permanent modes of communication, such as writing, to carry the authority of its rulers beyond the range of personal travel and speech.

An industrial or commercial organization is a community of individuals bound together by common interest in the organization, though the nature of that interest may very widely among the individuals that comprise the organization. The more highly developed and complex the organization becomes and the more widely its centres of activity are dispersed, the more dependent it becomes on its communications. Policy decisions can only be consistently sound if they are based on accurate, up-to-date and complete information about all matters relevant to the decisions. This necessary information is required from both external and internal sources, and, in a large organization, channels of information must be established to ensure that the various kinds of information are properly segregated and speedily transmitted to the sections responsible for them. There must also be established the channels of communication along which policy decisions or administrative instructions can be transmitted with speed and precision to the individuals whose job it is to translate these orders into action. The inward and outward communication channels are analogous to the nervous system of a living organism, but with at least one important difference. The nervous system of a living organism cannot be modified; the organism can use only what nature has provided it with. An organization of human beings, however, has some control over its communication system and can modify it if it is realized that modifications would improve its efficiency.

Unfortunately, the need for periodic review and modification of existing communication systems is rarely appreciated; communication is so much a part of everyday life to us, both as human beings and as members of some organization, that, like the air we breathe, we simply take it for granted. In small or rapidly growing organizations there is a risk of under-systematization of communication; informal and mainly oral systems may be adequate for normal conditions, but may break down in emergencies, as, for example, when the one man

who "knows all the answers" but "keeps them in his head"—otherwise unrecorded—falls ill or has an accident. In large organizations, on the other hand, there is a risk of over-systematization or of inflexibility; some channels, useful when first established, may outlive their usefulness; in an organism unused nerves might atrophy and wither away, but in a large organization communication channels may continue to flourish, pouring out unused and unwanted information, simply because they have become traditional or because everyone assumes that someone else needs their information. In-trays piled high with paper that is never read, but which is duly initialled as "read" and passed on to another in-tray to be dealt with likewise, are also symptomatic of over-systematization. In communication training it must be emphasized that the first question to be asked about a proposed message or report is not "Is it in its most effective form?" but "Is it really necessary?"

Although all organizations have their official channels of communication, sometimes neatly displayed on charts, there are always unofficial channels of some importance—the "grapevine" or "bush telegraph." They are of special significance to management because they are the channels along which disturbing rumours are passed and in which even accurate information may become coloured and distorted. Their existence on any disturbing scale indicates a lack of confidence between management and employees and an unsatisfied demand for information. Unofficial channels are too unreliable to be made use of, nor can they be entirely suppressed; but they can be reduced to unimportance by using existing official channels, or by establishing new ones such as official notice-boards, to impart information promptly. The unofficial channels can be reduced to unimportance only by the speed, directness and "informativeness" of the official channels. By "informativeness" is meant the giving of information beyond the stark minimum; it is discussed later in this chapter.

These points are made to emphasize that communication training is not simply a matter of abstract academic learning, but that it must be constantly related to the complex of psychological forces which are found in any human organization.

What is Communication?

So far we have used the word "communication" as though we knew what it stands for. "When I talk of time, I know what time is," said Augustine, "but when I am asked what time is, I do not know." As St. Augustine used "time," so we have used "communication." We

cannot say what communication "is," but we can analyse it in general terms in order to provide students with a better understanding of it and with the chance of developing for themselves a firmer basis for observation and criticism.

A First Analysis: Purpose and Design

Communication, then, is the instrument of management. And, like any other instrument or tool, it has a definite and limited purpose, and can be designed to meet that purpose efficiently. In designing any instrument there are two aspects of the design that can be distinguished; first, an instrument has a typical shape, size and interrelation of its component parts—these will be called its *structure;* secondly, it must be made of materials that have the appropriate physical properties—these will be called its *texture.* In any instrument these two aspects of design—its structure and its texture—are determined by the purpose the instrument has to serve. Thus the very simple instrument we need to poke a fire needs to have the shape of a stick, two to four feet in length, and must be made of material which is incombustible, tough and of high melting-point. The purpose of any management communication can similarly be met by designing the structure and texture of the message, *once the purpose is clearly recognized.* But what are the structure and texture of a communication?

Structure

The structure of a simple tool like that of a poker is so obvious as almost to defy descriptive explanation. Similarly, the structure of a simple message is equally obvious, and to discuss the structure of a communication more satisfactorily some more complex form of communication must be considered—for example, a management report. A report is a communication designed to give information about a specific subject or situation, to present the information in a form which is coherent and readily assimilable by its intended readers, and, possibly, to offer comments, suggestions or recommendations about some action relating to the subject or situation.

When you find a report on your desk, how do you handle it? Usually you first glance at the title and author's name to see "what it is about" and from what point of view it is written. You then flip over the pages to see what you are "in for"; you casually notice any features such as section headings or illustrations which indicate to you the scope, depth and size of the report. Your first decision is to choose whether

to read it at once, to reject it completely, or to put it wherever you keep your "good intentions." It is less likely to be read at once if it looks amorphous, stodgy and featureless than if it looks as though it had been designed to meet an explicit purpose. The appearance of purposeful design is created in part by breaking the report into main sections, though two or three main sections hardly suffice to make a structure, and more than seven or eight main sections begin to make it disintegrate. The feeling of purposefulness about a report is confirmed if its introduction explains briefly why the report has been written and how the author proposes to deal with his subject.

The principle underlying these recommendations is that in communicating it is desirable to enlist the active participation of the intended reader. For example, if you had to describe a picture accurately, you could do so by one of two methods. One method would be to cover the picture with transparent small-squared graph paper and then to state the predominant colour of each square in a prearranged square. Anyone knowing the sequence could then reproduce the picture for himself from your list; the more numerous the squares were the more exact would be the reproduction. This method is suitable for accurate but uncomprehending transmission; it is in effect the method used in television transmission. But it is not the method by which pictures are perceived. The second method is to state the main features of the picture and their relation to each other, and then to describe each of the main features and any subsidiaries to the degree of detail required. Thus I have an etching on the wall beside me as I write: it depicts an English manor-house seen in winter through a screen of elm trees . . . After only one short sentence you can already begin to visualize the picture, and even though your image is necessarily vague and incomplete, you already have a mental framework into which you can fit further details as they are given you—you have been given the main structure of the picture. In the same way, by designing a report to give the reader as quickly as possible a mental framework or structure, his participation is more readily enlisted in the efforts to communicate with him, and he is the more quickly and readily enabled to understand what the report is intended to convey.

Texture

The texture of a communication embraces its vocabulary, composition, diagrams and other ancillaries, all the subsidiary components which are not included in the "structure," and all the other details,

such as enumeration schemes, which are usually left to be sorted out by some devoted editor. In most communication training, various aspects of texture are over-emphasized at the expense of the more fundamental aspects of structure, but that is not to say that texture is unimportant.

Here there is space only to comment on some of the more neglected aspects of texture. First among these is vocabulary. If it can be accepted that the purpose of communication in management is not to impress other people with one's literary abilities and command of language but to inform people and get things done, then it seems that the language used should be simple, direct and concise, rather than complex, involved and verbose. American psychologists have demonstrated that "reading ease" decreases, or the "fog index" increases, as sentences become longer and words become bigger. There are, however, limits to simplicity and directness in practice; complex and involved statements may irritate and even not be understood; simple and direct statements may offend because they are understood all too clearly. Vocabulary, like communication, must be matched with its target—small-arms fire is suitable for everyday jobs, "big stuff" and blasting powder are used only as the occasion demands.

In communication training the first attack on vocabulary is to clean up that of the students by black-listing all the overworked words, phrases and clichés that abound in practical writing. Some of these words and phrases play a useful part in speech because they are used to convey attitude through tone of voice, and because they act partly as spacers and punctuation marks. But in writing, the tone of voice in which the author intended them to be read cannot be indicated; they are not needed as spacers because the reader can go at his own pace; and the conventional punctuation marks are available. The black-listed words only make writing lifeless and dull.

The booklets written by Sir Ernest Gowers will help to start the black-list but every organization will have its own peculiars. If such a black-list is prepared by the students themselves, they are the more ready to adopt it. It will be found, moreover, that once the students have been persuaded (perhaps by being invited to criticize other people's published writings) to give critical attention to vocabulary, many other desirable improvements follow automatically. Critical attention to words is followed by critical attention to sentences and then to the composition as a whole. Elimination of woolly phrases and clichés is followed by an interest in what is actually being said; in short, the

students begin to think constructively about writing. Many faults of grammar and punctuation disappear simply because the students begin to discover for themselves some pleasure in writing—that is, to feel the sense of power and achievement that follows the successful application of any skill.

The need for any formal teaching of English is therefore reduced and may entirely disappear. Mature students resent any lecture that reminds them of futile lessons of their schooldays, and so any grammatical infelicities that remain after the purge of vocabulary are best dealt with individually, privately, informally and non-technically. There is no technical jargon more repulsive to the non-literary student than the jargon of the grammarian, but there is no student more anxious to eradicate his faults than one who has just begun to see for the first time what good writing requires. English grammar is no longer felt to be incomprehensible, pedantic, pointless, a series of pitfalls, and is seen to be nothing more than the conventions English-speaking people use when they have something they want to say clearly. And the teaching of writing to mature students is easy once they can feel confident that what they so anxiously want to be able to say (and because they are mature they have something to say) they can, in fact, say.

There are many other details of texture that need discussion, but most of them are more specialized than vocabulary. The use of diagrams, charts, mathematics, appendixes and many other things, and their relation to each other and to the report as a whole may sometimes be important, but they are not generally so. They cannot be discussed in detail here, though the next analysis has a bearing on some of these topics.

A Second Analysis: The Basis of Communication

Next time you see, and can hear without embarrassment, two strangers strike up a conversation, perhaps in a train or perhaps at a bar, observe the direction of their opening statements and questions. The first few statements will have a casual air and may not appear to be particularly informative—they may be trite remarks about the weather. They are not intended to be informative in the direct sense, though indirectly they are intended to be highly informative. Each stranger is simultaneously indicating obliquely the kind of person he is (or thinks he is) and is simultaneously seeking to discover the kind of person the other is. Each is probing in the hope of finding some common field of interest on which discussion can be apparently

objective and yet capable of revealing, each to the other, his attitudes to other things and to life in general. They are both seeking to establish what they can take for granted, that is, what they have in common, and what their differences are. When these matters have been adequately determined, conversation can proceed more comfortably.

No communication whatever is possible between two individuals (human or otherwise) without some common basis, some similar experience. Because all normal adult human beings use language, and because they all have fundamentally similar nervous systems and modes of perception, any two human beings can always communicate with each other to some extent if they both wish to do so. If they happen to share a common language, they have not only that language in common but all that a common language implies in similarity of attitude and tradition. We do not notice our similarities with other people because they are of little interest; we are much more acutely aware of our differences. Human beings are rarely conscious of this basis on which they communicate with each other, and it would be difficult to describe it completely because it is usually accepted without question and without reference. It is impossible even for two human beings to disagree unless there is some underlying basis of agreement about the subject of dispute.

As the basis of communication between any two persons becomes stronger, that is, as they "get to know each other," the more they can "take for granted," the more clearly they recognize their differences, and the more discriminating and sensitive can be their communication with each other. Success in communication begins by intuitively recognizing, on the basis of past experience, both what can be taken for granted between yourself and others and what are the differences relevant to your communications. This recognition of community and difference will be called "establishing the basis of communication."

The Communicative Process

Let us now analyse in more detail the communicative process itself. An individual A wishes to communicate to a second individual B, not just a casual remark, but a considered message about, let us say, some managerial subject.

First A estimates the basis of the communication; he uses what knowledge he has of B, of B's status, interests, attitudes, and pre-knowledge of the situation to be described in the message. Then A formulates mentally his purpose in sending this message to B. He

turns to his subject and scans it with "his mind's eye," remembering all the time his purpose and his estimate of what B already knows. These and the other processes to be described take place more or less simultaneously, of course, though in describing them we can mention them only one by one. There are four further sub-processes:

1. As A scans the subject he *selects* from it things to say. On any subject, however trivial it may be, an infinity of things *could* be said, but, for practical purposes, only a selection from this infinity can be made and offered. If *n* authors like A were asked to write a message on the same subject, there would be *n* selections, all different in some respects. To verify this, all you need do is to compare the reports in a batch of newspapers of a debate in Parliament or of a football match (assuming that the reports are made independently).

2. Having selected the statements he wishes to make, A then has to *order* them. The problem here is the problem of all linguistic usage; it is to translate a simultaneous view of the whole subject into a time sequence of words which, when read by B, will give him a coherent picture of the subject described. It is obvious that the statements of a message cannot be written in a random order—the message would be unintelligible—but it is less easy to discern precisely what order will make the message coherent and intelligible. Fortunately, there are usually more than one such orders which conform with the kind of sequence in which the normal human brain operates with langauge. Any coherent, intelligible sequence will be called a *logical order.*

3. Up to this point A has been able to do his selecting and ordering in his own words or symbols, bearing always in mind his estimate of B's pre-knowledge of and interest in the situation he is describing. He now has to consider B more carefully and *interpret* for him, if necessary, the statements he has already decided to make. This interpretation may include the giving of additional subsidiary information to support the bare facts and to provide them with a background (i.e. making his message "informative"); it may include explanation of any technical terms (of technology, of administration, of law, etc.) with which B is likely to be unfamiliar. Interpretation is the relating of the new facts to B's experience, as far as that can be estimated.

4. Finally, the message has to be cast in such a form and addressed to B in such terms that it will be acceptable to B. In writing the message, A has a limited purpose and he may fail in his purpose if, at this stage, the *presenting* of the message is inept. It is usually desirable, for example, to abide by the conventions of address that B would expect to be

observed in receiving a message from A, but there are usually other facets of approach and address that A will have to bear in mind if he wants to enlist B's whole-hearted support for his purpose.

These then, are the four sub-processes of the communicative process. Selecting, ordering, interpreting and presenting can be discerned in

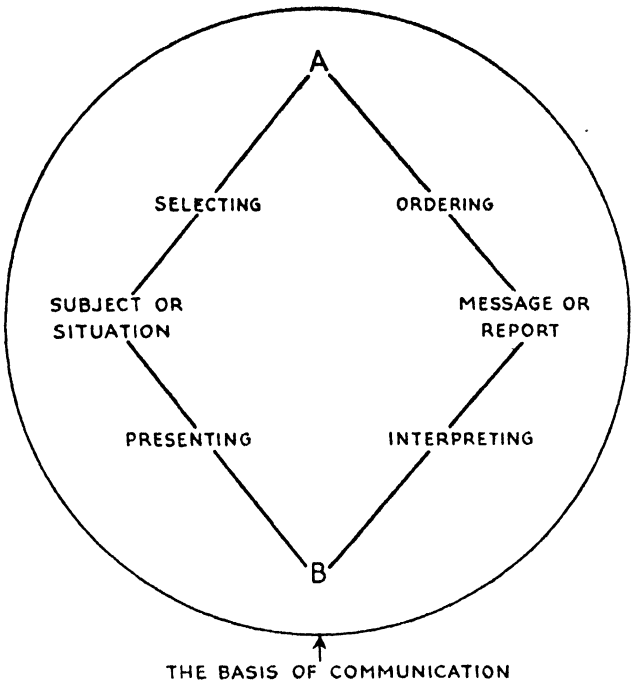


FIG. 5. A MNEMONIC DIAGRAM OF THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS

all forms of deliberative communication, though, together with the establishing of the basis of communication, they are simultaneously and only rarely consciously performed. A mnemonic diagram of these sub-processes is shown in Fig. 5.

THE LECTURE COURSE

The material of the preceding pages is necessarily condensed; it can form the basis of a lecture course only by enlivening its rather abstract content with illustrations and examples appropriate to any given course of students. It can be expanded in many directions, depending on the needs of the students, and the purpose of any particular course. But

there are two directions in which expansion is *not* recommended: one is in the direction of formal grammar or "English," and the other is in the direction of formal logic. Mature students resent formal English teaching—and rightly so, because it has little to do with communication. And because it is sometimes said that a communication should be "logical," one sometimes sees short courses of Aristotelian syllogistic logic included in communication courses; but syllogistic logic has little to do with communication, though there are other logics which are relevant (e.g. the "dynamic logic" of Dewey, the American educationist and philosopher).

Whatever expansions may be made, it is essential not to lose sight of the main ideas of the two analyses given above, because these form the basis of the criticism of the concurrent exercises. The main ideas are—

1. (*a*) That any communication has a clear purpose which should be discernible to the reader.

(*b*) That any communication is an instrument which can be designed in "structure" and "texture" to meet its purpose.

2. (*a*) That communication always takes place on an estimated basis of community and difference.

(*b*) That the process of composition can be subdivided into selecting, ordering, interpreting, and presenting.

The Exercises and Their Criticism

Any exercises set should be on a subject which demands the selection, ordering, interpreting, and presenting of a carefully prepared case. An alternative, particularly helpful with less mature students, is to invite criticism and comment of some published material of intrinsic interest to them. Whenever possible these exercises should serve some further purpose related to management training, so that criticism of presentation is only one of the reasons for dealing with the subject specified; criticism is then likely to be aimed at faults more fundamental than such trivial matters as misplaced commas and other superficialities. Unless written reports have a minimum of about 500 words, it is not possible to discuss their structure, though formal letters can be rather shorter.

If it is possible to arrange it, the exercises are best discussed with the lecturer in private; mature students are sometimes unduly sensitive to public criticism, and become unresponsive if they are liable to be taunted by their fellows. The method suggested is that the student brings his exercise to the lecturer critic who thus sees the exercise for the first time

at that moment; it is helpful if the student has a copy. The lecturer than reads the exercises as though it were addressed to him; he reads it quietly but audibly, naturally but carefully, extracting the sense as he goes along. If he meets a difficulty, if he misreads (through no fault of his own), if he notices a point to be commended, he lightly marks the appropriate place in the text in pencil, but proceeds without pause to the end in order to get as quickly as possible the total effect of the exercise.

At the end of the reading the student is invited to comment on his exercise, to say whether, having now heard it read, he would wish to make any amendments to it. The lecturer then discusses the exercise in terms of the analyses described above, asking himself such of the following questions as may be relevant: Is the purpose of the communication clear? Is that purpose wholly met? Has it any defects (or excellences) of structure? Of texture? Is the basis of the communication clearly established? Is the tone appropriate? Is the material well-ordered? Is it interpreted in terms suitable for its intended readers? Is its form and presentation likely to promote the author's purpose? Some of these are always relevant, and some may need detailed discussion.

Criticism must always be supported by reference to the text; it is not very helpful, for example, to tell a student (or anyone else) that his work is "lousy," and to leave it at that. When criticisms are made, therefore, the lecturer must be prepared to suggest amendments, corrections and modifications, and to seek the student's acceptance of them. The lecturer must be critical but also sympathetic, winning the student's acceptance of his suggestions by reason rather than by authority, and remarking on the good features of the exercise as well as the bad. He must be keenly observant, but not pedantic, giving due weight to the criticisms he makes; thus, for example, a badly expressed message which has the appropriate content is better than a beautifully written and polished message that is irrelevant to its ostensible purpose.

Only rarely do we hear our written communications read by someone else; it can be an enlightening experience. In speech, we can see and hear the responses of those we address and can usually make use of these responses to modify our subsequent words the better to serve our purpose. In writing, we get no such "feedback" from those addressed, the readers' responses have to be imagined and foreseen. Most writers have a touching faith in the willingness and perspicacity of their intended readers, and believe that any misunderstanding of their words can be caused only by malice or stupidity. The reading of

the exercises to the students dispels some of this belief, but the reading and criticism must be done without any attempt to "score off" the student author.

If a number of exercises have been written on the same subject, it is very instructive to the students to file the different versions after correction and criticism, and to pass them round among the students—the exercises should, of course, be anonymous. When you have worked thoughtfully on an exercise, it is astonishing to see the variations that are possible on the same theme. The sight of these variations reinforces the points made in the second analysis about the four sub-processes of composition; differences of selection, ordering, interpretation and presentation are all clearly demonstrated.

It will be found that some students need little help but they will not resent being told so; it is not necessary for the lecturer to find faults in every exercise. Some students, on the other hand, need more help than can easily be given, particularly if they have little confidence in themselves. Some books are listed in the bibliography at the end of this chapter; they are intended for those who need help and who are able and willing to help themselves by private study. The most difficult students are those who pride themselves on their "style," or who have literary pretensions; their egos must be kindly but firmly deflated.

Conclusion

If the students all belong to the same organization, a useful addendum to any course in management communication is a description of the formal communication channels of the organization, and of any standardized procedures that have been adopted or of any unusual conventions that have evolved. Inefficient communication can often be traced solely to uncertainty about the forms that different messages should take.

But it must be emphasized that no training in communication can be complete. At best it can only serve to encourage in the students a more critical faculty (both for their own work and for the work of others), to give them more confidence, and to enable them to profit from their subsequent experiences. Learning to communicate better is a life-time's work; anyone who thinks he has nothing more to learn about it has not in fact begun. And to say nothing whatever can be the most disastrous communication of all.

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standard works are omitted because they are more likely to shatter the confidence of a student than to encourage him.

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CHAPTER XX

THE UNIVERSITIES AND MANAGEMENT TRAINING

By D. CLEGHORN THOMSON, M.A.(EDIN.), B.A.(OXON.), F.R.S.E.

THERE are, perhaps, two main facets to this question of the relation of the universities to management training:

First, the matter of young potential industrialists getting from the colleges in their undergraduate days the kind of training which will equip them well to face the kind of decisions they will later have to make as industrialists; and industry recruiting a larger section of its potential managers from the colleges in the normal way.

Secondly, the question of the universities arranging at the behest of industry shorter courses for adults (whether graduates or not) who have already entered employment for some time; and "shot in the arm" or refresher courses to give something special and stimulating to managers-in-the-making, which will be part of their unique educational contribution as centres of higher learning.

The first aspect is quite straightforward. The team of industrialists who visited the U.S.A. under the auspices of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity made five clear recommendations—

1. Recruit a larger proportion of persons educated in full-time courses at the universities. . . .

2. Afford such persons ample scope and encouragement so that full benefit may be gained from their education.

3. Encourage specialist members of staff to place their knowledge at the disposal of the universities and technical colleges for instructional purposes.

4. Provide facilities for the initiation and training of recruits from universities . . . in specific fields in cases where such provision is not now made.

5. Extend facilities for releasing staff for higher education.

In general there is a steady improvement in the attitude of British industry towards the intake of graduate trainees, and most of the

universities have given thought to the suitability of their general and specialized courses in the equipment of future business executives. There is little controversy in this field on either side. It is in the matter of what the colleges can give to executives and middle managers that there has been less clear thinking.

I quote some stimulating words by two Catholic university men contributed some years ago to *Humanitas*. For me they help to set the background for this discussion admirably.

Thomas Fish: "Perhaps the word which best expresses the note of a medieval *studium generale* (later called a university) is the word 'integrity' (I borrow it, from Newman), or 'wholeness,' which derives from order. Order, as the medievalists said, is arrangement according to some principle, whether it be the order of books in a library or of persons in a community, or of ideas and ideals in the individual's person or science.

It may be stated, not as a criticism but as a fact, that at first and even at second view the universities we know present the appearance of an incoherent collection of courses with no consistency of direction other than the examinations in specific subjects, and the careers to which, it is hoped, success in those examinations may lead."

There are those who see in the enormous growth of specialization, during the last century and to date, a cause of the loss for students and teachers alike of that sense of the sciences which once prevailed in university discipline.

John McCabe: "Throughout the Middle Ages there had been attempts, however feeble, to implement the idea that the office of the wise man is to direct; in the affairs of commerce, for instance. Theories of the just price, of fair dealing, of the relations of master and servant, were evolved by clerical theorists embodied in canon law and enforced by the courts.

In shifting the practical emphasis from metaphysics to science the Renaissance represented a change of viewpoint from that of 'being' to that of 'becoming' and the concentration on becoming has reached its climax in evolutionary materialism which, as Maritain remarked, 'involves a radical appetite for "the new," an appetite not for "the other" as perfect, but for "the other" as "other," and whose prophet has said 'our task is not to explain the world but to manage it.' We must return to an emphasis on 'being' and stability."

I was most impressed by an article in *The Manager* (December, 1953) by Iain Hird, then assistant in the Department of Organization of

Industry and Commerce in the University of Edinburgh, who had recently visited the United States, on the management training scheme sponsored by the B.I.M., and more particularly by the following paragraphs—

> "If the universities are to play their part in our society—a part which has an undeniable social content—they must recognize a social obligation to pay some attention to the training of industrial leaders specifically as such, and not merely as a by-product of the purer pursuits of the humanities (purer, one sometimes suspects, merely because they are old-established).... management education relies on the fundamental precept of the systematization or disciplining of doubt. . . . In a wider sense, the systematization of doubt is hardly a strange thesis in academic disciplines. The philosopher seeks much the same ends, but he is spared the necessity of decision making."

There is a danger latent in the present courses at some of the universities, in both the older and newer foundations, of the university teachers undertaking work which might be more profitably done either in technical colleges or in courses run within industry. I think it is important that the universities, if they are going to play their part effectively in this field, should only do the things which they can do much better than other people.

I do not think that industry wants the universities to undertake vocational courses, and I agree with the speaker at a recent Henley discussion who suggested that if theoretical university courses were what was wanted by industrial leaders, it did not matter very much what was studied—history, literature or philosophy.

The organizers of the Oxford management courses stated as their aim—

> "To go at least some way to create in the minds of the junior managers who attend an increased mental alertness and enthusiasm, an improved skill in stating a case, a knowledge of at least the existence of special techniques with which management should be familiar, and a sense of the wider context in which their own specialist functions have a place."

The last sentence is the most important, but I doubt whether the universities are as good at improving skill in stating a case as other agencies have now become. I do not think the universities are the places to teach a knowledge of the special techniques with which

management should be familiar. I presume they are talking about psychological techniques for use in selection and statistical and accounting techniques. The universities are well-equipped to increase mental alertness, and to imbue visiting students with a better understanding of the main concepts of economics regarding national income, investment and the theory of employment. Fundamentally, what is wanted is this systematization or disciplining of doubt, and the training of the potential manager's mind in the weighing of priorities, and the philosophical background of management behaviour.

Surely it is for the Urwick courses in technical colleges to impart knowledge of legal concepts and the handling of "the foreign policy of firms in their relations with trade unions, local authorities and Whitehall."

I am at a loss to know what new and skilled information economic dons at the older universities or at "redbrick," can bring to this teaching, whereas they are in a strong position with regard to ". . . the wider context in which specialist functions have a place."

Seeking for the present approach to the problem of management teaching by the university in both its aspects, I got into correspondence with three university leaders: Sir David Lindsay Keir, Master of Balliol; Sir Robert Wood, late Vice-Chancellor of the University of Southampton; and Canon Raven, formerly Warden of Madingley Hall, Cambridge, referring to my quotation from Mr. Hird's article and my reaction to it. They have had wide experience of men aiming at entering industry or stepping out of it to seek help in an academic environment. They have kindly allowed me to quote from their letters.

Sir Robert Wood wrote—

"I do feel that the universities may be tempted to go outside their real province; indeed, I suspect that some of our present courses and not a few of our students might more appropriately and effectively be dealt with in the major technical and commercial institutions.

You are concerned, I gather, with short courses for folk already engaged in industrial or business administration. Here I draw a distinction between education and training. Education has as its primary purpose the development of a good mind and the power and inclination to think, combined with establishing a sound sense of values: this is the real job of a university. Training in the sense of training in processes and techniques can, I suggest, only effectively be given on the job. Thus, to illustrate from the undergraduate stage, the university can no

doubt teach young men something about engineering and the sciences fundamental to it, and turn them out, we may hope, with lively and inquiring minds, but they will only become engineers after they have had substantial practical experience.

Thus, in relation to our present problem, my belief is that men in industry and business will largely have to learn the detail and techniques of administration on the job. This is not to say that there is no knowledge of methods and techniques that cannot with advantage be brought before visiting students' minds in short courses, though I have always understood that concerns are so different that it is not too easy to arrive at any business philosophy of general application. In any event I should have thought that the normal don—even the economist —without practical experience would hardly be an effective leader. It might be a case of the blind leading the partially sighted.

On the other hand, as you say and I fully agree, the universities are equipped to stimulate mental alertness and to introduce visiting students to the wider concepts, the context in which, or the background against which, the potential or actual manager has to carry on his work. It is indeed in this business of sharpening minds and widening outlooks that the university can make a proper and real contribution.

There is another point in my mind. While no doubt we can have effective full-time teachers of law, economics, statistics, accountancy, etc., all applicable to business and management, I am doubtful about the efficiency of the full-time teachers of 'management' in general terms. How are they to keep up to date in a changing world? Much of the strength of our technical teaching rests on the part-time teacher who is constantly in touch with up-to-date practice and development."

Canon C. E. Raven wrote—

"We in the universities are in no way qualified to compete with technical colleges nor with the technical training given in industry— I include most of economics and psychology in this technical training. What we can do is what you describe as disciplining doubt—giving a man bewildered by a mass of detail and by practical considerations the ability to see his problem in its larger setting, to link his special issue with a clear general principle, to place the tree in its relation to the wood. This cannot be done by a mass of 'professional' discussions unless they can be taken leisurely and steered by someone who knows how to discriminate between the superficial and casual and the serious and permanent elements in the case.

I believe it is this illuminating of a fundamental issue, e.g. a problem

like that of freedom and authority, which is worth hammering at: it may be a problem in history or in philosophy or in ethics: study it in relation to its present practical manifestations: that is, I think, all that can be profitably done in a fortnight or three weeks."

Sir David Lindsay Keir, Master of Balliol College, Oxford wrote:

"It seems that between the points of view of those familiar with the experience in this matter of an old-established Oxford college, an old college and a new university hall at Cambridge, and the background of 'redbrick' both in Southampton and Belfast, there is a large measure of agreement on the limitations and potentialities of the university contribution.

I don't know about this 'undeniable social content' or the 'social obligation' which Hird mentions; these words seem to me to make assumptions which are very disputable. I would prefer to say that if the country wants to send a larger number of young men to the universities, as it evidently does, and we accept them, as we do, the country has a right to expect value for money.

With regard to preparation for the professions, we probably do give value for money, though perhaps through processes which underwrite themselves; that is to say, that you can't pretty well become a doctor, parson, lawyer or so on without a university degree, because the university men have so arranged things.

However, nobody expects us to train all the additional recruits we get into still more parsons, doctors, lawyers, etc. It would not, I think, be a bad idea if we were to do that—especially for the Church—but that doesn't seem to be what is wanted. What is wanted is, apparently, improved recruits for industry and commerce, rather than that we should flood the professions.

I think Hird is wrong in saying that the purer disciplines are only purer because they are older: the real reason is that they relate to the kind of life in which *professional* outlook and standards are all-important.

I don't think the universities do badly by business: they are constantly in search of our scientists, and even the poor, despised arts chap, having been told that the university has done little or nothing to improve him from the businessman's point of view and may even have done some harm, quite often finds that notwithstanding all that he gets offered jobs on a plate. This happens almost irrespective of what school he has read or what class he has got.

Strictly speaking, I think the responsibility of the university, as such, has been completed at this point if, having been sent a whole lot more

people who by definition ought not to be additional recruits to the professions, we have fed them back into industry as scientists, administrators, managers, etc., we have done as well for industry as for the professions, and we would be well advised to drop things at that point and let industry do the rest.

If, however, we are wanted at the post-graduate level, I agree that we should be prepared to come in again; primarily I suppose, in order to give something of the university outlook and habit of mind—if business really values that sufficiently—to businessmen who haven't had a university training.

One must be very careful about defining what we can do. I agree with you that we can't teach industry how to conduct its own business, not that we are unfamiliar with business or very unsuccessful at conducting our own—our colleges would not have lasted hundreds of years, if we had been bad businessmen—but because every business, ours included, requires its own special kinds of techniques and is best qualified to impart them, mainly I suppose through practical experience.

On the other hand, I think it is out of the question to impart the university outlook and habit of mind in a short course; to endeavour to try to do so might in fact do more harm than good.

If there is to be any participation by the universities at this post-graduate level, I think it ought to be rather on Administrative Staff College lines, open to people of managerial position, or those who are potentially of that calibre, whether they have already been to universities or not. If they have already been to universities, so much the better; I think they would act as guides to the rest.

The subject of their studies should be professional; they should learn to see other worlds of experience through that with which they are themselves familiar, i.e., to pick up economics not as abstractions on which one bases reasoning, but as propositions which can be arrived at through practical experience; and the same for such subjects as political institutions and organization, psychology, philosophy, history and so forth. To take busy and promising business people off their jobs for six months or more to study Plato, Aristotle, Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* and Bishop Berkeley's *Treatise Concerning Principles of Human Knowledge* strikes me, at that stage of their life anyhow and in this particular context, to be a mere waste of time.

I don't think that much less than six months would be of any use. In that time, however, a properly selected group of men might really get to know each other and their tutors thoroughly and grapple with

some main subjects, approaching them through their own practical experience, and not the other way round, and go back to their business, which is certainly where they should go back to, with a knowledge of 'the wider context in which their own specialist functions have a place.'

In short, I agree that universities ought only to do what they can do properly—that they ought not to try to teach specialist techniques, not even in handling public relations or negotiating with trade unions, or any of these things. A university is, above all, a place where studies can be interrelated and in which people can be trained to do that kind of interrelating quickly and intelligently and smoothly. If somehow or other we could make that offering to industry at a post-graduate level, I should be all for trying to do it."

The papers reporting what happened at the first experimental managers' course at Madingley revealed an impressive body of work. To my mind, they showed what could be done effectively in a post-graduate year on management problems. I do not think this is so appropriate for use in three-week courses for the group aimed at. It would be more suitable if aimed at management-study teachers, who are more used to reading and assimilating written matter, and who would be rendered more effective in their teaching in technical colleges by such a course. Middle management (junior category) should have either a whole term of this kind of training, or a shorter period with fewer lectures and much simpler briefing. The reading lists would have to be much shorter, and simplified, and the briefings geared to the students' background. The early reports showed the pervading confusion in the minds of students, and a lot of "giving back" of lecture notes. The course was, in short, striving to do far too much in too short a time.

Simple introductions, with tutors sitting in on discussions, with an industrially experienced onlooker present to guide and answer questions, to suggest initial reading, and to keep discussions on the rails, would be a better plan. The don can underline the principles it is sought to underline, and by his interventions provide many opportunities for students to see the functioning of a first-class academic mind. I find that university dons are too apt to feel that they are not "doing their stuff" unless they give set lectures, whereas the most important thing for them to do is to give examples of how Plato or Aristotle or Socrates might have answered a business question which involves a knowledge of philosophy and human psychology. This is exactly

what is now happening at Madingley Hall and with conspicuous success. The course has improved out of all recognition.

It is not for universities to teach middle managers "to handle people and figures," and I am beginning to doubt whether their best contribution can come in the form of a "shot in the arm" course. I believe a longer span is necessary. It is the job, surely, of universities to train "philosopher kings" and not accountants, statisticians or authorities on law and economics in relation to business, The steady growth in importance of joint consultation and industrial democracy merely increases the significance of the universities' potential contribution.

Many of us may feel that what the universities have to give can only be given at its best over a longer period of study and discussion—that a term is the shortest suitable stretch, and that it would be ideal for managers to be dotted about the colleges, living with other undergraduates and post-graduate students, attending a selection of the normal university provision, and meeting also in seminars under specially chosen tutors attached to a designated unit at the centre. But we have to be realistic about this, and recognize the virtual impossibility of the appropriate students being released for longer than a month.

This brings forward for stressing the fact that, while the way the tutors handle the courses is a matter of paramount importance, the suitable selection of students is equally vital. If the men who attend the courses are just those who can best be spared, rather than those who are most likely to profit, the ideal result will not be achieved.

There is also the question of administration. In one university the course has been rendered effective largely through the help of the Appointments Committee, with its close contacts with industrial employers; in another, supervision has been left to the University Extension Department. In a third, a group of graduate business men have made the plans in co-operation with Economic tutors. There can be no one way of organizing such courses, and each of those tried hitherto has its virtues to commend it.

EPILOGUE

MANAGEMENT AND HUMAN RELATIONS

By The Rt. Hon. Lord Citrine, P.C., K.B.E., LL.D., Comp.I.E.E.

A great many people are impatient with books about management. They feel that all too often such books are written by those who have no really first-hand experience of management. It is one thing to lay down precepts and rules, and it is another to carry them out, and the practical men are sometimes irritated to the point when they are not prepared to read anything new.

It has been all too often assumed that management skill is something which can be acquired merely through experience and the exercise of common sense. This is no doubt true in a limited sense, and where undertakings of small size affecting a comparatively few employees are concerned, it may be basically correct. In the small business there may not be much that can be done to improve management by an acquisition of theoretical concepts of management and administration.

I am well aware that a major part of the firms who are carrying on British industrial and commercial life are classified as being small employers. We have to look beyond them, however, and think of the growing tendency towards the big unit in modern business, where something more than rule-of-thumb methods is needed to enable sound policy to be formed and to maintain proper contact with the employees.

Old ideas die very hard and there are probably still many people who sniff contemptuously at the growing volume of literature which is now obtainable upon the subject of business administration and management.

This book is different from many of its kind. First, its scope is infinitely wider and is founded on a great deal of practical experience. The list of contributors commands respect, and it cannot be doubted by even the most sceptical that the authors know what they are talking about. None of them seeks to pose as possessing unchallengeable

authority, but all of them have learned something which, when gathered within the compass of a single volume, makes an impressive body of reading, which even the most experienced can study with advantage.

In looking through the chapters, one thing emerges with greater and greater emphasis: the fundamental problem of management lies in the sphere of human relations. That certainly corresponds with my own experience. A certain social consciousness has grown up among industrialists in my lifetime, which impels them not only to provide good working conditions for their employees, but to regard them as individuals and not as mere instruments of efficient production. Alexander Pope wrote many years ago "The proper study of mankind is man," and this remains true today in whatever sphere man is found. Human beings are no longer looked upon as mere cogs in the machine of production. They are thought of as individuals, with families and domestic responsibilities, and lives of their own. No one nowadays doubts that the attitude of employees to the ideas and conceptions of our time is greatly influenced by the conditions of their normal working life.

I have always hated the importation of materialistic language in the sphere of human relations. Talk of "selling" the idea of welfare to workers, or of a scheme of joint consultation "paying dividends" has always invoked in me a sense of resentment. Such phrases convey the impression of having driven a bargain with the employee, which has resulted in material benefits to the bargainer. It coarsens the conception of human relationship, which should be concerned primarily with the employee as an individual, and not merely with his productive efficiency.

I am very well aware of the important part that material incentives and rewards play in the efficient organization of production, but I am absolutely sure that no lasting solution of the relations between employers and workpeople can be obtained along that route.

The contributors, in their various ways, fully recognize this. One says that the great art of management is not so much the ability to make men do certain jobs as the ability to make them want to do those jobs; another, that experiments in the United States have established that the morale and efficiency of work-people are improved by the realization that employers care about them as individuals.

It would indeed be a narrow conception of efficiency which excluded consideration of the individuality of the employee, and the most

far-sighted managements aim at avoiding the extremes of patronage on the one hand and appealing solely to the acquisitive instincts of their employees on the other.

As is pointed out by some contributors, suspicion and distrust have unfortunately become all too common in large-scale industry. Undoubtedly, many education, welfare, training and health schemes, although quite sincerely intentioned, have been prejudiced by this feeling. At one time, and that not so many years ago, most trade unionists firmly believed that such schemes were promoted for the main purpose of keeping work-people out of their trade unions. Judging from American industrial history of a generation ago, that suspicion was by no means groundless. Nowadays, the trade unions, far from being hostile, readily co-operate in industrial welfare and all that is associated with efficient organization and management.

During my lifetime there has been a remarkable change of outlook in the sphere of industrial administration. Over twenty-five years ago, in an address to trade unionists, I observed "The creation of large units is resulting in a higher technique, both of directorship and management, and the responsibilities accompanying the making of decisions in these undertakings tend, I believe, towards the creation of a better type of industrial leader."

In the intervening years I have watched the evolution of an industrial statesmanship and a widening conception, both of the technique and the responsibilities of management. No longer is management to be viewed as something to be exercised either by rule-of-thumb or by a narrow specialization.

A broadening of vision and awareness of the relationship between decisions made in the sphere of policy and management and the best interests of the community is taking place. This must eventually lead to the conception of trusteeship, which one of the contributors so clearly points out.

This book will assist in that process.

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