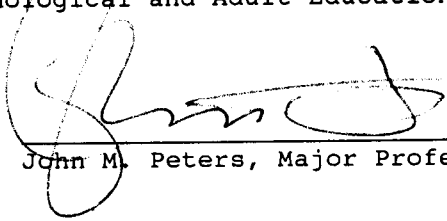
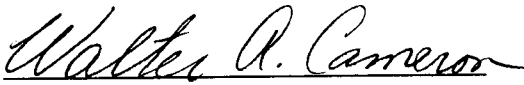
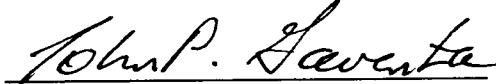


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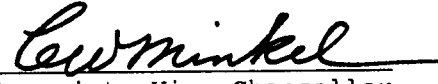
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by John Robert Dew entitled "An Evaluation of Education for Creating Industrial Democracy." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, with a Major in Technological and Adult Education.


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AN EVALUATION OF EDUCATION FOR CREATING
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Education

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

John Robert Dew

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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to examine how a group of supervisors responds to training designed to help them develop democratic leadership skills. It used an action research method, involving supervisors in training which provides an opportunity for reflection on leadership roles and skill building in areas essential to democratic leadership.

The study employed a chronological time series analysis using a pre-workshop written self-assessment, videotaping of role playing exercises, a post-workshop written evaluation, and focus group interviews conducted ten weeks after the training.

Findings from the study were:

1. Supervisors clearly perceived the training to be useful to them in preparing them to become democratic leaders.
2. Supervisors did not exhibit resistance as predicted in the review of literature, but did share new insights regarding their concerns about becoming democratic leaders.
3. Supervisors did perceive that they had changed their views on leadership as a result of the training.
4. Supervisors did perceive that they had improved specific skills needed to function as democratic leaders.
5. Supervisors did not identify immediate changes in their

behavior which they thought might be a result of the training,
but identified reasons for delays in changing their behaviors.

The numerous claims in the literature that companies should
invest in training in order to create a more participative climate
are supported by this study. This action research project also
confirms the use of emancipatory learning processes as beneficial
in the work environment.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

From its earliest days, adult education in America has claimed that maintenance and growth of democracy is a prime objective of the field of adult education. For instance, in the very first issue of the Journal of Adult Education, published in 1929, Glenn Frank, from the University of Wisconsin, refers to adult education as "the firing line of democracy." Major writers in adult education, from Eduard Lindeman (1956) to Stephen Brookfield (1990) have written on the essential role of adult education in reinforcing democratic processes.

Many of these leaders in adult education have focused on the role of adult education in creating democracy in the workplace. Some of these advocates have worked from the university and school setting, while others have participated in the workers education movement. The interest in democracy among adult educators involves many places where education can influence peoples' interest and ability to participate in a democratic system.

The issue of workplace democracy not only impacts the economic part of peoples' lives, but may also impact how democratic principles are applied to the wider society. If people are accustomed to accepting autocracy at work they may

be disillusioned about participating in government in their community. As multinational companies spread their autocratic practices into developing nations they may set back the inroads for democracy by encouraging people to become compliant and obedient workers.

Adult education is clearly the primary strategy for introducing democracy into the workplace. But while the primary role of education for democracy is well recognized, the specific types of education needed to create democratic behavior remains a matter of broad speculation. There are few academic studies which have attempted to analyze what is actually occurring in the corporate environment today. This lack of information provides the motivation for this dissertation research.

Many researchers have found that the most difficult aspect of creating a democratic workplace involves changing the role of the supervisor. Supervisors are often the people most resistant to implementing a more participative work environment and they are also the most important people to have involved. Selekman (1924), Cole (1957), Klein (1984), Lovrich (1985), Bean (1986), and Collins (1987), all agree on this observation. But in spite of the importance of the involvement and perceptions of supervisors, there is little information on the effectiveness of adult education to help change supervisors' beliefs and behavior regarding democratic leadership.

Purpose

This dissertation examines how a group of supervisors responds to training designed to help them develop democratic leadership skills. This action research poses several basic questions:

- (1) Is this specific training program for supervisors, based on input from the literature and from other democratic team leaders, perceived by the supervisors as beneficial in terms of helping them change their leadership styles?
- (2) What can be learned about how the supervisors in this project see themselves, the people that work for them, and their organization from the perspective of changing to a democratic leadership style?
- (3) Will the supervisors perceive a change in their views on leadership and their ability to lead in a democratic manner?
- (4) Will the supervisors identify changes in their leadership behavior after participation in the training program?

In addition, the supervisors' response to the training program will be compared to the literature to confirm or question the widely held belief that training is the key to creating democratic leadership behaviors.

Significance of The Study

In addition to social principles, there are strong economic reasons for conducting this research. A survey by the American Productivity and Quality Center (1989) found that 84.1% of the respondents, who are managers in major corporations, said they have attended some number of sessions related to employee involvement within the last three years. Most said that the training they attended was part of an ongoing improvement effort at their organization. Over 82% reported that the cost for their training session exceeded \$1,000 per participant. With this level of investment by industry, it would be beneficial to have additional information about the effectiveness of training for changing roles and behaviors in the workplace.

The American Society for Training and Development (1991) conducted a survey of Human Resource Development managers in major corporations. The survey revealed that 75% of the managers' companies had introduced some form of activity aimed at fostering some degree of democratic activity. Of these companies, 68% were involved in team building activities and 57% were experimenting with participative management.

Each work setting varies in its conditions. Leadership skills, historical efforts, policies, and approaches to workplace education will be different in every organization. Therefore there can be no exact formula for democratizing the workplace. However, with

so many companies pursuing a common objective, as noted by both the American Productivity and Quality Center and the American Society for Training and Development, it would be advantageous to identify a common methodology to guide the democratization process.

As the review of literature chapter reveals, one critical step in the democratization process centers around the education of supervisors to prepare them to become democratic leaders. Numerous studies show that the failure to accomplish this step has undermined the democratization process over and over again.

There is probably no greater challenge for adult educators at this time than to establish the optimal educational process to support democratization efforts in the workplace. This challenge gives adult educators an opportunity to contribute directly to the economic well being of the nation and to fulfill one of the major goals towards which the profession of adult education was developed.

Action Research

The action research method employed in this dissertation is a form of field research which allows the researcher to investigate an actual life problem and present empirical information within the social and historical conditions where the situation exists.

Researchers utilize action research and other participatory methods when they believe that the information produced from an experimental setting would be artificial and of no practical value.

Susman (1978) has described action research as a cyclical research process which evolved from John Dewey's five phases of reflective thinking. These phases are the identification of a problem, the consideration of alternative courses, taking a course of action, studying the consequences of the action, and identifying the general findings regarding the results of the action on the system in which the action was taken.

Brown (1983) attributes action research to Kurt Lewin's cycles of analysis. These include "fact finding, conceptualization, planning, implementation and evaluation to simultaneously solve problems and generate new knowledge" (p. 278). Action research is typically utilized, according to Brown, in industrial settings where the research is focused on "useful knowledge" and "developmental change" (p. 281).

In the case of this research project, the identification of the problem came from an actual work situation involving the democratization of a specific work place. Alternative courses were considered through the information included in the review of literature. A course of action was taken,

as described in detail in the Appendix of this document.

The consequences of the action and the general findings resulting from the action are the substance of this dissertation.

Weisbord (1989) has cited the many uses of action research in industry for creating organizational change. Weisbord notes the advantages of this approach and also notes that unlike other research methods, action research does not lay false claim to the desirability or possibility of replication of research findings. "Every action-research project is different. You can't expect to repeat my procedures and get my results. Why? First, my procedures are not repeatable-exactly. They change with the people, facilities, history, local traditions, unique problems. Real life is not a chemistry lab where all the beakers are the same" (p. 188).

Definition of Terms

There is no agreed upon set of definition for the concepts and activities examined in this study. For the purpose of this study, the following definitions will be used for industrial democracy, autocratic management, employee involvement, participative management, quality or worklife programs (QWL), Quality Circles, and traditional supervision.

Industrial democracy is a term which was introduced in the

early 1900s. This term means the provision of decision making to employees within their companies, through the use of democratic processes, and requires the transition from autocratic to democratic leadership practices. While the company continues to be owned by external investors and guided by a board of directors, power for decision making in the company is shared with the employees. Industrial democracy can occur in companies where employees are organized by unions or in companies where employees do not have union representation.

Autocratic management styles are those in which power for decision making is concentrated in the hands of a small number of professional managers and the people in the workplace are not consulted or involved in decision making. This style may be benevolent or harsh, but it is still autocratic.

Traditional Supervisor is an individual who has front-line authority over individuals in the work place and who controls the planning, organizing, measurement, and feedback processes for the work group.

Employee involvement and participative management are two terms introduced in the last twenty years to describe the use of democratic behaviors without using the word democracy. The intent of these terms is quite similar to industrial democracy, but the concepts are couched in terms which will not be too threatening to autocratic power structures, allowing pro-democracy

managers to work within autocratic systems. Both terms indicate an effort to involve employees in decision making, but usually in a manner which does not officially share power with the employees.

Quality of Work Life programs are usually found within the context of organizations which have bargaining units. These programs are similar to employee involvement efforts in that they increase the level of involvement for employees in decision making, within limits agreed upon between union and management.

Quality Circles are an attempt to introduce democratic behavior to the factory floor for a very concise amount of time and for very limited purposes. This restricted form of participation invites employees to participate in improving a work process, but provides no formal role in making decisions or allocating resources.

Access to the Research Setting

This research project began from a request by a manager to help a division of over 200 people introduce democratic processes into their work environment. At the manager's request, a training program was developed for the thirty front-line supervisors in the division. The research in this dissertation focuses on the design, implementation, and results of that training.

At the time of the research, the researcher worked as a

training staff member with the company. The researcher had no managerial or other work involvement with the research subjects.

Whyte (1984) has described access routes to the research field setting as the most important part of the research process. The manager in the division served as the "gatekeeper" as identified by Whyte (p. 62) and Bogdan (p. 30). The purposes of the manager and the researcher were identical in facilitating the democratization process for this specific group and for contributing new knowledge regarding how to best train supervisors to become democratic leaders.

Limitations

Like all action research, this study can never be fully replicated. While the training materials and questionnaires are provided in the appendix, other variables, such as the culture of the organization in which the research may be conducted, will cause the results to vary.

This research does not seek to establish the definitive methodology for adult education to support democratization in the workplace. Research findings in this study are specific to this setting and are not extrapolated to apply to all work settings.

The researcher was explicitly instructed by his manager to avoid collecting data related to race, gender, or age of participants

in this or any other projects in the work environment. The people who work in this organization are protected under Affirmative Action laws which make such questions intrusive and difficult to justify.

Two of the research instruments utilized open-ended questions which allow the participants to answer in their own manner. This makes the categorization of data and frequency analysis more challenging. However, since collection of data with these instruments was completely anonymous, there was no rationale for participants to offer inaccurate opinions.

There are arguments both in favor and opposed to utilizing an internal member of an organization as the researcher. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) recommend that "researchers choose settings in which the subjects are strangers to them and in which they have no particular professional knowledge or expertise" (p. 28). Bogdan and Taylor are concerned that the researcher who is familiar with the subjects will take sides, or see things from only one perspective.

In conducting research within the business setting, Love (1991) argued the opposite point of view. The internal researcher has first-hand knowledge of the research setting, more ability to tailor evaluation methods to "the reality of the organization" and a long term commitment which creates positive working relationships with management (p. 4). Furthermore, the internal research, in Love's opinion, can reduce the normal anxiety felt

within a group caused by having an outside presence observing the group's activities.

In this particular case the researcher was known to the manager who served as the gatekeeper and had credibility within the management ranks. The researcher was not particularly well known to the people participating in the training workshop. The participants had no reason to alter their responses due to the status of the researcher. The participants knew that their input would be important in evaluating and modifying the workshop so they were provided with motivation to openly share their opinions.

Overview of the Dissertation

Chapter Two presents the literature related to training supervisors in order to help them learn democratic leadership skills. In Chapter Three the research methods are detailed, including a description of the instruments for collecting the data and the process for analyzing the data. Chapter Four provides the data and findings collected in the study. The conclusion from this research, based on the research questions posed in this first chapter, are presented in Chapter Five. The content of the training program and evaluation instruments are included in the Appendix.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The review of literature will first examine the historical perspectives of ideas and research involving education for democratizing industry from 1915 to the present. The review will focus on work by people in the adult education and social science fields, and will draw from the business education, management, and union leadership perspectives where appropriate.

Specific sections of the literature review will be devoted to the issues which set the stage for this research project, including resistance from supervisors to democratic leadership, the need for education to create a change in leadership styles, and opinions regarding the substance of this type of education.

The historical perspective is important for grounding this research in its proper context. Comstock (1982) pointed out the need for placing life situations within their historical context in order to better understand how people interpret their actions. Likewise, Whyte (1984) admonished field researchers to develop an understanding of the historical situation of their research question. Pilsworth and Ruddock (1988) also emphasized the role of history as a research approach which illuminated field research situations. With this in mind, the review of literature will begin by first examining the definitions of industrial democracy and

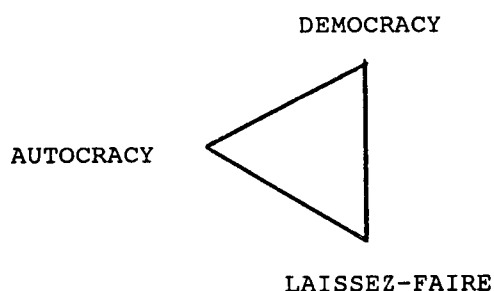
then reviewing the historical foundations of the current research questions.

Defining Industrial Democracy

The term "industrial democracy" is the oldest and broadest term used to describe the general field of involving workers in decision making in the workplace. While there are several approaches to defining the concept, most people who have attempted a definition recognize the inadequacy of any single definition.

One approach is to define industrial democracy by describing the individual components that it comprises. Daniel Zwerdling (1978) used this approach to break the concept into parts, such as Quality of Work Life programs, workplace humanization efforts, and worker self-management.

Another approach defines democracy in industry by examining the styles of behavior that leaders employ. Kurt Lewin (1945) proposed a model of organizational leadership styles, best seen as a triangle.



Both autocracy and democracy require leadership, according to Lewin, while laissez-faire is an absence of leadership. Autocracy and democracy stress discipline and group performance. Democracy and laissez-faire are similar in the freedom given to group members to act on their own motivation. Lewin stressed that the three styles are not a linear continuum, meaning that democracy does not fall between autocracy and laissez-faire.

Leland Bradford and Ronald Lippitt (1945) identified four leadership styles: hard-boiled autocrats, benevolent autocrats, laissez-faire, and democratic. Democratic leadership, according to Bradford and Lippitt, is a situation in which the "supervisor endeavors wherever possible to share with his group the decision-making about work-planning, assignment, and scheduling. Where a decision must be made by him, he helps the group to understand clearly the basis for his decision" (p. 54).

Victor Vroom (1975) also described leadership behaviors that can be used to define industrial democracy. Along with Philip Yetton and Art Jago, Vroom proposed three primary decision making styles employed by managers: autocratic, consultative, and group decision making.

Others have attempted to define industrial democracy by describing its function or parameters. Milton Derber (1970) provided an operational definition based on these principles: representation of the workers by a majority vote, participation through representatives or directly, equal rights and opportunities, freedom of speech and

right to dissent, due process for complaints, responsibility to live up to contracts, minimum standards of employment conditions, information about finances, and the dignity of every individual.

From a comparative study of companies organized along democratic lines, Paul Bernstein (1976) established six minimally necessary components that must be present to consider a workplace democratic.

These are

- "1. Participation in decision-making, whether direct or by elected representation.
2. Frequent feedback of economic results to all employees.
3. Full sharing with employees of management-level information and, to an increasing extent, management-level expertise.
4. Guaranteed individual rights.
5. An independent board of appeal in case of disputes (comprised of peers as far as possible).
6. A particular set of attitudes and values (type of consciousness)." (p. 9)

Tom Schuller (1985) reviewed several efforts to organize the concept of industrial democracy, but he noted that it is difficult to offer a single framework because of the "swirl and the different contexts of workplace relations" (p. 4). Schuller believed that regardless of how one tries to define industrial democracy, the key issue depends on whether one bases the concept of change in the workplace on change occurring through conflict or on change occurring through achieving common interests.

Using the term "participation," Paul Bate and Iain Mangham (1981) observed the difficulty in describing the situation in the workplace. "Participation to managers, workforce, and ourselves

remains a shapeless term, a process which is evolving slowly into something recognizably different from a state of nonparticipation, but as yet not tightly defined in and of itself"(p. 184).

In reviewing joint labor and management cooperative efforts, Charlotte Gold (1986) observed that there is a dichotomy in approaches to democracy between those who seek to involve workers within the investor-owned business structure and those who seek to create a worker-owned business structure, or cooperative.

Frank Anton (1980), a Professor of Economics at the University of Calgary, advised exploring the basic causes for creating more participative work environments. One goal of worker participation is related to the ethical need to involve people in work decisions to motivate them and provide for their mental health. A second aim, according to Anton, is political or social: to extend democratic principles into the workplace. Economics forms a third objective, because worker participation can increase the efficiency and profitability of an enterprise. Anton observed that worker participation may be categorized as either direct or indirect. Direct participation includes effective communication, job enrichment, and semi-autonomous work groups. Indirect participation includes collective bargaining, work councils, and worker representatives on the board of directors.

The Historical Roots of Industrial Democracy

Concern regarding the autocratic nature of American business was widespread by the time the United States entered the First World War. The years leading up to the war focused the nation's attention on the competition between imperial and democratic forms of government and the comparative strength of industry in each system.

Henry Gantt (1916), one of the leading proponents of scientific management, expressed a great deal of concern about the contradiction of an autocratic industrial system working within a democratic society. True to the ideals of scientific management, Gantt strongly advocated the role of the engineer in providing industrial leadership, while attacking the role of financiers as leaders. Engineers must lead, according to Gantt, and they must involve the workers.

Gantt offered these thoughts about the involvement of workers in a task-oriented industrial setting: "Under a democratic system of government tasks may be set, but the worker must be made to feel that it is to his interest to perform them. It is safe to say that it is only under a task system of management that the highest development can be reached, and it is our problem therefore to develop a task system on the basis of democracy that will yield as good, or better, results than those now in operation under autocracy" (p. 52).

As Americans pondered their entry into the First World War and considered the industrial might of Imperial Germany, Gantt wondered

"if autocracy in industry is not just as much a phase in industrial development, as we in this country consider to be in political development" (p. 16).

Concern about industrial autocracy was expressed in the educational system as well as the business arena. The American educators had already split into two camps prior to the beginning of the Great War. Arthur Wirth (1977) noted that the primary creators of vocational training in the United States were David Sneden and Charles Prosser, who based their views about industrial education on a model in Imperial Germany in which separate vocational schools provided specific training for factory workers. Beginning in junior high school, students were "differentiated" into separate programs based on their "probable destinies" (p. 58). As Sneden said, "Having once conceived of the citizen as we should like to have him, we can work back to find the numberless specific forms of training by which we can produce this type" (p. 59). Vocational education would produce people immediately ready to work in factories, which was beneficial to both the students and the industrialists.

On the other hand, there were many educators who believed that workers should be educated to change the system of autocratic control. Among these were John Dewey, Ida Tarbell, and George Herbert Mead, who were active in the National Vocational Guidance Association, which split from Charles Prosser's National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education in 1913 over these issues.

Foremost among the advocates for democracy in education and industry stood John Dewey (1916), who summarized his thoughts in his book Democracy and Education. Looking back to Aristotle, Dewey suggested that our current paradigm for education is based on the Greek beliefs in a hierarchical society. Liberal education among the Greeks was reserved for the male power elite, while slaves, craftsmen, and women received training in specific tasks. This training provided economically valuable skills but no development in planning, organizing, and decision making.

If the United States continued along the path of Sneden and Prosser, Dewey foresaw a divided society in which workers would have no responsibility or involvement for their work. This "would give to the masses a narrow technical trade education for specialized callings, carried on under the control of others" (p. 319). Regarding the situation in industry, Dewey observed that:

"in the economic region, control remains external and autocratic. Hence the split between inner mental action and outer physical action of which the traditional distinction between the liberal and the utilitarian is the reflex. An education which should unify the disposition of the members of society would do much to unify society itself." (p. 260)

Dewey proposed a melding of technical and liberal education to give workers the means to participate, "to become masters of their industrial fate" (p. 320). Furthermore, Dewey saw a need to provide a broader knowledge base to workers so that they could learn new skills

when old ones became obsolete. However, Dewey saw a major obstacle to his goal in the presence of an autocracy in the country that had "a conscious object to prevent the development of freedom and responsibility" among the laboring classes (p. 310).

At the close of the World War, the country was in a high state of excitement and commitment to industrial democracy. One writer from this era, Jett Lauck (1926), who had been the Secretary of the National War Labor Board, described industrial democracy as full employment; full protection against sickness, accident, and old age; minimum wage; maximum wage; profit-sharing; abolition of absentee control; workers' control; and workers' ownership.

Lauck pointed out that having made the world safe for democracy, it was now time to bring democracy to the workplace. Major churches, which were involved with a movement known as the social gospel movement, supported the concept of industrial democracy. Lauck provides statements endorsing industrial democracy from Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and many other church bodies. The Northern Baptist Convention, for example, stated "the principle of democracy must find interpretation and realization in industrial relations" (p. 36).

Many political leaders were supportive of industrial democracy, according to Lauck, especially President Wilson. In an address by Wilson to the Congress in 1919, Wilson states his perspective: "The object of all reform in this essential matter must be the genuine

democratization of industry based upon a full recognition of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare" (p. 132).

There was support for industrial democracy from both the ranks of management and the unions. Lauck provides a 1919 Labor statement which proclaimed, "There can not be a full release of productive energy under autocratic control of industry. There must be a spirit of cooperation and mutuality between employers and workers" (p. 41). Edward Filene, president of a major retail store, called for industrial democracy "in which the employee has not only an adequate voice in the management and determination and control of work conditions, and an adequate stake in the results of work, but also, in addition, some guaranty that the management of the business shall be responsible and largely dependent for its rewards on its efficiency" (p. 77).

One well-documented example of an attempt toward industrial democracy was the Minnequa Steel Foundry in Pueblo, Colorado, a part of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, owned by John D. Rockefeller. The Minnequa program was studied by Ben Selekman (1924) under a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation. Minnequa's management initiated an Employee Representation Plan in 1916 to achieve "more effective cooperation" with the workers. Under the plan, workers in 11 foundry divisions elected representatives, formed joint employee-management councils, and had joint conferences of all representatives and

managers. The plan was voted on and approved by the workers, many of whom were members of small local unions, although there was no formal union-management relationship and no bargained contract.

Selekman noted that--while management made few obligations to take issues to the work councils for approval--the workers were free to raise any issue they wished. Minnequa's joint committees were responsible for the foundry leading the country in creating an actual 8 hour work day in 1918.

Involvement of the workers also led to other changes observed by Selekman. Safety was improved because of many employee suggestions, sanitary conditions were greatly improved (which was an important point during the fatal influenza epidemic), and medical facilities were also improved. The joint committee was also used for reviewing wages. Employee representatives toured steel mills in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania and were involved in setting wage rates. During one period of downturn, the employees decided on a 15% pay cut to stay competitive.

Despite broad support, the move for industrial democracy faltered over the role that unions would play in the workplace. Lauck credits a group of "reactionary employers" with being opposed to unions and creating "the alleged open-shop movement." At Minnequa, for example, steel workers supported the American Federation of Labor's national steel strike in 1919. After the strike failed, returning workers had to sign an "open-shop" pledge.

Samuel Gompers (1920), the leader of the American Federation of Labor, cautioned people to be skeptical about ideas put forth by "experts" who had helped in war production but who had no actual labor experience. These "experts" advocated the use of committees, stock ownership programs, representation on boards of directors, and profit-sharing programs that would all fail, Gompers declared, because they really did not involve the workers in decision making.

Looking over the range of proposals in 1920, Gompers observed: "There has yet to appear the first employer or industrial expert-made 'industrial democracy' plan which contemplates the existence of trade union organization as the expression of the worker's desire in the plant. There is present in every case subtle efforts to delude the workers into the belief that they are exercising a voice in industry when as a matter of fact the employer holds the veto and deciding power" (p. 308). Gompers suggested that these efforts are put forth in some cases to prevent workers from joining trade unions where they would have truly elected democratic representation.

In Gompers' view, the issue of participation was too important to jump into in a partial manner. "Industrial democracy is the great goal of the future. It is the thing to which the eyes of men are turned. It must and will be a real democracy of industry. No sham will do" (p. 309). Gompers observed, "There is a growing consciousness of the determination on the part of the workers to put an end to all that savors of industrial autocracy. With this object

in view, the workers of America will continue to agitate, educate, and organize into trade unions and through their trade unions fight their own battles for industrial freedom, industrial justice, and industrial democracy" (p. 309).

Samuel Gompers clearly believed that true democracy in the workplace could only be achieved where workers were organized into trade unions that would have the union as a national spokesman for the workers. In his last speech to the American Federation of Labor in 1924, Gompers stated that "the only influence of power which challenges this employer's autocracy and dictatorship is the American labor movement of our country, and all other democratic industrial countries."

Gompers' right arm in the American Federation of Labor, William Walling (1926), maintained that "organized labor works for the constant extension of this beginning of democratic government in industry" (p. 48). According to Walling, democracy in industry would consist of collective bargaining coupled with a voice in the management of the business.

Other labor leaders were also supportive of the concept of industrial democracy, although they may have differed from Gompers on how it could be achieved. Huey Long (1990) chronicled the efforts of Fannia Mary Cohn, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, who worked in the 1920s on establishing workers' education programs for her union and for the American Federation of

Labor. The major purpose of organizing workers' education, according to Cohn, was to train "a small minority to lead their fellows to a land of industrial democracy" (p. 182).

The Roaring Twenties

As the American economy began a feverish expansion in the 1920s, there were several developments toward industrial democracy. In the private sector, new labor-management efforts grew and new voices supported the concept. Also the decade saw the re-creation of a nineteenth century enterprise, the cooperative.

Jett Lauck observed that there were two broad forms of industrial democracy that were supported by labor and management. One was the Whitley Council developed in Britain during the war, which was an approach for management-union joint committees. Lauck provides data from the National Industrial Conference Board to show that by 1924 over 1 million American workers were participating in Works Councils based on the Whitley Council. William Walling explicitly stated his support for the Works Councils set up at the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This plan--like plans at Standard Oil, International Harvester, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and many others--sought to expand the role of workers in decision making through their elected union representatives.

A second initial move toward democracy was through the fledgling employee stock option plan. Lauck's data showed that over 6 million

workers were employee stockholders in 1923, but that the amount of holdings was "relatively insignificant" (p. 109).

Educators continued to hold an interest in democracy in the workplace. Mary Parker Follett (1942) was active in vocational education and business education in America and in Great Britain. In a 1927 paper entitled "The Psychology of Consent and Participation," Follett contends that democracy means far more than mere representation and consent to actions, but must include the active participation of the people in thinking and in cofunctioning. Citing several industrial examples of participative democracy, Follett observes that participation can be obtained in three ways: "by an organization which provides for it, by a daily management which recognizes and acts on the principle of participation, and by a method of settling differences, or a method of dealing with the diverse contributions of men very different in temperament, training, and attainments" (p. 213).

Individual and group needs must be joined, Follett suggested, to have effective participation. Individuals must have a "consciousness of unity" where they feel responsibility to themselves and to the group. This can then lead unions to join with management to solve industrial problems, according to Follett (p. 216).

In the 1920s the field of adult education in the United States began to develop a clear identity with professionals who saw their work as a profession with definable boundaries. One of

the major issues for adult education was the issue of forming and sustaining democratic behaviors in the wide public arena and in the work place.

Speaking at the dedication of the Milwaukee Extension building for adult education for the University of Wisconsin, Glenn Frank (1929) stated, "This adult education building is located on one of the hottest firing lines of democracy. A valid democracy is impossible without a vital education" (p. 23). Frank's message was considered important enough within the adult education community to be included in the first issue of the Journal of Adult Education. Frank considered adult education to be central to the reform of the American educational system, and he believed that this reform would be "fundamental to the increase, the enrichment, and the moral unification of American democracy" (p. 25).

The Roaring Twenties also saw the rebirth of the movement toward worker-owned businesses known as cooperatives. In 1923 the Co-operative League of the USA was founded. According to James Warbasse (1947), who served as president of the league, the role of democracy in the cooperative is through control of the business, not in running it. The people form the business, elect a board of directors, and "employ executives as experts to run the business. Co-operation is a method whereby the democratically organized mass call to their service experts to serve the people. This is the essence of the movement" (p. 13).

The Depression Years

The Depression, which overshadowed the entire decade of the 1930s, dealt a crushing blow to industries, labor, and industrial democracy alike. In an era of failing business and brutal labor-management disputes, much ground was lost in creating democracy in the American workplace. Clearly it was the field of adult education which sustained a continued focus on developing industrial democracy and adult educators who were the champions of democracy during this decade of depression and developing fascism.

When Americans looked to Europe, they saw little to confirm the movement toward democracy. While British efforts to democratize the workplace fell to the same economic plague, the Germans and Italians began to pull themselves out of the economic nightmare through autocratic governments.

The challenge to democracy from fascism was a primary force in creating the adult education movement as seen in the contributions of three adult educators from this era, Dorothy Hewitt (1937), Moses Coady (1939), and Eduard Lindeman (1956).

It was in this context of failed democracies in Europe and growing despotism in Germany, Italy, and Spain that Dorothy Hewitt wrote her guidebook for adult education, Adult Education: A Dynamic

For Democracy. Confronted with a growing profascist movement in America, Hewitt cited the "imperative need for revitalizing of the spirit of democracy" to "resolve the age-old paradox of the individual in society in terms of freedom for the individual in the midst of restraint conducive to the common welfare of all" (p. 2).

The answer to the need for revitalizing democracy could be found in adult education, according to Hewitt. As a nation, "collectively tired from the long and unsuccessful battle" with the Great Depression, Hewitt observed that the forces of democracy were at low ebb. "To strengthen and invigorate the dynamic for democracy" must become a key part of the role of education (p. 3).

One of the places where adult learning could provide support for democracy, Hewitt believed, was in the workplace where individual responsibility must be increased. Hewitt hoped that "autocracy in business and industry, through the domination of small controlling groups" would be "replaced by more cooperative procedures with a lessening of the tension between employees and employers" (p. 2).

Another proponent of adult education and industrial democracy in the 1930s was Moses Coady, a Jesuit priest and professor at Xavier University in Nova Scotia. Coady began working with miners in the 1920s to establish study clubs as "an effort to educate the people by assisting them to become masters of their own economic destiny" (p. ix). Coady's educational movement for economic self-determination expanded in 1929 to involve Xavier University in

"education of the fishermen; giving them a voice in formulating the policies relating to their industry; initiating them in a program of consumers' and producers' cooperation" (p. 50).

Adult education was viewed by Coady as the key to democracy and to economic self-determination. Adult education should focus first on economic learning toward the creation of labor-owned cooperatives. "It is good pedagogy from several viewpoints, to begin with the economic phase," Coady argued. "A man learns best when his interests are keenest and his needs determine his interests" (p. 112).

As an example of the educational movement, Coady cited a group of fishermen involved in an adult education program in 1923 who built their own lobster factory cooperative, which showed a \$10,000 surplus in 1935. Coady believed that through the adult educational process, people are given the perspective and tools they need to control their own economic circumstances. He noted, " ... as the economic power and control of the people increase, they can create for themselves instruments that will permit them to voice their own case and cause. Thus will they be enabled to play a more effective part in building the new democratic society" (p. 134).

Eduard Lindeman, known by his contemporaries as "The Democratic Man," also expressed concerns regarding democracy in the workplace. In 1929 Lindeman suggested that companies which had been involved in participative management processes could be used as models for dealing with broader social issues. "It is possible that those companies that

have a wide distribution of ownership among the management and the employees would be able to contribute some very vital suggestions for solutions of the problems concerned with authority, responsibility and interest" (p. 108).

Stephen Brookfield (1987) recently organized many of Lindeman's journal publications into a single volume. In a 1935 article on "Re-Affirming the Democratic Process," Lindeman identified industrial democracy as a critical focal point for creating democracy in society. "Any person who presumes to talk of democracy, and talks about saving our liberties while at the same time attempting to defeat every move toward economic democracy, is either a very naive person or a hypocrite" (p. 144). In a 1938 article on "Group Work and Democracy" Lindeman lamented the lack of scientific methods for creating "further democratization of our economic system" (p. 148).

In addition to these three major leaders in adult education, other adult educators were also engaged in sustaining democracy during the depression. In a volume of the Journal of Adult Education, Everett Martin (1935) expressed his concerns regarding the maintenance of democracy. He contrasted the intellectual curiosity and exploration of the progressive movement in the early 1900s with the 1930's. In the 1930's Martin found people consumed by interests in popular sensation and having little interest in intellectual challenges. Martin cited this as a major threat to democratic institutions and a challenge for adult education.

Writing towards the end of the depression, Charles Mann (1941) likewise addressed the concern for adult education's role in developing and maintaining democratic processes. Mann echoes Everett Martin's concerns about how a nation can claim to have the educated population necessary for democracy in the face of unemployment, delinquency, and crime.

Much of the interest in democracy within organized labor in the 1930s focused on building democracy with the unions, not on industrial democracy. The main vehicle for this development was found in the worker education movement, led by the American Labor Education Service.

In an article in the Journal of Adult Education, Eleanor Coit (1936), the Director of the American Labor Education Service discusses workers' education activities created through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Coit's interest lay in building this temporary worker education link with the federal government into an ongoing permanent relationship. She provides comparisons with state sponsored workers' education programs in Denmark and Sweden. Coit noted how workers' education had progressed in Scandinavia by government funding through grants to local autonomous adult education programs, in contrast to the American practice of government funds being spent by government agencies.

Coit found that Swedish and Danish adult education programs provide classes in economics and history, but had moved well

beyond the traditional classroom plan. "Wide use of the short institute on special problems, as well as organized study by political groups, gives background for programs of action" (p. 264). While lecture was commonly used in classes, Coit found that "considerable experimentation in nonauthoritarian methods of teaching is now being carried on" (p. 264).

The business community remained divided regarding industrial democracy throughout the Depression years. Some industrialists, such as Paul Litchfield (Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company) and William Knusden, were outspoken opponents of any involvement of workers. They were joined by the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Some industry leaders, such as Owen Young of General Electric, were still supportive of efforts to increase participation of workers in decision making.

The Second World War

America's entry into the Second World War created a new impetus for industrial democracy in the workplace and in the academic world. At work, American managers and labor leaders initiated an unprecedented era of cooperation through the creation of labor and management working committees. At the request of President Roosevelt, management in defense plants--along with their union leaders--created 5000 labor-management committees to help increase war production. Dorothea de Schweinitz (1949), a manager in the War Production Board,

chronicled the era shortly after the war.

Of these 5000 committees, de Schweinitz estimated that one-half were only involved in selling war bonds, conducting rallies, and conducting blood drives. They had no impact on decision making at work. However, some 2000 committees operated suggestion systems and worked on safety issues and lowered absenteeism. de Schweinitz estimated that about 500 were very active in enhancing "production methods, improving quality of work, conservation of materials, care of tools, and equipment, and discussion of production schedules" (p. 19).

de Schweinitz provided many specific examples of the results of labor and management cooperation through work councils. Workers producing insecticide for use in the tropics surpassed management's goal of 600 units a day, and through worker-initiated improvements, achieved a 24,000 units per day production level. Reduction of scrap, better care of tools, and many specific quality improvements and improvements in training are cited. According to de Schweinitz, workers provided over 1.5 million documented suggestions for improvements through the joint committees. Suggestions at one shipyard alone saved over 700,000 man-hours in production time.

In the academic world, two men were turning their focus on the question of democracy and participation in the workplace. At Harvard University, Elton Mayo (1945) reviewed the work of several studies, including the Hawthorne experiments, to draw conclusions regarding the importance of groups and group behavior in industry. Mayo advocated

democracy in the workplace that would provide "logical and purposive control from above, spontaneous and cooperative control from below" (p. xv).

Mayo began this work by reviewing social theories and observations by the French social philosophers, LePlay and Durkheim, which focus on the group behavior of people. Employing the facts of group behavior from observations in controlled settings and from social theory, Mayo rejected social and economic theory that is based on individuals acting purely in their own interests. A primary thesis in Mayo's work was that the misguided belief in individuals acting in their own interests (such as in the work of David Ricardo and Hobbes) falsely justifies the "need for a Leviathan, a powerful State, which by the exercise of unique authority shall impose order on the rabble" (p. 47).

Referring to the Hawthorne experiments test room, Mayo reminded the reader that the six workers became a team, and the productivity continued to improve--despite the experimental conditions--because the participants "were happy in the knowledge that they were working without coercion from above or limitation from below" (p. 72). Based on his research findings, Mayo emphasizes his belief that one of the major concerns for managers "must be that of organizing teamwork, that is to say, developing and sustaining cooperation" (p. 84).

In the same year, Kurt Lewin (1945), a German social scientist who had immigrated to America, proposed his theory of organization

leadership styles. Based on studies in education, public service, and manufacturing, Lewin proposed that leaders would assume one of three styles: autocratic, laissez-faire, or democratic.

Both autocracy and democracy require leadership, while laissez-faire is an absence of leadership. Autocracy and democracy stress discipline and group performance. Democracy and laissez-faire are similar in the freedom they give to group members to act on their own motivation. However, Lewin stressed that the three styles are not a linear continuum, meaning that democracy does not fall between autocracy and laissez-faire management (p. 303).

While offering data from manufacturing to show increased production brought about by participative decision making, Lewin was quick to point out that controlled experiments indicate little improvement in performance if workers are only allowed to discuss issues and not allowed to make decisions. Lewin also points out that relaxing pressure in the workplace only means shifting to a "softer form of autocracy, or perhaps to laissez-faire management, but not to democracy" (p. 307).

Democratic methods are superior when management needs to bring about change, Lewin noted. "Group decision provides a background of motivation, where the individual is ready to co-operate as a member of the group, more or less independent of his personal inclinations" (p. 309).

Leland Bradford and Ronald Lippitt (1945) shared their

observations regarding democratic and autocratic management as well. They found that "supervisors who can develop democratic work teams by encouraging their employees to participate in supervision have few production and morale problems. In the autocratic work atmosphere, on the other hand, production suffers because the employee's basic need for "belongingness" is blocked" (p. 52). While noting that almost everyone in America favors democracy, the commitment to the principle seems to evaporate when discussing the workplace. "This tragically curious contrast of beliefs symbolizes the confusions, inabilities, and lack of knowledge which prevent most supervisors from developing efficient work groups. Dominating, autocratic control is the technique of ignorance and inability to lead in industry and business--and disastrous in the end. Just as democracy is a more civilized method of leadership in government, so it is, equally, with other groups" (p. 52).

However, despite successful cooperation in the workplace, and despite wise words from academia, the era of cooperation was short-lived. At the close of the war, most industries indicated they would continue the joint labor-management committees, according to de Schweinitz (1949). "National union officers, though in favor of union-management cooperation on production, generally write off the war committees as a bad debt in which their members made concessions but did not gain acceptance for many of their ideas for improving production. They consider that the discontinuance of the vast

majority of committees at the close of the war is evidence that employers ask for cooperation from the union only when they need it, not as a permanent basis of operation" (p. 7). de Schweinitz also notes that while American industry was abandoning cooperative efforts in the late 1940s, cooperative efforts between labor and management began to become institutionalized in Europe.

The war years witnessed a great deal of speculation among the professional adult educators regarding the continued viability of democracy. "Democracy In Crisis", a panel discussion published in June of 1941, involved nine adult education leaders including Lyman Bryson from Columbia University, Eleanor Coit from the American Labor Education Service, J.E. Sproul of the National YMCA, and Author Bestor, President of the Chautauqua Institute. This panel discussion clearly shows how adult educators considered democracy to be a primary area of emphasis in their field. Sproul noted that democracy has within itself the seed of its own destruction and that educators could impact this problem as well as be impacted by it.

Management Perspectives

In the postwar era of World War II, there can be little doubt that most managers and industrialists abandoned the concept of industrial democracy for many years. With a few notable exceptions,

the 1950s and 1960s became the age of autocracy in American industry. While the Japanese and the Europeans began to build on the cooperative methods that won the war, American managers embarked on a crusade for control of their domain.

Perhaps the essence of autocratic opinion was best expressed by Robert McMurry (1958) in his popular article in the Harvard Business Review. McMurry doubts that managers will be willing to change their leadership styles. A democratic approach requires commitment from leaders who rose to their positions through "no-quarter in-fighting" and who are determined to "keep the power in their own hands" (p. 83). At best, McMurry believes, the managers may give lip service to democracy, but will maintain their authoritarian behaviors.

A second problem area for participation comes from the need for uniformity of policies and practices and the perceived need for quick decisions in a competitive market economy, according to McMurry. And to these perceptions, McMurry offered a third problem of "bureaucratic traditions" of organizations that thrive on status and security. Middle management becomes composed of bureaucrats who "live by the book" and who perpetuate themselves (p. 83).

McMurry argued that democratic group processes are flawed for several reasons:

1. Group decisions stimulate individual dependence on the group.
2. Some members fear to oppose the group.
3. When the group's members vary in status and power, subordinates are reluctant to disagree with their superiors.

4. Some group members become isolated from the group.

As an alternative to traditional autocracy and democracy, McMurry advocates a "benevolent autocracy." He accepted that management is--by nature--autocratic but argues that what is needed are "strong" autocrats who are not tyrants (p. 86). McMurry assumed that most people want security and direction in their work. The benevolent autocrat tells people what to do. He is a "father figure" who has power, prestige, and personal interest in his subordinates.

One outspoken champion for industrial democracy in the era of autocracy was Henry Nunn (1961), founder and owner of the Nunn-Bush Shoe company. Beginning in 1915, Nunn launched what he called "the struggle to build democracy in this company" by involving craftsmen in decision making (p. 3). In 1919 the company welcomed an intramural union which provided the workers with elected leaders to represent them on the company's board of directors. In partnership with the union, the company created a share-production plan for wages based on a 36% return of total sales to the workers, instead of a piece-rate or hourly wage. The union leaders also participated in the process of setting management's salaries.

In Nunn's view, management and labor must respect one another and recognize their mutual interdependence for the good of the whole. Labor works with management, not for management, and both labor and management are paid by the customer who buys the product. "Democracy in industrial relations involves keeping workers advised of all

actions at the top level and giving them a voice and a vote in decisions made," according to Nunn (p. 5).

In 1935, during the depths of the Great Depression, Nunn and his union officials adopted the share-production plan and a method for providing the employees (who are called associates) with weekly pay checks. While management hired new employees, the union must also accept them into membership after a 30-day trial period. If the union did not accept the person, then he or she could not stay with the company. In addition to the belief in a "cooperative partnership," Nunn also placed a high priority on providing job security. As workers obtained seniority they became part of a no-lay-off core of associates, which was also extended to handicapped people of lower seniority.

All these actions made sound business sense, according to Nunn. He pointed out how the workers are in the best position to save money for the company and how a cooperative climate creates continuity. In the 48 years of his leadership, Nunn-Bush had no strikes or arbitrations in their factory of 1100 workers.

Writing in 1961, Nunn explained to other managers how he and his union leaders and managers created their participative environment over a 30-year period. He compared his profit-sharing approach to the Scanlon plan (introduced in 1945) and critiqued each. He also critiqued other participative programs, such as those at Proctor and Gamble and at Hormel, but Nunn faulted them for failing to relinquish

their "traditional prerogative of arbitrary power" (p. 163).

Henry Nunn stands almost alone as a capitalist who introduced industrial democracy in the Woodrow Wilson era, shepherded it through the Great Depression, and brought the concept into the postwar era. A second proponent who echoed many of Nunn's managerial perspectives was the Canadian businessman, H. B. Wilson (1974).

Wilson challenged the need for a division between the managers and the managed, advocating worker representation on boards and participation in the local work areas. While there would still be a role for unions, Wilson hoped that participation and representation would end the adversarial relationship between management and unions.

One compelling reason for supporting industrial democracy, according to Wilson, is efficiency. A hierarchical structure devotes much of its energy to controlling people, but a participative system, based on respect for human dignity, focuses organizational resources on doing the work. However, industrial democracy is not just about increasing productivity; in Wilson's view, "it is a way of living and developing during the work day" (p. 28).

Wilson cautioned against programs that provide for "token participation to manipulate employees into thinking they are part of the team" while actually retaining an autocratic structure (p. 30). "Contemporary autocratic management attempts to manipulate employees toward controlled innovation. Industrial democracy opens up the

possibility for innovation to all employees and creates a free environment which encourages innovative thought" (p. 36).

Examining the traditional managerial role, Wilson observed that groups can set goals democratically and avoid the time wasted in constant reorganization of the company, which occupies much of management's time. Management's emphasis on organization only creates walls to cooperation, which must be broken down, according to Wilson. A democratic system can provide good control, in Wilson's view, and many technical issues, such as coordination of work flow, can be handled by technical experts who are not a boss. Furthermore, when it comes to introducing new technology, Wilson argues that worker input to technological changes helps avoid the errors often made by managers. In short, there is little that managers do that cannot be done and done better by the workers, according to Wilson.

The Trade Unions' Perspectives

The views of American trade unions regarding industrial democracy have been quite diverse since the collapse of cooperation at the close of the world war. Overall, there is a fundamental concern common to most union leaders when they hear management making overtures for more cooperation.

In the early post-war era, the unions' interests in democracy continued to be developed through the American Labor Education

Service. Orlie Pell (1950) stated that "the function of workers' education is to increase the ability of workers to participate fully in democratic life within the union and within the larger community" (p. 66). It is interesting to note that Pell's focus on developing democracy centers around democracy within the union, not democracy with an organized company. He reported that 40 unions had educational offices and cited the wide use of programs at facilities such as the Highlander Folk School.

There can be little doubt that organized labor moved away from cooperative efforts with companies regarding democracy after the collapse of war time cooperative efforts. The issue of cooperation did not really emerge strongly until the introduction of what was called Quality of Working Life (QWL) programs in the 1970s. David Lewin (1981), a professor at Columbia University, focused his attention on the relationship between the collective bargaining process and managerial efforts to introduce Quality of Working Life programs.

Lewin observed that collective bargaining, which is a participative process, is often perceived to be separate from other efforts to create participation in the workplace. In the development of QWL programs, management has often left the unions out of the creative process, leading many union leaders to believe that QWL only means introducing gimmicks, such as work teams, while doing nothing to increase pay and decrease bad working conditions. The

heart of the issue, according to Lewin, is management taking these actions without input from the unions. "Unionists fear management's embrace of the doctrine of work humanization because they see in it the potential for management to broaden its decision-making authority, thereby reasserting prerogatives over the content and context of work and threatening unions as institutions" (p. 40).

Social Science Perspectives

There can be little doubt that the movement for industrial democracy in America was sustained primarily in the post-war era by social scientists who were following the research of Elton Mayo and Kurt Lewin and who were also keeping an eye on events in Europe. The leadership in creating industrial democracy in the post-war years passed from the ranks of the professional adult educators into the ranks of the practicing adult educators within the academic community and within the unions.

In what was to become perhaps the most influential research since the Hawthorne studies, Lester Coch and John French, Jr. (1948) undertook a controlled experiment at the Harwood Manufacturing sewing plant in Virginia in the late 1940s. While the plant had a reputation as a progressive industry, which provided health services, music, recreation programs, and even plantwide votes on some issues, Harwood was experiencing difficulties with workers adjusting to necessary changes in work routines. Productivity would decrease, and some

experienced workers would become frustrated and quit after each change was introduced.

Coch and French designed a controlled experiment involving four groups. One group would have no participation in decision making regarding the changes. A second group would have elected representatives participate in the decision making process. Two groups would have total participation in decision making regarding their changes.

The experiment showed that efficiency ratings after the change were significantly better in the total participation groups and in the representative group than in the non-participatory group. Efficiency ratings were quicker to increase after change in the total participation groups compared with the representative group.

The non-participatory group experienced 17% loss of its workforce and numerous expressions of hostility toward supervision. The representative group had no loss and only one hostile act against supervision. The total participation group had no losses and worked well with supervision. Coch and French summarized their research findings in this way: "It is possible for management to modify greatly or to remove completely group resistance to changes in methods of work and the ensuing piece rates. This change can be accomplished by the use of Group meetings in which management effectively communicates the need for change and stimulates group participation in planning the changes" (p. 532). This study by Coch and French became

concrete evidence in favor of creating a more participative workplace and was widely quoted for over 30 years.

While Coch and French focused on a controlled experiment, William Foote Whyte (1951), a Professor of Industrial Relations at Cornell, utilized detailed field study methods to shed light on union-management cooperation. Whyte studied a dynamic change at Inland Steel Container Company in Chicago, which--after two decades of bitter struggle--established a new cooperative environment. The company was able to evolve from management practices in the 1930s, which Whyte describes as a dictatorship based on terrorism. In response to management's actions, the workers organized a union under the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Bad relations between union leadership and management peaked in 1946 with a 191-day strike.

Whyte's study focused on the specific negotiation of a new contract in 1947. Providing a detailed account of the negotiating process, including many verbatim descriptions of the dialogue, Whyte showed how a gradual pattern of understanding between the adversaries was achieved. In summarizing activities since the new contract, Whyte made this observation: "In the years 1948-1950, we see two interrelated trends. An increasing area of activity is being handled jointly by union and management officers working together. And more and more people in both organizations are becoming actively involved in the cooperation process" (p. 143).

The autocrats of the 1950s and 1960s saw little advantage in

abandoning their control of the workplace. After all, they had no major competition from Japan or Europe because of the total allied victory from the world war. In the face of this control by management, many researchers shifted their focus from workplace issues to the study of how groups interact. The field of organizational development was created, along with organizations like the National Training Laboratory in Bethel, Maine, as a path of least resistance to pursue the questions of workplace democracy.

One center for social research focused on the work environment was the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, under the direction of Rensis Likert. Likert (1961) produced a landmark study of the relationship between supervisory styles and productivity in the workplace in his work New Patterns of Management.

Likert drew from several research studies to show that whether one is looking at production workers, supervisors, or research scientists, in all cases, higher productivity is achieved when people have freedom in performing their work. When supervision provides freedom, then productivity, attendance, attitudes, and promotability of workers all improve.

Teamwork can have a positive effect on productivity, according to Likert. Several studies are used by Likert to illustrate that "work groups with greater pride in their capacity to produce or with greater loyalty and attraction to the group tend to be the groups producing at a higher level" (p. 29). Groups have great power in establishing

standards of productivity, according to Likert, who reviewed the work of Coch and French and subsequent studies that provided results consistent with Coch and French (Peptitone, 1952; Rice, 1958; Bose, 1957).

The heart of Likert's book is the chapter dealing with an Institute for Social Research 1956 study conducted by Murse and Reimer of 500 clerical employees in four parallel divisions in a large company. In two divisions, supervisory styles pushed decision making down into the organizations, and the supervisors adopted "group methods of leadership." In the other two divisions, supervisory control was increased and decisions were moved up in the organization.

Both approaches provided an increase in productivity at a comparable level in similar divisions. However, in the divisions where supervisory control was increased, measured degrees of loyalty to the company fell, employees' "feeling of responsibility" dropped, turnover rates increased, and workers' attitudes towards supervisors fell. In the participative divisions, however, loyalty, attitudes, interests, and involvement in work all increased. People working in the participative system indicated increased satisfaction with all levels of management. Likert argues from this data that participative management will out-perform a hierarchical organization in the long term (pp. 65-67).

Overall, Likert observed that "low-producing managers ... feel that the way to motivate and direct behavior is to exercise control

through authority." On the other hand, "widespread use of participation is one of the most important approaches employed by the high producing managers" (p. 100).

As Likert reviewed the controlled experiments, William Foote Whyte continued research through field studies. In his 1961 publication Men At Work, Whyte provides a snapshot of a wide range of organizational issues, including participation by workers. From a study conducted at Sears and Roebuck in the early 1950s, Whyte provides evidence related to organization structures and patterns of supervision. Sears stores with fewer layers of management were found to have lower costs and higher profits. The managers in these stores with fewer layers of supervision were found to be more promotable to executive positions (p. 88).

Whyte reported on a study of democratic approaches to management in which mechanics in a smelting operation participated in regular meetings and were encouraged to question and voice their ideas and to have input into promotional decisions. The participative approach led to improved morale and to successfully handling increasingly complex production demands (p. 443).

The management at the Harwood plant in Virginia, where Coch and French conducted their 1948 study, continued in their commitment to democratic management and to research. In the early 1960s, Harwood bought a competitor in the clothing business, Weldon Manufacturing, which had a traditional autocratic structure. Harwood management

invited Alfred Marrow, David Bosers, and Stanley Seashore (1967), from the University of Michigan, to document the change process at Weldon and to diagnose the successes and problems associated with the change process.

Data were collected from attitude surveys and economic indicators at Weldon before and after the changes to a more democratic management style, along with data from Harwood for the same time frame. The changes at Weldon included human relations training for supervisors, increased employee participation in decision making, reorganization along product lines, and improved training for operators. The economic indicators revealed a dramatic improvement at Weldon as a result of the changes. Productivity was able to increase to a point where Weldon could match Harwood's high productivity rates. Attitude survey data also indicated improvements in worker's perceptions about working at Weldon.

In one of the most prophetic writings of the late 1960s, Paul Blumberg (1968), a sociology professor at the City University of New York, cautioned his readers not to dismiss worker participation as an antiquated concept. Blumberg pointed out that there were major forces at work that would create a renewal in the issue of workplace democracy, noting that democratic self-determination was a major issue for university students in the 1960s.

Blumberg re-examined the Hawthorne Relay Assembly Room study and, like Elton Mayo, Blumberg found that most accounts of the study

missed a major component of the data. "I believe that a major, although not the exclusive, explanation for the remarkable increases in productivity and morale lay in the crucial role which the test room workers played in determining the conditions under which they worked" (p. 21). As long as the researchers drew the operators into the decision-making process about physical and technical changes, productivity increased. Most accounts of Hawthorne only deal with this first two-year period of research. However, according to Blumberg, when the researchers later changed their methods and excluded the workers from discussion of the changes to be made, then the increases in productivity ended (p. 39). Blumberg also provided an overview of the literature dealing with workplace participation, outlining work by Coch and French, Lewin, and Likert.

The similarities between the autocratic workplace in the capitalist and Communist systems brought several critiques. David Ellerman (1973), a mathematician and economist, offered thoughts regarding the moral responsibility of the workforce that compels the workers to control the workplace. Ellerman believed that both the capitalist system and the Soviet system assume that the owners should manage the workplace, and both have subsequently disenfranchised their workers (p. 7).

Charles Hampden-Turner, a researcher in community economic development, described the factory as an oppressive and non-emancipatory environment. He cited mental health studies by Arthur

Kornhauser along with numerous studies on workplace alienation to argue that the typical factory system oppresses workers. "The system breaks the man or at best reduces him to a state of quiet resignation" (p. 44).

In another approach, Paul Bernstein (1976), a Professor at the University of California, Irvine, conducted a comparative study of companies organized along democratic lines. Based on the examination of 81 sources that reported on 31 major democratization efforts, Bernstein established his six components for workplace democracy (quoted on page 16). Bernstein also advocated using the term "democratization" to emphasize the point that the process of creating workplace democracy is what is highlighted in his study, not the final product. "The emphasis on process ... helps to keep us aware of the fact that, in all probability, there is no fixed, single, or final state of workplace democracy" (p. 9).

Bernstein provided an overview of many of the comparative cases. For example, he presents the history and structure of 18 plywood manufacturing plants in the Pacific Northwest, formed between 1921 and 1955, which are each owned by the employees.

In a similar approach, Daniel Zwerdling (1978) reviewed a variety of workplace democracy programs that were discussed at the Third International Conference on Self-Management in 1976. The 1970s, according to Zwerdling, began a time when more people from research perspectives began to focus on the workplace as an area of study and

began moving toward an implementation of democracy in the work setting. Zwerdling's review of cases included the work teams system at the General Foods plant in Topeka, Kansas which utilized coaches instead of supervisors. While the workers and plant management viewed the whole system as a success, corporate headquarters pushed the plant back into a hierarchical management style.

In the mining industry, Zwerdling reported on a two-year-old United Mine Workers Union and mine management joint effort at the Rushton Coal Mine in Pennsylvania. The project failed, according to Zwerdling, because of management resistance and slow expansion of the process to the whole mine. Zwerdling also reports on democratic management efforts at the Vermont Asbestos Group, the Mohawk Valley Community Corporation, the South Bend Lathe Company, Saratoga Knitting Mill, and at American University. Zwerdling also provides an informative chapter on labor leaders' views on industrial democracy.

While many social scientists in the academic community were pursuing research to support a transition into industrial democracy, researchers in the business schools tended to seek out ways to buttress the benevolent autocrat concept. Victor Vroom (1975), the Chairman of the Department of Administrative Sciences at Yale University, investigated the decision making styles of managers, as noted earlier. Vroom found that the autocratic model is more time-efficient, while the consultative and group decision-making styles improve the quality and acceptance of the decisions. Vroom

notes, "there are also grounds for believing that participation contributes to individual and team development, and is likely to result in more informed and responsible behavior by subordinates in the future" (p. 2).

However, Vroom would not endorse the democratic style of decision making. He proposed that the ideal leader would vary decision-making styles based on perceptions of the situational variables. However, Vroom offered no comment regarding the impact of these style variations on the people working for the manager.

Writing to an audience of supervisors, Robert Keppler (1978) suggested that (1) increasing participation may be a good company tactic to defeat unions' organization efforts and (2) participative management can enhance the effectiveness of management's decision-making process. Participative management, according to Keppler, need not detract from management's prerogatives, but means taking the time to listen to the employees.

Barry Stein and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1980) offered an alternative between autocratic management and democratic management that they referred to as the parallel organization. The parallel organization does not replace the autocratic structure but supplements it by creating participative ad hoc teams to function alongside the conventional line organizations.

The authors implemented an ad hoc project team approach at a non-union manufacturer of electronic equipment. They created pilot groups

that independently focused on organizational problems and then presented results that "astonished" the autocratic managers. Within the project teams, the authors observed a high degree of participation in problem solving and decision making by people who were normally excluded from decision making because of the autocratic structure.

In considering the relationship between supervisors and supervisees in a non-manufacturing setting, Alfred Kadushin (1976) addressed the question of worker autonomy. Kadushin cites several studies involving social workers to point out that providing autonomy to professionals is a major issue. He concludes: "In moving toward greater worker autonomy, the social work supervisor retains her administrative responsibilities vis-a-vis the supervisee, and the hierarchical relationship remains essentially the same. With regard to the educational component, however, the supervisee moves from supervision which is required to consultation optionally sought at the initiative of the worker" (p. 437).

Kadushin reported on peer-group supervision in the social work setting. "Peer-group supervision invests the peer group with control of group meetings; the supervisor, if he sits in at all, is just another member of the group" (p. 438). While noting that peer-group supervision "symbolizes the capacity for greater independence of the worker," Kadushin also observed that it could create "rivalry for leadership and control" and that "some staff members may be reluctant

to participate" (p. 438).

The European Perspective

While Europe has experienced extremes in economic systems, from imperialism to fascism to communism, there has been a long-standing interest in bringing democracy into the workplace, either in investor-owned or worker-owned companies.

Numerous studies involving worker participation have been conducted by the Tavistock Institute in Great Britain. Much of Tavistock's work grew out of writings by Eric Trist (1963) regarding autonomous work groups in British coal mines. The Tavistock coal mining studies were conducted from 1954 to 1958, using the socio-technical systems design process. To best match people's needs with the technology for mining, Trist and his design team, along with management and union leaders, agreed to form "self-regulating primary work groups" that oversaw their own production work. They found that this system enabled the supervisors to focus their attention in other areas. "The freedom needed higher up to manage change constructively is only won by establishing some freedom to manage at the bottom," Trist found (pp. 129-130).

P. G. Hurst (1962) compiled a technical follow-up on Trist's work, providing details regarding research methods and findings. Hurst states the operational conditions under which the Tavistock

group found that autonomous teams can develop and thrive. First, the work task itself must be "itself autonomous, in the sense of being an independent and self-completing whole." Second, the work needs to be performed within an identifiable physical boundary, which provides "territory" the work group can "own." Another important point is that "control must be linked to variables that are observable and measurable." There must be effective ways for the workers to measure their own job output (pp. 7-8). Hurst's study provides a focus on the changes in the social structure in a democratic workplace. Their technique of study has been expanded into a field now known as socio-technical systems design.

The use of socio-technical systems design was illustrated by Peter A. Clark (1972), who reviewed 20 years of work on organization design at Tavistock. The design process should focus on both technical and social structures, establishing both the work flow boundaries and the people boundaries. "Thus features of the technology and the existing customs and traditions have to be accounted for in the process of selecting from the alternative designs" (p. 12). The process for creating the design, according to Clark, should be one of joint investigation by a team that brings a diversity of perspectives to the study.

In the late 1970s, Mick Marchington (1980) conducted a survey of research on industrial democracy and conducted a case study of a 500-person manufacturing company involved in a democratic program.

Marchington's survey assessed management and union views on participation and found that neither side had a unanimous voice. In general, managers were concerned about having the flexibility to create a participative system to fit their company and were concerned about retaining their role as experts. Union leaders, according to Marchington, were interested in participative systems as a way to gain access to information, but some oppose participation and favor the existing collective bargaining arrangement.

The two key issues for union and management, according to Marchington, are, "To what degree does participation lead to any change in the balance of control between employee and employer?" and "how does participation compare with collective bargaining as a means of employees enhancing their control over their working lives" (p. 11)?

In his own case study, Marchington examined worker, union leader, and management attitudes and comments on participation in a light manufacturing company called Kitchenco. Workers at Kitchenco belong to the Furniture, Timber, and Allied Trades Union. The company organization chart shows six levels of management between the Managing Director and the workers. Kitchenco and the union organized a Works Council, which brings manufacturing managers and shop stewards together to discuss production issues. In his survey of workers, Marchington found that at least half feel the Works Council actually has little influence over decision making; 43% of workers believe

their system gave them enough influence while 48% wanted more input on operations and company plans.

Paul Bate and Iain Mangham (1981) conducted a five-year study with one company as it transitioned from a traditional nonparticipatory organization into a participative workplace. Bate and Mangham note that "participation to managers, workforce, and ourselves remains a shapeless term, a process which is evolving slowly into something recognizably different from a state of non-participation, but as yet not tightly defined in and of itself" (p. 184).

Industrial democracy has also made significant progress in the Scandinavian countries, most notably in Norway and Sweden. Fred Emery (1976), a professor at Australian National University, and Einar Thorsrud (1976), a social psychology professor at the University of Oslo, were involved in creating democratic structures in four Norwegian companies in the 1960s. Emery and Thorsrud served as researchers and consultants in efforts to enhance conditions for personal participation by workers in Norway. This work was carried out under a joint research committee consisting of members of the Trade Union Council, the Employers' Association, and the federal government. An emphasis was placed on involving the workers and managers in formulating the goals for the project and obtaining their agreement "on conditions to be changed and the criteria to be used in evaluating the outcome of whatever changes might be achieved" (p. 3).

For widespread implementation of industrial democracy, as in Norway, Emery and Thorsrud suggest the following strategy. First, establish a joint union-management committee. Second, choose experimental companies and analyze each for experimental sites. Third, establish worker-management action committees and develop a plan for change. The company needs to redefine policies to legitimize the changes, then institutionalize the changes and institutionalize the learning. Finally, information about results should be diffused to other sites (pp. 150-153).

In examining industrial democracy in Sweden, Eric Rhenman (1968) observes that workers and managers might have very different definitions of industrial democracy that would keep them from working together. In essence, industrial democracy must be a way to satisfy two main objectives, according to Rhenman. These objectives are

- "1. To establish a satisfactory balance between the various interests in the company.
2. To establish such working and management methods that the company's operation will lead to the desired result in the most efficient way."(p. 121)

The different stakeholders in a company--such as the employees, management, local authorities, owners, customers, suppliers, and the state--all have different interests that may conflict with each other, Rhenman notes. He defines stakeholders as "the individuals or groups which depend on the company for the realization of their personal goals and on whom the company is dependent" (p. 26). While management

is itself a stakeholder, Rhenman observes that it is in the unique position to act as the mediator for the stakeholders.

Rhenman maintains that the first essential task for the organization, if it is to survive, is to achieve and maintain internal cooperation and then to create a continuous process for conflict resolution. As workers' interests are addressed, Rhenman believes that their representatives will gain access to better information, power, and authority. This will affect the status and relationships of worker-management relations over time.

Birger Viklund (1977), secretary for the Swedish Metalworkers' Union, advocates unions taking a leading role in creating industrial democracy. Viklund notes how shop stewards in Sweden are heavily involved in programs to learn personnel policies, investment, marketing, and other areas previously deemed to be managements' rights (p. 390).

One of the prominent examples of industrial democracy in Europe is the Mondragon worker-owned cooperative system in the Basque region of Spain. Mondragon was formed by a group of local people who needed to create jobs for their community. The guiding figure for this group has been a Catholic Priest, Don Jose Maria Arizmendiarieta, who first set up a League for Education and Culture in 1948. Building from the people in this movement, the collectives were organized.

William F. Whyte and Kathleen Whyte (1988) conducted field research at Mondragon. They report that the complex now has many

different factories, one of the largest banking systems in Spain, a research and development wing, an agricultural section, and an extensive system to support these programs. Approximately 19,000 people are currently active in the Mondragon cooperative.

In the 1970s, Mondragon began involving their people in job redesign, based on study of the Tavistock Institute and Scandinavian redesign programs. Workers in redesigned areas function as teams where each member can perform all tasks and are self-supervised. However, most workers are not in self-managed teams and work redesign efforts were hampered by the poor economy in Spain in the 1980s. Mondragon practices a combination of representative democracy, town meetings, and participative activities. Managers of the co-ops are approved by the workers. Each co-op has a general assembly for review of business and mini counsels to facilitate internal communications. Major changes in the organization are subject to a total vote by all the co-op members.

New Awareness About Democracy

The 1980s introduced a new era of interest in industrial democracy under new names, such as employee involvement and participative management, although some advocates of these programs were only seeking involvement within the context of a soft autocracy. The work of a few innovative companies, research by social scientists, and mounting pressures from Europe and Japan combined to create the

beginning of the end of the post war age of autocracy.

From within the business community a number of managers have stepped forth to advocate new approaches for involving the workforce. Stanley Hinckley (1985), a manager with Proctor and Gamble for 30 years, pointed out the flaw that managers often have, that of seeing participation as a process of receiving "input" rather than as a process of joining others to work together to reach a conclusion. Hinckley observes that creating a participative environment causes stress in the company, takes time to create, requires upper management support, and must be rewarded (p. 65).

Richard Pierce (1986), who worked with General Electric, admonished American managers to learn from the Japanese, who have "demonstrated dramatically that attention to people must come before attention to technology" (p. 17). Pierce provided a number of insights regarding training for managers (which will be reviewed later).

Another business leader, Marvin Weisbord (1987), provided an excellent study on creating participation in the workplace. Weisbord's study contains an overview of the evolution of thinking that set the stage for employee participation through work redesign, introducing Lewin's work along with the Tavistock methods. In a second section, Weisbord discussed the use of action research and organizational improvement from a systems perspective. There can be no cookbook to changing organizations, Weisbord pointed out. "Every

action research project is different. You can't expect to repeat my procedures and get my results" (p. 188).

Weisbord also investigated the use of a systems approach in strategic planning and the participative redesign of the work place. "To make good our participative aspirations, people have to be deeply involved from the start in methods, concept development, data collection, and diagnosis" (p. 231).

In concluding his study, Weisbord offered these thoughts about democracy in the workplace. "Democratic values came on sailing ships a long time before. We conserve our culture when we seek to extend these values in the workplace, to keep open a creative dialogue between individualism and the common good" (p. 378).

Max Elden (1987) provided definitions and contrasts between the fields of organizational development and organizational democracy which build a useful framework for considering the whole issue of introducing democracy into the workplace. Organizational development, according to Elden, "is an umbrella concept describing the work of behavioral and social scientists and other professionals to increase organizational effectiveness and realize certain values through planned change" (p. 199). The efforts toward Quality of Working Life, introduced in the 1970s, are a subgroup of organizational development. Likewise, socio-technical systems analysis, developed by the Tavistock Institute, is a tool of organizational development for restructuring workplaces into self-managing groups.

Organizational democracy focuses on participation based on democratic principles and can be either representative democracy or direct participation. Elden cited three models for political democracy: town meetings, interest group negotiation, and community mobilization. Within the field of organizational democracy, Elden suggested two clusters of variables to study: democratization, which involves power sharing, and humanization, which involves social satisfaction. Elden noted that management often wants the production advantage that democracy offers without the political cost of power sharing.

All efforts toward participation do not lead to democracy, according to Elden.

"Democratic political theory distinguishes between participation that contributes to democratization (that is, that transforms authority structures in the direction of autonomy, power equalization, and self-management) and that which does not so contribute (that is, involvement in untransformed hierarchical authority structures, such as quality circles, problem-solving groups, and participative management)." (p. 201)

It is unfortunate, according to Elden, that practitioners of organizational development often do not know enough democratic political theory to be able to distinguish between democratic participation and autocratic schemes. "Organizational Development does not differentiate between empowering and co-opting forms of participation but rather uncritically accepts all participation as a form of holy communion" (p. 218).

Elden offered certain conditions for participation to be seen as moving toward organizational democracy. (1) "Workers study their own workplace on their own terms." (2) "Workers decide how to use the results of their research." (3) Consultants "help them invent their own theory" (p. 220).

Edward Lawler (1988) worked with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan and is currently with the Center for Effective Organizations at the University of Southern California. Lawler studied a wide range of involvement efforts, including quality circles, job enrichment, work teams, union-management Quality of Working Life programs, gainsharing, and plant redesigns.

Regarding democracy in work teams, Lawler noted that work teams give more decision-making authority to the workers, but within a basically autocratic structure. "The principles of work-team design call for important decisions to be made by the teams. The qualifier is usually added that management retains the right to challenge the teams' decisions" (p. 106).

The most important aspect of creating work teams, according to Lawler, is the type of decisions the teams will be empowered to make. "In highly autonomous work groups, teams make virtually all the decisions that are required to run a small business. They hire, fire, determine pay rates, determine quality, specify work methods, manage inventory, and so on. In less autonomous work teams, many of the

human resource decisions, such as pay and selection, remain with management, but the work teams still deal with issues of setting production goals, managing their own quality, and determining work methods" (p. 107).

In the area of decision making, Lawler observed changes brought about by the use of work teams. "The team meeting format gives individuals a chance to discuss work methods and procedures. Because employees are cross-trained and have considerable information about the organization, they are often in an excellent position to suggest improvements and solve problems" (p. 113).

The 1980s also found the researchers in the business schools newly interested in creating more democratic work systems. William Pasmore (1982), a management professor at Case Western Reserve, defined factors in successful work redesign and participatory efforts by contrasting successful and failed efforts to create organizational change. Two points are clear to Pasmore; (1) "work-restructuring methods can be successful" (improving productivity, costs, absenteeism, attitudes, and quality) and (2) an increasing number of companies are considering work restructure efforts (p. 55).

Based on a review of numerous successful and unsuccessful attempts, Pasmore identified three factors in work restructure to consider: "(1) The preconditions that set the stage for the intervention to take place, (2) the quality of the effort itself, and

(3) the continuity of the effort in the face of both anticipated and unanticipated exigencies" (p. 57).

Among preconditions, Pasmore cited the need "to begin with a perceived need to change that is clearly and convincingly articulated by a manager to his or her employees" (p. 57). Diffuse objectives and general wishes for improvement lead to less success. Programs are also more successful in companies that are well-off enough to be able to invest time and money in innovation. Also, managers must be "willing to examine existing policies, procedures, and systems in order to provide a supportive context for the new work environment" (p. 58). Usually there is a vigorous top management commitment to create a highly participative system.

In a later book, Pasmore (1988) provides an overview and principles of using the socio-technical systems approach to designing workplaces. The workplace, according to Pasmore, must be seen as a system that is subject to changes in its environment, such as demographics, people's attitudes, trade agreements, and the changes in education and knowledge in the society. The social system consists of the people in the business and their behaviors and beliefs. Social systems are constantly changing and will respond to changes in the technology employed in the workplace. The use of technology and the role of people need to be jointly optimized to best satisfy the needs and pressures presented by the external environment, in Pasmore's view.

Pasmore remarked that bureaucracies tend to "wreck havoc" on adults and are restrictive to the organization's ability to assess information and respond effectively to changing technologies and environmental needs. Socio-technical systems design can focus on encouraging local-level decision making and a participative process for deciding how to organize work.

Pasmore provided these principles for designing technical systems:

- "1. Variances should be controlled at their source.
2. Boundaries between units should be drawn to facilitate variance control.
3. Feedback systems should be as complex as the variances needing to be controlled.
4. The impact of variances should be isolated to reduce the likelihood of total system failure.
5. Technical expertise should be directed to the variances with the greatest potential for systems disruption.
6. Technological flexibility should match product variability.
7. Technology should be appropriate to the task.
8. Inputs should be monitored as carefully as outputs.
9. Core absorbs support, meaning that staff groups need to become part of the line organization.
10. The effectiveness of the whole is more important than the effectiveness of the parts." (pp. 62-67)

In a survey of 125 major manufacturing and service organizations in the Delaware River valley, Gerald Klein (1986), a business professor at Rider College, determined the extent and type of employee involvement programs being employed by companies. Klein found that over half the firms supported programs that were inexpensive to implement, such as communication programs, cost-reduction programs,

and suggestion systems. Around 30% used bonus programs, profit sharing, or quality circles. Less than 20% were utilizing labor-management committees, semi-autonomous work teams, or other team efforts.

According to the survey data, Klein found that the firms using high-involvement techniques, such as semi-autonomous teams, had the highest level of satisfaction with their programs. The inexpensive, low-involvement programs, such as suggestion systems, provided lower levels of satisfaction from the companies (p. 355).

AT&T conducted a three-year experiment in self-managed work teams at a new AT&T center in Tempe, Arizona, involving 100 union workers. The project was documented by Thomas Taylor and Donald Friedman (1987), who work with Mountain Bell's Quality of Work Life programs, and Dennis Couture, a union steward for the Communication Workers of America. The project was initiated by upper management, with support from the workers and buy-in from the Communication Workers of America leadership. The self-managed workplace concept was applied to the start up of a new office.

Management selected one person who defined her leadership role in this project as a "resource person and mentor rather than that of the traditional overseer" (p. 28). Management formed a committee to deal with daily operations, consisting of six operators and the resource person. Selection of people to work in the new office was done by the committee. The committee also wrote a statement of purpose for the

office, assigned work responsibilities, worked on customer services, and oversaw training.

The research team offered several lessons learned from their experience. A participative effort must have union buy-in in the formative stage. Work redesign requires planning, which can be done effectively by non management people. A supervisor ratio of 1 to 30 works well in a white-collar environment. Benchmarks for performance must be specified and can be obtained by non management people.

In a report on Digital Electronic Corporation's self-managed work teams at their Enfield, Connecticut, plant, Patricia Galagan (1988) documented the plant's three-level structure consisting of a plant manager, six department managers, and work teams. The concept was developed by the plant manager, Bruce Dillingham, who started the facility to be structured around work teams consisting of 12 to 18 people. In Dillingham's words, the plant manager's job is to "manage the values that the whole group had developed and make them visible" (p. 34). Dillingham also voiced the opinion that good results are not enough to interest people in a high-involvement approach to management. A lot depends on the culture in which people work as to whether they will be receptive to democratic concepts.

Another active consultant in the effort for creating management-labor collaborative efforts and quality improvement over a 30 year period is Sidney Rubinstein (1987). Rubinstein was involved in the

United Auto Workers-General Motors Terrytown participative system and has developed democratic management systems within the metals industry.

From his experiences, Rubinstein advocated a developmental model consisting of three levels of team participation. The first level is a plant-wide management-union policy committee, which guides the business at the plant level. Second, at the middle management level, there should be teams of managers and union leaders, along with staff and technical specialists, to develop detailed operational plans. The third level has work teams consisting of workers and their supervisors which focus on achieving specific tasks (p. 45).

Diane Garsombke (1988), a business professor at the University of Maine, observed the increasing use of military themes and metaphors in business-related books, articles, and management development programs as a potential drift among managers back into authoritarian management styles. In particular, Garsombke suggested that military thinking emphasizes top-down communication "which could bring about rigidity and an authoritarian structure." She suggested that the military approach will damage employee participation and would be counterproductive in organizations that depend on openness and the free flow of ideas (p. 50).

In an account of a participative work system at Deere and Company, Barbara Dutton (1989) chronicled the collaborative process between Deere's management and the United Auto Workers at Deere's

Harvester Works in East Moline, Illinois involving 3500 workers. Management and union leaders worked together to create a team to brainstorm projects for streamlining manufacturing operations. By listening to workers' ideas, many operations were greatly improved. According to Dutton, employee involvement in the cylinder operations area caused manufacturing costs to drop by 30%, rejects to fall by 90%, and lead time to be reduced by 85% (p. 54).

Peter Grazier (1989) provided an overview of the current arguments in support of increasing worker participation and has identified key behavior change that must occur to create a participative work environment. Grazier confronted his readers with the facts which include the lowering of Americans' standard of living, low productivity growth, low capital investment in manufacturing, obsolete factories, loss of markets, and the fact that America is now the world's largest debtor nation. "To survive and maintain our way of life as we know it, we must change the way we work," Grazier contends. "We need to place responsibility for the success of our organizations on all employees, not just on a handful of managers" (p. 144).

Grazier reported on a successful employee involvement effort involving unionized construction workers in St. Louis. The program focused on teambuilding, union-management cooperation, free communication, and engineers involving construction people in decisions. Work delays were reduced, resulting in \$12,000 a week in

cost savings. Absenteeism declined from 10% to 1%, and overall safety improved. One important aspect of employee involvement, according to Grazier, is the concept of self-fulfilling prophecy, which says that "the expectation or belief that something will occur can actually cause it to occur." So the expectation of improved performance through involvement may create the success of improvement activities.

One major consulting firm working in the area of developing self-managed work teams is Development Dimensions International (DDI). Lawrence Holpp and Richard Wellins (1989), senior consultants with DDI, reported on progress with several of their client organizations. Rohm and Haas' Plexiglas plant in West Virginia "showed 60 percent greater productivity in four years after it switched to a work-team approach" (p. 52). The GM-Toyota venture in Fremont, California, produces cars at half the cost of typical GM plants. Attendance at Goodyear's Lawton, Oklahoma, plant is 99.1%, and work teams produce twice the number of tires as typical Goodyear plants (p. 52).

Brian Dumaine (1990), a writer for Fortune Magazine, provided an overview of the implementation of semi-autonomous work teams across the United States. Drawing on examples from General Mills, Federal Express, Chaparral Steel, 3M, Aetna Life and Casualty, Johnsonville Foods, GTE, Texas Instruments, and RubberMaid, Dumaine showed how companies are using work teams to improve productivity and morale. Noting that the traditional management structure creates a "Rube

Goldberg" approach to making decisions, Dumaine cited specific examples of improved decision making at Federal Express, where 1000 clerical workers are now organized in work teams. The clerical teams at Federal Express caught \$2.1 million in billing errors. Self-managed teams at General Mills have increased productivity by as much as 40% in traditional factories. Millworkers at Chaparral Steel evaluated new milling processes in Europe, Asia, and South America and selected new methods for their Texas facility (pp. 53-64).

In a review of a work teams system at Martin Marietta's Orlando facility, Vladimir Mandl (1990) summarized the results of the first three years of the program. "Average first-time yield has risen to 93 percent, manufacturing rework dropped 81.4 percent, overtime decreased by 61 percent and performance to standards improved 86.2 percent. These improvements were attained while output was increased by more than 45 percent, and manpower requirements were reduced by 31.1 percent" (p. 43).

There have been several organizations established to help create more democratic workplaces throughout the country. The American Productivity and Quality Center in Houston, the Quality and Productivity Management Association in Chicago, and the Work In America Institute are some of these organizations. The American Productivity and Quality Center was established as a national center for research and education to help American businesses maintain or regain world-class competitive positions. The Center was a leader in

the 1980s in developing educational programs dealing with the creation of Quality of Working Life programs and programs for creating self-managed work teams. The Work In America Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization with directors from union officials, business leaders, and distinguished academicians.

The Institute's 1982 study, Productivity Through Work Innovations, found that work innovations are brought into any organization by following three steps: launching and pilot-testing, diffusion, and institutionalization. To be successful, organizations must develop plans for accomplishing each of these steps.

From the employees' perspective, the study noted that unions can increase the probability of successful innovation if the employer is not using employee involvement to weaken or dislodge the union. Unions should support employee involvement, the study finds, as a way to serve the workers' interests in maintaining job security. Employee involvement can democratize the workplace, improve management and union relations, and make contract negotiating a less troublesome process.

In a later study, Jerome Rosow and Robert Zager (1989), writing for the Work In America Institute, identified five forms of employee involvement. Problem-solving teams at the local level, such as quality circles, are the most basic form. Performance improvement, led by quality and engineering specialists, make the second form of involvement. A third level uses short term project teams. The fourth

level is efforts to flatten the organization and the fifth level of employee involvement is the creation of permanent work teams (pp. 22-24).

Research and experience in the area of worker-owned companies continued in the 1980s. Christopher Gunn (1984) conducted studies on workers' self-management at Hobart and William Smith Colleges and at Cornell University's Program on Participation and Labor-Managed Systems. Gunn defined the objectives of workers' self-management to be the achievement of "a satisfactory mix of income, longer-term economic security, satisfaction from work, sense of community at work, and contribution to the broad community." He noted that worker's self-management must be distinguished from worker's participation in management. Self-management means "the right to manage stems from work, not from capital ownership." "Worker's participation generally involves spreading some management functions to a broader mix of people working in an organization" (pp. 19-20).

Gunn provided examples of self-managed organizations, such as 23 Forest Workers' Co-Ops in the Pacific Northwest and a 60-year history of Plywood Manufacturers' Co-Ops. Regarding worker takeovers of existing companies, Gunn provides information about the Rath Packing Company of Waterloo, Iowa, and the Denver, Colorado, Yellow Cab Company as examples.

Alastair Campbell (1987), a British businessman and former army

officer, conducted a study on worker-owned businesses under the sponsorship of the Scottish Co-operatives Development Committee. Campbell provides rationales and methods for creating worker-owned cooperatives as an alternative to state-owned and investor-owned businesses. Campbell suggested it is time for the industrial West to move beyond the duality of owners versus trade unions and to begin forming local worker-owned enterprises. He cited small Eastern European co-ops and the large Basque Mondragon co-op as examples of successes.

Part of Campbell's work focused on meeting the needs of both workers and consumers. Owner-financed business achieves more profits for owners by driving competitors out of business and then controlling markets. Worker-owned businesses will provide goods and services at competitive prices without putting other workers out of jobs, according to Campbell. The rate at which industry will shift to co-ops depends primarily on the degree to which people demand having democracy in which to work, in Campbell's opinion.

Another comprehensive text on creating worker-owned businesses was created by Frank Adams and Gary Hansen (1988). Adams and Hansen provided a comparison of commercial characteristics of industry under capitalism, socialism, and workers' cooperation as part of their explanation of the fundamentals of workplace democracy. They highlighted important characteristics of membership in worker-owned and controlled enterprises, such as voluntarism, proportionality of

pay, participation in decision making, and awareness of what ownership means.

A Note of Rebuttal

As Diane Garsombke's (1988) article on military themes in industry illustrated, there are many advocates and attractive features remaining to coerce managers to keep their autocratic habits. Some academicians are not too keen on a wholesale shift from autocratic control to democratic management.

Edwin Locke, David Schweiger, and Gary Lantham (1986) argued that participation, which they define as joint decision making, is a tool for management to use and that it is appropriate to use it in certain situations. These business professors maintained that in the Hawthorne studies, "no productivity increase could be attributed directly to employee participation" and that in the Harwood-Weldon study, "no definite conclusions can be drawn" regarding the advantages of participative decision making (p. 67).

Schweiger reviewed 50 studies of participation and asserts "there is no clear tendency for participation to result in higher productivity than autocratic decision making" (p. 67). Locke conducted 16 studies of productivity and participation and he found that participation contributes little to gains in productivity (p. 68). In general, the professors concluded that (1) the effectiveness of participation depends on the workers' knowledge to make a useful

contribution and (2) there is a need to better understand the conditions under which participation is effective.

Major Issues for the 1990s in Creating Industrial Democracy

There are many important issues to be studied to effectively create democracy in the American workplace. Many are personnel issues such as compensation, hiring, evaluation, and job training, which are effectively dealt with in many democratic work places.

At this stage, there are two crucial questions for helping autocratic organizations evolve into democratic institutions. One question is how to change the role of the front-line supervisor, and the other question is how to best educate supervisors and workers for working in a democratic environment.

Resistance from Supervisors

From the earliest days of developing democratic processes, resistance from front-line supervisors and managers has been a serious issue. There are many reasons for supervisors to initially resist democratization and likewise many benefits for supervisors who become democratic leaders in their organization.

Selekman (1924) reported on interviews with workers at the Minnequa Steel Foundry, which revealed that many of the front-line supervisors and middle managers resisted the Employee Representation

Plan and that some were directly antagonistic to workers about the idea of worker involvement (p. 156).

In reviewing the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad union-management cooperative effort, Mary Parker Follett (1927) contended that participation would rest on two foundations--understanding and coordination. Coordination, she said, must begin at the bottom of the organization where supervisors consult with employee representatives and where employees have an appreciation of management's difficulties and problems (p. 223).

The advocate of a "benevolent autocracy," Robert McMurtry (1958), noted that the primary reasons democracy would not work were the "cold realities" that both supervisors and workers often do not like their jobs and will disrupt any involvement efforts (p. 82).

In reviewing the failure of the union-management joint effort at the Rushton Coal Mine, Daniel Zwerdling (1978) believed the failure was largely caused by management's slowness to expand self-management into the whole mine and also by resistance from managers who were "dead set against change" (p. 37). Zwerdling also reported managerial resentment and resistance to the Harman Industries-United Auto Workers cooperative effort in Tennessee (p. 51).

Christopher Orpen (1980), a psychologist in South Africa, conducted a survey of 387 managers in Great Britain and South Africa to determine their attitudes toward industrial democracy. Orpen found that managers were receptive toward low-involvement methods such as

job enrichment and employee meetings but had little enthusiasm for worker representation programs. Likewise, regarding the objectives for industrial democracy, managers preferred objectives such as "reducing worker-management conflict" and "raising employee satisfaction" over objectives such as "share more responsibility throughout the company" and "defend interests of rank and file workers" (p. 117).

In Marchington's (1980) survey of supervisors at Kitchenco, he found acceptance of the concept of industrial democracy, but only viewed in a limited manner. The supervisors believed that "participation should not upset current systems of decision-making and company objectives but should be integrated into the framework so as to provide more opportunity for employee opinions to be taken into account" (p. 101). The objective of participation, as seen by the foremen and managers in Marchington's study, was mainly to increase efficiency, with 25% seeing participation as a way to increase workers' satisfaction and 21% seeing participation as a way to reduce conflict.

According to Marchington, managers and foremen at Kitchenco "see participation as meaning consultation" (p. 103). Seeing participation as meaning consultation, Marchington found that managers at Kitchenco focus on "making decisions and selling these to the shop floor." As one supervisor said, "Some people think we have participation, but all we do is justify our solutions to the representatives" (p. 106).

In a study of supervisors' resistance to employee involvement efforts, Janice Klein (1984), a business professor at Harvard, reviewed survey data of supervisors in eight plants with employee involvement efforts in 1981 and 1982. Klein's data came from individual interviews, a written survey, and group meetings with supervisors.

Klein noted that if supervisors view an employee involvement program as "detrimental to themselves, they will withhold their support, potentially dooming the initiative." Resistance comes in many forms, according to Klein, including "bad-mouthing" the programs and refusing to assist the work team (p. 88).

Supervisors have many concerns regarding employee involvement, Klein discovered. Major areas deal with job security, job definition, and additional work being assigned to supervisors. Other reasons for resistance involved the supervisors' beliefs and personal goals. Some were proponents of Douglas McGregor's theory X, believing workers need to be controlled. Others enjoyed the status of their positions. Others questioned the organization's ability to change, and some others felt uninvolved or not allowed to participate in the participative process. Some supervisors resented the loss of power to make deals in order to get things done (pp. 89-91).

Klein found that one way to minimize supervisors' resistance to employee involvement efforts is to involve the supervisors in the design process for creating the employee involvement program.

In a review of the results of a study of participative management in Washington State agencies, Nicholas Lovrich (1985) reviewed the managerial beliefs that often create barriers to reorganizing in a democratic fashion. Lovrich identified six common beliefs that influence managers to resist participative management by claiming that it will not work in their specific situation. These beliefs are as follows:

1. Belief that employees have little faith in the management process.
2. Belief that employees who have not been promoted or rated well will have little interest in work problems.
3. Belief that employees who do not like their supervisors will not become involved.
4. Belief that employees who have a low interest in their work will not participate.
5. Belief that if the organization as a whole has a non-participative climate employees will not commit to involvement.
6. Belief that employees who lack a work ethic will not participate. (p. 10)

Lovrich analyzed data from a random sample survey of 781 state employees in Washington State agencies conducted in 1979. These employees were workers in agencies that have implemented participative work processes. Through a variety of statistical tests of the survey data, Lovrich reached the conclusion that "there is little evidence to support the most typical objections raised to the use of participatory management practices" (p. 22). Based on the survey data, Lovrich noted that "it does not appear that a poor assessment of supervisors, a weak commitment to the work ethic, a non-enriched job, or a low

regard for organization-wide openness to employee involvement have much bearing upon employee receptivity to participative management" (p. 22).

Richard Hackman and Richard Walton (1986) studied how "control-oriented managers" react to "self-enacted groups," noting that there are four general types of response: (1) there are those who attempt to kill the group, (2) those who seek to confine the group activities to the social domain, (3) those who accept the group and work with the group, and finally (4) those who choose benign neglect where the group is left alone and allowed to produce (pp. 180-181).

Charlotte Gold's (1986) study on labor-management cooperative efforts found that the failure of line managers or supervisors to accept the idea of employee involvement was a sure way to failure of the cooperative effort.

Likewise, Gerald Klein's (1986) review of 125 companies revealed that the most frequently mentioned obstacles to participative management were management's lack of understanding and interest, management's resistance to change, and management's fear of loss of authority (p. 359).

In a review of a 100-person office organized in self-managed work groups at AT&T, Thomas Taylor (1987) and his coworkers documented an office in which there was only one manager who served as a resource person. The office was run by a committee consisting of six workers and the resource person. The use of a self-managed team meant that

ten supervisory jobs were not needed (p. 37).

Timothy Ross and Denis Collins (1987) conducted a case study of a gainsharing program in an automotive plant and documented the concerns of the managers toward increased worker involvement. Citing Aristotle's criticisms of democracy, the authors suggest that these criticisms are the major concerns that management has about workplace democracy. According to Ross and Collins, Aristotle believed that democracy leads to mediocrity, rule by the uneducated and unskilled, flattery, bureaucracy, instability, and a lack of accountability.

Robert Wilson and Julie Melrose (1988), reporting on the Massachusetts Special Commission on Employee Involvement and Ownership, found that managers who testified to the committee noted that some managers "have had difficulty with the loss of power and control induced by employee involvement" (p. 32).

In a report on creating self-managed work teams, Chris Lee (1990), a writer for Training Magazine, found that the transitional role of the supervisor is a crucial role in creating the teams. Citing Lawrence Holpp of Development Dimensions International, Lee stated that taking over responsibility for productivity and quality from the supervisor is often a barrier for the new team members.

A 1990 survey sponsored jointly by the Association for Quality and Participation, Development Dimensions International, and Industry Week Magazine found that 47% of the companies surveyed reported problems in creating participative leadership due to resistance from

supervisors. "In too many cases, supervisors are reluctant to give work teams the authority they really need to succeed" (p. 31).

Overall, the information appears rather consistent from the earliest efforts to create industrial democracy. Supervisors, who are people who have risen to a formal leadership position within the bounds of autocratic organizations, are often reluctant to give up the positions they have achieved.

New Roles for Supervisors

What is crucial in creating democracy in a structure that already has supervisors in place is to involve the supervisors in creating what their new roles will be in the organization. Bradford and Lippitt (1945) examined specific behaviors for democratic supervisors. According to Bradford and Lippitt, the supervisor should help the group air problems and help the group develop solutions. The supervisor holds regularly scheduled team meetings with an agenda. The team members are involved in identifying agenda items. The supervisor helps the group set its goals and helps the group develop performance standards. An effective democratic leader also helps the group understand the reasons for decisions made outside the group by higher management. The leader should spend most of his or her time, according to Bradford and Lippitt, in individual contacts with the team members and in helping people grow in independence and

responsibility. (pp. 59-61)

William F. Whyte (1951) advocated giving front-line supervisors more decision-making authority and more incentive to consult with the workers, leading to mutual personal respect between factory and union leaders. As a result of cooperative efforts at Inland Steel, Whyte offered this observation:

"Management once had quite uncomplimentary views of the worker in the plant. They seemed an extraordinarily contrary lot, lazy and irresponsible. Now the management people are happy to think of these same workers as fellow members of a team. The managers are genuinely proud of the production job the workers are doing, and they have gained a much more friendly interest in them as human beings." (p. 140)

G. D. H. Cole (1957) addressed the question of changing the supervisor's role, asking if the supervisors will lack the authority they need to make things work in a democratic environment. He answered that most workers in the autocratic system will perform even better when respected and treated as partners. "They will cooperate better as a team in each working group and will be helped one by another to make what they do more effective" (pp. 59-60).

Regarding supervisors' behavior in a redesigned organization, Peter Clark (1972) suggested that the four studied managerial roles--"tells, sells, consults, joins"--must also have "delegates." While participative management is usually associated with "consults," Clark argues that participation should be "a process in which two or more parties influence each other in making plans, policies, and decisions"

(p. 32).

Emery and Thorsrud (1976) observed new roles for supervisors in the Norwegian system of workplace democracy. Based on input from the supervisors in their study, they suggested that new roles would include interdepartmental planning, training coordination, technical and quality experts, and--in some cases--going back to being an operator (p. 140).

In a study of participative work systems in 12 manufacturing plants, Harvard professors Richard Walton and Leonard Schlesinger (1979) observed the problem of blurring the distinction between managerial and hourly work as a participative system is created. It is important for the supervisors to delegate most of the traditional supervisory role to the team to enable the group to manage itself. In the Walton and Schlesinger studies supervisors identified the need for developing skills in leading team meetings, communications, and problem solving.

A Work In America Institute (1982) study on work innovations found that the supervisor's job needs to be redefined to "reduce policing and expediting duties, increase planning, coordinating, and advisory duties, and make it a satisfying whole job." (p. 91) The authors cite a list of duties for supervisors in plants with autonomous work groups at TRW, which focuses on the activities of know-how (decision making, counseling, goal setting, team concepts, conflict resolution), problem-solving skills, and expertise in safety,

budgets, paperwork, and production knowledge.

Ironically, while many supervisors feel they will lose control in a democratic setting, Daniel Denison (1982) found in his multi-plant study that team leaders perceive they have greater control in a participative environment than supervisors in the traditional factories (p. 304).

It does not appear uncommon for organizations to launch into a redesign program without considering the role of the supervisor in the company. There is certainly little data on the impact of the supervisor's role in creating teams, according to Australian social scientists John Cordery and Toby Wall (1985). Their research led them to believe "supervisory behavior is an integral part of work design" (p. 426) because of the role of supervision in communicating information as feedback to autonomous groups. The authors have reviewed a wide range of studies on work design to conclude that "research has tended to ignore supervisory variables." (p. 426)

Audrey Bean, Carolyn Ordowich, and William Westley (1986) described a new emerging role for supervisors within participative work environments in supervisory roles at Cynamid Canada, Imperial Oil, and Canadian General Electric. This new role centers around enabling the people to manage themselves. This enabling role has two dimensions: (1) building team competence and skills, and (2) coordination with the other parts of the work systems. Supervisors may resist this new role, according to the authors,

because of reluctance to give up status and power. However, by giving up authority to the group, the authors point out, supervisors gain authority based on trust and respect (p. 68).

Sam Camens (1987), speaking from a union leadership position, noted that the role of managers needs to change. One key role is to redefine the role of middle managers as responsibilities are pushed lower into the organization. In a report on a participative work climate at Tektronix, Mangiapane (1988) found the role of supervisors to change as the company created work teams. "Managers had to become communication facilitators. People had to learn to communicate with one another, and managers were responsible for guiding that communication." (p. 70) Managers' roles also involved giving people new skills and creating a support structure for the work teams.

Likewise, at Deere and Company's employee involvement program, managers are rethinking their roles. Dutton (1989) found that supervisors are "learning to enlist people's heads and their hearts as an integral part of the work process" (p. 49).

Lawrence Holpp and Richard Wellins (1989) of Development Dimensions International have also noted that the role of supervisors is changing in organizations with work teams. New roles for supervisors include "master trainer, coach, team leader, facilitator or technical resource" (p. 52).

In 1989, the Work In America Institute published Jerome Rosow and

Robert Zager's study, New Roles for Managers, which reviews the changing roles for managers and supervisors brought about by increasing employee involvement. Rosow and Zager (1989) provided an overview of the topic and reviewed case studies from Kodak, Allied-Signal, Cummins Engine Company, A. E. Staley Company, and other companies. Rosow and Zager found that the role of supervisors is often overlooked in planning employee involvement efforts, thus leading to numerous implementation problems. Span of control may be overextended, careers are threatened, power is lost, rules change without the supervisors' input, little or no training may be provided, or no rewards are offered for helping with the new effort. In addition, the authors found little information available regarding the new role for supervisors in work teams, which led them to collect these case studies.

Roles for supervisors can vary greatly depending on the type of employee involvement being initiated in the company. Rosow and Zager identified several possible roles, such as high-delegation management, training, technical expert, and systems manager. Supervisors often play a coordinating role instead of a managing role in a team effort and often must learn to lead through training, coaching, and advising the team. However, as the supervisor delegates more to the team, the supervisor becomes free to pursue continuous improvement efforts with the team. Rosow and Zager conclude that four areas must be addressed to ensure adequate involvement of supervisors in the employee

involvement process. First, the supervisor's role needs to be planned in the transition process. Second, responsibilities must be clearly defined. Third, roles between supervisors and support staff should be clarified. Fourth, employee efforts need to be expanded to include knowledge workers. It is very important, according to Rosow and Zager, to include the supervisors in the planning process.

Charles Manz, along with David Keating and Anne Donnellon (1990), identified four stages in the managerial transition process in creating participative workplaces. In a study with a small group of managers, these researchers found that the managers went through initial resistance, realization of positive possibilities, wrestling with new roles, and learning a new language.

Managers resisted a participatory system, according to Mann, Keating, and Donnellon, because it implied criticism of existing methods and managers, and there was a fear among the managers that the work would be out of control. The managers doubted that workers were capable of making decisions, and some believed that the workers did not want to work. As managers began to see the advantages of a participative environment, they grew to see the ability of workers to handle self-management, according to the researchers. Managers then began to envision new roles for themselves as "resources" (p. 21).

The third stage of wrestling with new roles involved managers learning new facilitative skills and critiquing their own behaviors. They thought about how to become facilitators instead of ordering

people around, and they reflected on how to change their communication styles. In the fourth stage the managers focused on the language they use in discussing issues and concentrated on employing language that places responsibility with the group members.

Although the information on new supervisory roles is sporadic, there does appear to be an emerging pattern. In transitioning from a traditional autocratic team to a democratic environment, a need is apparent to consider involving the existing supervisors in new roles as team facilitators in order to win their support, which may well be crucial to making a successful transition.

While little data are available regarding employees' attitude toward retaining their former supervisor as a team's facilitator, the role of the new facilitator is becoming clearer. Team leaders play an important role in helping the team organize meetings, share information, learn new skills, and contribute technical expertise to the team, which are skills they learned as supervisors.

Thus, two important educational processes would appear to be needed to create a democratic workplace. One is the preparation of supervisors to give up their autocratic skills and acquire new democratic behaviors. The second is for workers to learn skills that will enhance their ability to take responsibility as part of a democratic team.

Critiques of the Current Educational System

Several advocates of industrial democracy have expressed concern regarding the support for democratic principles taught in American and British school systems. John Dewey (1916) proposed a melding of technical and liberal education to give workers the means to participate, plus a broader knowledge base with which to learn new skills.

Ernie Roberts (1973), the British Trade Unionist, believed that workers' conditioning to accept autocratic management begins in the school system. "The greater the docility and conformity of the products of the education factory, the more useful and less troublesome will those products be when they are absorbed into the capitalist system to earn a living," (p. 183) according to Roberts.

In his study of educational programs needed for autocratic and democratic industrial systems, Wirth (1977) found that most people support an economic model that emphasizes cost accounting and quantitative results. This leads educators to shy away from qualitative studies such as studies of training programs designed to improve democratic practices. Wirth asks, "Does one design career-education models that mirror the hierarchical, meritocratic needs of industry sharply oriented to quantitative efficiency and profits? Or does one begin to entertain the possibility that we are entering a new era on the planet where our basic relations with

nature, with each other, and with ourselves will require fundamental qualitative redesign? Redesign, for example toward the values ... that relate closely to Dewey's call for social reconstruction based on more widespread collaborative participation in industry and education ..." (p. 67).

Martin Carnoy (1981), from Stanford University, argued that formal and informal education in America "act in opposition to the cooperative and collective consciousness relevant to industrial democracy" (p. 244). Basing his article largely on the work on an Italian social thinker, Antonio Gramsci, Carnoy reflects on Gramsci's view that educational processes in a nation are based on the values of whatever group or class dominates the state. The social structures of the nation, such as its educational system, then serve to perpetuate the values of the dominant group. How a nation organizes its production capacity depends on the consciousness of the people as well. It will be incongruent to be teaching democratic decision making in school systems designed to support autocratic management. Carnoy observes that worker-controlled companies create a new form of education.

One private college, Guilford College in Greensboro, North Carolina, has developed a concentration in democratic management. Guilford's curriculum includes standard marketing, accounting, and financial courses along with classes in employee ownership alternatives, conflict and cooperation, workplace education, and

participatory organization in the public sector.

The Need for Education to Create Democracy in the Workplace

Many of the business, labor, and academic researchers involved in the study of democratization have called for on-the-job educational programs to enable the process. At the Minnequa Steel Foundry, Selekman (1924) discovered that employee representatives expressed dissatisfaction with their ability to deal effectively with managers. They felt they did not have the education to prepare them to represent their fellow workers.

Bradford and Lippitt (1945) stated that "training in democratic group leadership" was an obvious answer to creating democratic leaders, and they outlined the skills needed for democratic leaders. In addition to training, Bradford and Lippitt noticed that the supervisor must tailor his or her approach to democracy to the needs of the specific group. "Every supervisor must realize that he starts from where the group is. If the group has been accustomed to rigid supervisory control, with no opportunity for initiative or responsibility, to give complete responsibility in the beginning would only result in a laissez-faire situation. In such cases responsibility must be gradually extended, with more careful encouragement and leadership given to the employees" (p. 61).

Walton and Schlesinger (1979) recommended careful preparation of supervisors in making a transition to the self-managed environment.

Pasmore (1982) observed that successful efforts in creating participatory environments devote large amounts of time and energy to training. Janice Klein (1984) advocates training for supervisors, which must be buttressed with the creation of supervisory networks for supervisors to discuss their own issues (p. 92).

Marshall Sashkin (1985), a senior associate in the U.S. Department of Education, argued that participative management only works where it is properly applied, meaning careful preparation and training before people are tossed into a participative setting. In her review of characteristics leading to failure of employee involvement efforts, Charlotte Gold (1986) identified insufficient training for managers, facilitators, and participants as a sure way to kill the transition to democratic leadership.

Marvin Weisbord (1987) noted that learning plays a vital part in achieving democracy in the workplace. However, he also observes that "each time people are sent to classes without vehicles for participating in policy, procedure, strategy, goal setting and work design, they rightfully feel conned" (p. 101).

On the question of education, Aubrey and Felkins (1988) noted that "training is essential in any commitment to the participative process" (p. 49). They suggest a two-step process, with training first for all the leaders and facilitators and then for the team members. Often the team training is conducted by the supervisors, who "assume more responsibility for the process when they perform a

central role in establishing the process in their department or section" (p. 49).

There are several guidelines for participative training offered by Aubrey and Felkins. Training needs to relate directly to current objectives, should be matched to the experience and developmental needs of the group, should recognize the perspective of adults as learners, and should include a variety of formats and opportunities for team interaction.

Barbara Dutton (1989) identified training as a key part of the change process toward a participative environment at Deere's Harvester Works. Rosow and Zager (1989), in their study for the Work In America Institute, also point out the need for supervisor training to enable them to develop leadership skills for team efforts.

In an outline of the steps to creating a participative management program, Mark Hordes (1989), American Productivity and Quality Center, establishes education and skill development as one of the vital steps. "It would be difficult, if not impossible, to expect managers and supervisors to become more participative without providing them with specific knowledge, skills, and tools to make it happen" (p. 3).

Likewise, the joint survey by the Association for Quality and Participation, Development Dimensions International, and Industry Week found 54% of the companies surveyed reported they had underestimated the amount of training they needed to provide to develop the new participative behaviors. However, Peter Clark (1972) argued that

the impact of training in creating a participative environment is small, even when using role-playing and group methods. Behavior at work is shaped by social norms and structured relationships, so Clark advocated focusing on training organizations to be participative rather than training people.

What Type of Education is Needed for Supervisors?

A number of researchers and practitioners have identified, in various degrees of detail, educational needs for supervisors. In general, they advocate teaching supervisors to become team leaders by learning team leadership skills, better communication skills, problem-solving methods, and conflict-resolution skills.

At the Harwood-Weldon program, Marrow, Bosers, and Seashore (1967) provided what they referred to as human relations training for the supervisors. Victor Vroom (1975) supported the idea of training for managers to help them understand situational variables and to develop a repertoire of styles to meet the requirements of a given situation. Walton and Schlesinger (1979) found that supervisors need to learn skills in leading team meetings, communications, and problem solving.

Bate and Mangham (1981), in their five-year study, provided a one-day workshop for management and one-day training for shop-floor representatives on interaction styles and conflict management.

"Subsequently, as we indicated in our notes, the group took on a new lease on life" (p. 45).

The Work In America Institute (1982) suggested that training for supervisors should be conducted prior to forming problem-solving work groups. Supervisors will learn decision-making skills, counseling skills, conflict-resolution methods, problem-solving skills, and training in group dynamics.

Richard Pierce (1986), writing from his experience with General Electric and as chairman of the American Society for Quality Control's Quality Motivation Technical Committee, suggested that the best trainer for managers should be a respected manager who is given a special assignment to lead the training in participative methods. Managers need to be taught three basic skills and concepts, according to Pierce. These are empathy, self-esteem, and rewards (p. 49). Supervisors should also exhibit trust, openness, and self-control and be able to conduct shared goal-setting with the workers. Pierce also notes the widespread Japanese practice of using university professors to conduct a broad range of training in companies, and he points out how American industry can learn from the Japanese by developing closer ties with American universities.

Furtado (1988), in describing training for managers at Pratt and Whitney, found a need to confront managers with their own autocratic behaviors to convince them of the need to change. Pratt and Whitney trainers created their training program around an intense simulation

that would bring actual work behaviors to the surface and thus identify the need for changing behaviors.

At Motorola, training is a major part of their Participative Management Process, according to Bill Gonnodo (1989). Supervisors attend a two-week seminar in which they learn how to hold monthly meetings, how to deal with working committees, and how to reward, along with an understanding of the basics of quality improvement.

Holpp and Wellins (1989) found that creating work teams means developing a "new breed of supervisor" who "will need training in leadership skills such as coaching, teambuilding, training, visioning, and decision making" (p. 52).

In describing Martin Marietta's Performance Management Teams in Orlando, Vladimir Mandl (1990) documented the training for supervisors. According to Mandl, supervisors receive 25 to 54 hours of training in leadership, communication skills, team-building techniques, problem solving, coaching, recognition skills, and reinforcement skills. Supervisors then serve as trainers for their work teams.

Democratic Education for Workers

Providing education for working people that will allow them to participate in a more democratic workplace poses questions not only of content for the training, but of the approach to the educational process. Kurt Lewin (1945) observed that democracy requires a

learning style of leadership and "followership" that are different from the roles found in an autocracy. "Establishing democracy in a group implies an active education: the democratic follower must learn to play a role which implies, among other things, a fair share of responsibility toward the group, and a sensitivity to other people's feelings" (p. 310).

The learning of democracy cannot be accomplished through autocratic means, Lewin insisted. "These principles might be clarified by lecture, but they can be learned, finally, only by democratic living." As part of this learning process, Lewin pressed for the redistribution of power. "Ideology cannot be changed without changing the actual distribution of power within a group" (p. 311).

Cary Cooper (1972) has studied the use of a variety of sensitivity training methods to enhance teamwork in a range of work settings. Cooper, who is with the University of Southampton, conducts the training to help people deal with communication processes and to improve teamwork in organizations. In many cases, the group itself decides on what it will discuss, while the "trainer" facilitates the group processes. One of Cooper's peers, Peter Smith (1972), with the University of Sussex, has found that there is a lack of critical thinking process to help facilitators select which tools would work best under which circumstances. For example, Smith believes that practitioners should be aware that sensitivity methods previously well proven for groups of strangers may not work well at

all for existing in tact groups where people often need to confront each other in a supportive manner about communication and team problems.

The Trade Unions in Sweden have taken an active role in providing educational programs to enable their members to participate in democratic work structures. Birger Viklund (1977) maintained that for industrial democracy to become a reality, representation on corporate boards must be supported by education for workers' representatives. Unions, in Viklund's view, must become "schools of employee participation in decision-making and industrial democracy" (p. 390). Vilund states: "The willingness and ability of union members to assume responsibility and exercise their democratic rights are directly related to the state of their knowledge" (p. 390). Shop stewards are heavily involved in programs to learn personnel policies, investment, marketing, and other areas previously considered management's rights.

Sweden's central labor body has 1.9 million members, of whom 50,000 will need training each year, by Viklund's estimate. While Viklund's union used to host a five-day residential course for leaders, it subsequently has developed a package of study-circle material for basic union education. In addition, the Metalworkers involved 9000 members in a series of three-day conferences on decision-making methods and employee involvement.

Liz Chell (1980), an Organizational Development professor, and

Derrick Fielden (1980), a professor of Adult Education, have illustrated the essential linkage between adult education (which they refer to as non-formal education) and creating industrial democracy in the workplace. Rapid changes in technology are creating major stress in society and the workplace, according to Chell and Fielden. They propose that two interrelated mechanisms to help people and organizations cope are industrial democracy and non-formal education. Industrial democracy should consist of both direct involvement at the work level and representation at the board level of companies, according to Chell and Fielden, and at both levels people need to learn new skills for effectively contributing to the workplace.

Managers and workers often adopt certain myths regarding workers and education, according to Chell and Fielden. Some of these are the beliefs that shop floor workers have no desire to further education and that education means going back to school. In addition, there appears to be little time devoted to education in many businesses and paid education leave is not a reality in many countries, although it is common in Sweden, France, and Germany.

Robert Turner and Roger Count (1981) have conducted an action research project with British Trade Union members to define educational needs to further democratize industries. There are two broad areas of educational need for creating democracy in the workplace, according to Turner and Count. One need is to teach participative decision-making techniques to workers. The second need

is to understand economic, industrial, and social facts and perspectives that will influence how boardroom decisions are made.

Turner and Count documented a televised and postal-based study program for trade union members in Britain which focuses on teaching democratic principles and methods for participation. The project was a major step away from traditional adult education programs directed toward workers and designed to enable workers to be promoted into managerial positions. Instead, these programs focused on learning to apply democratic values as workers. Participants in this televised program reported numerous improvements in understanding industrial issues ranging from job satisfaction to government intervention in the economy. Participants gained a broader view of issues related to economic democracy, according to Turner and Count.

According to a study by the Work In America Institute (1982), training for work teams often includes exercises in motivation, interpersonal relations, group dynamics, Kepner-Tregoe, cause-and-effect analysis, Pareto analysis, and statistical process control. The study suggests that training should be interwoven with actual group issues and not all be done ahead of formation of the team.

In his review of approaches to industrial democracy, Tom Schuller (1985) made several observations on the need for education and training to prepare worker representatives to work effectively with managers and executives. This educational process could either be formal or based on Antonio Gramsci's concept of informal learning

through participation. The formal education itself may impose constraints on the democratic process, according to Schuller, so he expects education will have to be revised as the workplace becomes more democratic.

In Sidney Rubinstein's (1987) experience, which spans 30 years of working on labor-management collaborative efforts, the entire change process is built on education in group problem solving, conflict management, and teambuilding.

As self-managed teams take on more responsibilities, their educational needs will likewise expand. James Kochanski (1987) surveyed 20 organizations using work teams. Kochanski found that the teams can successfully handle the selection process for hiring new team members. To make this work, Kochanski found, the Human Resources professionals must provide the work teams with training in selection and interviewing processes.

Aubrey and Felkins (1988) identified several skills necessary for effective functioning of work teams. These include problem solving, presentation skills, communication, group dynamics, and group leadership. Training for participation "occurs at several levels over a period of time, and includes general orientation, core training, specialized training, and advanced training," according to Aubrey and Felkins (p. 53).

Edward Lawler (1988) offered some thoughts related to education and democratic participation at work. "The work team

approach also makes a considerable impact on the knowledge that employees have. Now instead of simply knowing one task, they are expected to learn multiple tasks. An effort is also made to move vertical tasks into the work team so the employees may learn important managerial and staff support skills" (p. 108).

In reviewing education needs for worker-owned cooperatives, Frank Adams (1987) asked if the learning methods currently in practice are really suitable for a workplace based on democratic principles. With a belief that democratic principles are best grasped through direct participation, Adams advocated "nonformal learning" as one effective way to teach workers. This approach involves study circles or workshops. Working with the Industrial Cooperative Association, Adams and other staff members develop materials that would be "vital to any firm, then tailors them to the unique requirements of the labour-owned enterprise at each site" (p. 44).

Citing the Mondragon worker-owned project in Spain, Adams observed that "worker ownership will democratize knowledge" (p. 47). Adams noted that "the artificial barriers as to who gets to learn what must fall aside if cooperation is to flourish as the organizing medium for production" (p. 47).

Adams contrasted the fundamental assumptions of education in an investor-owned setting with education in a worker-owned setting. Observing that "no modern social movement which has wrought fundamental social change has been without some sort of

self-elaborated, independent educational effort." Adams stated that "learning how to make decisions, to know, to value, and to gather and sort information becomes essential. Also, it means dynamic social change" (p. 49).

In Adams' collaboration with Gary Hansen (1987), the two advocates of worker-owned businesses suggest establishing an educational program for these companies.

"The specific characteristics of such an educational plan will vary from firm to firm, but, in general, will include vocational, performance, political, and cultural elements. Vocational learning will impart or enhance those skills needed to accomplish tasks at hand. Performance learning will improve the way the firm is managed. Political learning will nurture democratic decision-making and participation inside the firm, and outside in the surrounding community. Cultural learning will foster a labor-based vision of social change, again inside the firm and outside." (p. 170)

Adams and Hansen suggested conducting an educational needs assessment based on these assumptions:

- "(1) The opportunity to learn any job in the cooperative is open to any member regardless of race, creed, sex, age, national origin, political beliefs, or educational attainment level.
- (2) That learning occurs through work itself, from informal dialogue, or formally through organized activities, and that all members have the responsibility to use both informal and formal learning in fashioning the firm's educational program and policies.
- (3) The aim of education in a labor-managed enterprise is to increase the abilities and skills of all members to control corporate decisions, resources, policies, and results." (p. 171)

Mark Hordes (1989), with the American Productivity and Quality Center, has identified several "cluster areas" to include in education for all people in a democratic training effort. These cores are:

- Knowledge: Productivity and quality principles.
Dynamics of human behavior.
- Behaviors: Communications--verbal/nonverbal.
Motivating and leading.
- Skills: Team development.
Small group process.
Facilitation.
- Habits: Problem-solving and prevention tools.
Goal-directed structures.
Feedback methods.
Recognition and rewards.
Processes.
- Practices: Effective organizations.
Conflict management and resolution.
Group consensus/shared decision making.
Employee involvement techniques.

In a review of numerous self-managed teams, Chris Lee (1990) found that training plays an important role in developing teams. Teams need cross-training in performing tasks, according to Lee, as well as training in problem-solving, decision-making, and conflict-resolution skills.

Focusing on Training Needs

This review of literature covers the wide historical setting for this action research project. It also discusses the specific literature relevant to the identification of training needs to help supervisors become democratic leaders.

It is clear that the interests of various writers in this field varies considerably. Some focus on creating more participation within the existing autocratic work structures and economic system. Some look to reform of the work structure within the existing economic system. Some focus on changing the economic system through the advancement of cooperatives which utilize democratic leadership processes.

The type of training needed to support democratization depends very much on the objective being sought by the organization. If the organization seeks to increase participation within an existing autocratic system, then the educator should be critically aware of this objective and, if he or she is ethically able, should design the training to fit the boundaries. Some educators may be unwilling to accept the autocratic system and may intentionally design in training activities which will create cognitive dissonance for participants in order to foster change in the autocratic system.

If the organization seeks to provide training which will support structural change towards democratic processes, then the educator will need to design activities which create opportunities for reflection among the participants about their assumptions regarding autocratic leadership. The educator will also need to include specific skills for participants to master in order to effectively lead in a democratic manner.

The training needs would possibly be somewhat different in an

organization based on a cooperative or worker owned structure. However, it should be noted that in the Mondragon study, Whyte (1988) found that the worker owned cooperative was managed along rather traditional autocratic lines and was just beginning to experiment with new methods being imported from the Tavistock Institute. It should not be assumed that people in a worker owned company have begun to abandon their conditioned thinking and behavior which supports autocratic decision making.

In summary, the following specific learning objectives were identified through this literature review as topics to be addressed in training which seeks to teach democratic leadership skills. These were collected on the assumption from the management in the research setting that the objective was to enhance democratic leadership behaviors which would replace the traditional autocratic structures and assumptions in the organization.

1. Confronting managers with their own autocratic behaviors.
(Lewin, 1945; Furtado, 1988)
2. Learning to teach. (Rosow and Zager, 1989; Holpp and Wellinds, 1989)
3. Leading Meetings. (Walton and Schlesinger, 1979; Gonnodo, 1989)
4. Facilitating Communication. (Walton and Schlesinger, 1979; Pierce, 1986; Mangiapane, 1988; Aubrey and Felkins, 1988;

- Mandl, 1990)
5. Teambuilding skills. (Mandl, 1990; Holpp and Wellins, 1989; Bean, 1986)
 6. Decision Making skills. (Work In America Institute, 1982, Holpp and Wellins, 1989)
 7. Conflict Resolution skills. (Bate and Mangham, 1981, Work In America Institute, 1982; Rubinstein, 1987)
 8. Group Dynamics. (Bate and Mangham, 1981; Work In America Institute, 1982; Aubrey and Felkins, 1988)
 9. Measuring Performance. (Thor, 1990)

These topics comprise an unusual mix of learning objectives. Some topics focus on learning behavioral skills, such as conflict resolution, teambuilding, and communication skills. Some focus on learning specific tasks, such as establishing performance measurement systems. Confronting managers with their own autocratic behaviors engages the participants in reflective thinking about how they view power in the workplace, which is a different educational process.

The mixed learning objectives pose an interesting question regarding the sequence in which the training should occur. Reflective thinking should be addressed early on in the training in order to create a motivation for learning the new behavior and technical skills. In each skill building area, participants

will need to be give reasons why learning the specific skill will enhance their performance as a democratic leader.

The sum total of the training is a synergetic product which combines the changes in thinking, behavior and technical skills to encourage a new leadership style. This new leadership style does not support an untransformed authority structure, but rather changes the authority structure in the workplace at the fundamental, front-line level.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

This research was organized as an action research study centered around a life situation. The people in the case study were supervisors engaged in a large organization's training program in order to learn democratic leadership skills. This research met the requirements of field study methodology as defined by Robert Yin (1989). Yin defined a field research as "an empirical inquiry that :

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when
- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which
- multiple sources of evidence are used."(p. 23)

The purpose of field research, such as action research, according to Yin, are to "explain the causal links in real-life interventions, describe the real-life context in which an intervention has occurred, and to explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes."(p. 25)

Setting

This research was conducted with thirty supervisors from a division consisting of over 200 employees. This division is

one of approximately 80 divisions in a company of 21,000 people. The division provides information support services such as record keeping and library administration for the company. The company has several missions, including basic research and development in biological, energy, and environmental sciences, precision fabrication of machined parts, and environmental restoration and clean-up of sites for the federal government.

Participants in this research included all of the front-line supervisors in the division. The research was part of a democratization process within the entire division and management desired to encourage all supervisors to implement changes at the same rate.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study were:

- (1) Is this specific training program for supervisors, based on input from the literature and from other democratic team leaders, perceived by the supervisors as beneficial in terms of helping them change their leadership style?
- (2) What can be learned about how the supervisors in this project see themselves, the people that work for them, and their organization from the perspective of changing

to a democratic leadership style?

- (3) Will the supervisors perceive a change in their view on leadership and their ability to lead in a democratic manner?
- (4) Will the supervisors identify changes in their leadership behavior after participation in the training program?

Procedure

The research procedure consisted of identifying training needs for the classroom training, development of the training course, development of the research instruments, collection of data and analysis of the data. The first step in the action research was to identify the training needs for the supervisors. The knowledge and behaviors which support democratic leadership needed to be established in order to be taught in the training program. The content of the training program was derived from two sources-the review of related literature and through focus group interviews with an existing work team and with participative leaders.

The recommendations for concepts and behaviors to be trained as a result of the review of literature were specified in the final parts of the previous chapter. The focus group interviews were conducted with two groups of people who were identified by their managers as likely sources of information.

The first group consisted of a team of five people who work together in a different part of the organization from where the research study was to be conducted. This team consisted of a person who had been the group's supervisor and his employees. However, they had transitioned into a team where the supervisor had become a leader-facilitator and where the team members made decisions regarding work assignment, budgets, and other decisions normally associated with supervision.

The team members met and the researcher asked them to brainstorm a list of topics which a traditional group would need to learn in order to become a team, with an emphasis on the leadership skills needed for a team to work. The whole team then participated in ranking the list through nominal group technique. Mosley (1974) describes nominal group technique as a method for allowing groups to work together to accomplish a wide range of organizational activities. In this process, each individual judged the relative importance of the brainstormed ideas and ranked them on a scale, giving five points to the most important idea. Subsequent ranks of four, three, two, and one were given by the participants to the next most important ideas. The summation of all participants' rankings gave the overall ranking by the whole focus group.

The second focus group consisted of eight men and two women who were traditional supervisors and had recently made the transition into becoming more democratic in their leadership styles. These ten people

were from nine different divisions at one plant site, and none were from the organization in which this research project was conducted. These ten leader-facilitators were asked to brainstorm a list of topics for training for other supervisors to help them become democratic leaders. Then the group was asked to prioritize the training topics through nominal group technique.

The results of the two focus group sessions were compared with the information from the literature review to identify the skill areas which would be targeted in the training program.

Development of the Workshop

Based on the needs identified through the literature review and the nominal group technique, a workshop for the case study group was developed by the researcher. The workshop was designed to be a two day program for groups of 15 people each. The study population was divided into two groups to attend the training, since it would be difficult to have all the supervisors from the division attend the program at the same time. The workshop design is included in the Appendix to this study.

The workshop consisted of two parts. The first part focused on challenging assumptions about leadership styles in order to prepare supervisors to become democratic leaders. The second part dealt with developing the specific skills for democratic leadership, as

identified by the focus group and from the review of literature.

Group exercises in the workshop were designed to encourage the participants to critically reflect on the power structure of the company. Creating this opportunity for reflection had to be accomplished in a non-threatening manner in order to safely engage the workshop participants in open discussion. Many of the participants would instinctively understand the danger of voicing ideas which might threaten the power structure of the organization, even if the discussion were occurring in an officially sanctioned training course. This problem has been clearly defined by Stephen Brookfield (1987) who observed that critical questioning of the power structure is seldom encouraged in most organizations. To facilitate this type of thinking, Brookfield recommends the use of an "esthetic trigger" to break through the habitual thought processes. To achieve this critical thinking in a non-threatening manner, the supervisors were asked to participate in a complicated role playing exercise. In the exercise the participants would either be managers or workers in a fictitious factory that produces a Frisbee from paper plates. While a few people played the management roles, most participants were relegated to performing menial tasks, such as cutting, drawing, or folding the product.

This activity attempted to create a process of reflective thinking regarding autocratic behavior in the workplace. Victoria Marsick (1990) has described this as "the potential

transformation of personal frames of reference that are central to the way in which people see themselves both inside and outside the workplace"(p. 25).

Research Tools and Methods for Evaluating the Workshop

The third step in the research process was to develop instruments for collecting data related to the research questions. Yin (1989) noted that the major strength of field research is the use of multiple sources of evidence. Four research tools were used to evaluate the program. These included a pre-workshop written self-assessment form for the participants to fill out prior to the workshop, a videotape of responses to the major role play exercise, a general survey form administered at the immediate closing of the workshop, and post-program focus-group interviews conducted with the participants ten weeks after the training.

These four sources of evidence are arranged as a chronological time-series analysis, as described by Yin. This form of analysis is effective, Yin noted, because "the basic sequence of a cause and its effect cannot be temporally inverted" (p. 119). "The analytic goal," according to Yin, "is to compare the chronology with that predicted by some explanatory theory" (p. 119) Robert Burgess (1982) has also noted the advantage in studies in social organizations when the researcher is able to "sample the activities that occur over a period of time"(p. 76).

At the beginning of the training workshop the participants were told that the training was a pilot session within the company and that an extensive effort would be made to evaluate the workshop, including the use of assessment forms, videotape, and post-program interviews. All participants consented to be part of the study and considered the collection of data to be a normal part of the assessment of new training within the organization. This was in part an effort to deal with the shortcoming of using interviews and questionnaires in educational research, as pointed out by E. J. Webb (1971). Webb observed that "Interviews and questionnaires intrude as a foreign element into the social setting they would describe, they create as well as measure attitudes, they elicit atypical roles and responses . .".(p. 1)

There were four research instruments utilized in the time series analysis. These were a pre-workshop written self-assessment, videotaping of the role playing exercise, a post-program evaluation form, and post-program focus group interviews. A variety of instruments was used in order to be able to collect data that would give information about the supervisors' perspectives at different times in the workshop and regarding different research questions. The following chart illustrates the sequence, instruments, purpose, and analysis methods for the chronological time series analysis.

CHRONOLOGICAL TIME SERIES ANALYSIS

<u>Sequence</u>	Before Workshop	During Workshop	End of Workshop	Ten Weeks After Workshop
<u>Instrument</u>	Written Self- Assessment	Videotape of Role Playing	Written Evaluation Form	Focus Group Interview
<u>Purpose</u>	Assess readiness for change, skepticism, emotional responses to change, and external variables.	Assess reflective thoughts about their role in the hierarchical structure.	Assess opinions of usefulness of training and changes they perceive in skills and beliefs.	Collect reports of change in behavior and ideas about the workshop.
<u>Analysis</u>	Data grouped into categories of responses.	Content analysis of response frequencies.	Data grouped into categories of responses.	Data grouped based on responses.

The Pre-workshop Written Self-assessment

The pre-workshop written self-assessment followed the guidelines established by Converse and Presser (1986). The survey utilized multiple questions regarding a single topic. The workshop itself provided the preferred "shared reference" (p. 18) for each respondent. Hypothetical questions were avoided, and the assessment form utilized a combination of open and close ended questions as advocated by Converse and Presser.

The pre-workshop written self-assessment was administered to all the workshop participants when they entered the training room, but before the training began. One side of the form contained the pre-workshop self-assessment while the other side contained the post-workshop evaluation form, so that a comparison of pre-workshop and post-workshop perceptions could be obtained.

The pre-workshop assessment obtained information related to the participants' views about workplace democracy prior to the training, and sought to establish the participants' opinions of other work-team efforts in the organization which might have influenced their reactions to the training program in which they were about to participate.

This assessment consisted of five questions. The first question determined what types of concerns the participants brought with them to the workshop. Question number two established the participants' expectations regarding the degree to which they believe their employees are ready to respond to a change in leadership style in their organization. The third question established the participants' views of the capability of their employees to handle greater self-direction. These first three questions were based on the reasons which supervisors offer for resisting a democratic leadership style found in studies by Selekman (1924), Whyte (1951), Orpen (1980), Klein (1984), and Lovrich (1985). Question four established the participants' overall feeling about the idea of creating democratic

work groups. Question five established what, if any, outside factors may influence the participants in the workshop. This question established whether or not the participants had pre-existing negative views or positive expectations regarding the creation of work teams.

The pre-workshop self-assessments were each read by the researcher. The self-assessment questions were designed to allow the researcher to collect data related to the participants' skepticism about the democratization of their work group, their readiness for this change, their willingness to allow their people to change, their emotional response to the proposed change, and any potential influence of other change efforts concurrent in the organization.

Three categories of skepticism were established based on the written information. Participants were allowed to express doubts about management's commitment, doubts about employees' willingness, doubts about the supervisors' abilities and doubts about the concept of democratic leadership. Participant responses were categorized as either negative, mixed, or positive towards democratic leadership concepts.

The supervisors' expectation of readiness for the change were grouped into categories of "very ready," "somewhat ready," "not quite ready," and "far from being ready," to take more responsibility in planning and conducting their work.

Perceptions related to the supervisors' willingness to allow

people to take more responsibility were grouped into broad categories of "ready," "a qualified yes to being ready," "not sure," "not ready," and "need more training to be ready."

The terms used by the participants to describe their feelings were grouped into categories depicting the emotions of the participants, which were "positive," "concerned," or "negative" regarding the possibility of creating of a more participative environment.

The influence of other activities in the organization on the pre-workshop views of the participants was assessed and responses were placed into categories of "very negative," "somewhat negative," "fairly positive," and "very positive."

An overall perspective of each participants' reactions in the survey was compiled by comparing the responses to the questions about skepticism, the readiness of subordinates for change, and emotional reactions. These overall categories were established as "positive," "negative," and "mixed reactions."

The Role Playing Exercise

Reactions to the role-playing exercise comprise the second source of data for the study. The exercise consisted of two parts. Part One placed the participants into a traditional autocratic work environment with a hierarchical management structure. Most participants found

themselves in a role in which they had little power or input into the system. The purpose of this part of the exercise was to re-create the frustrations which employees feel within this type of structure and to illustrate the effect of traditional managerial practices on the workplace.

The second part of the role-playing exercise utilized the same business situation but replaced the hierarchical structure with one person who served as a democratic leader. With all of the other workers on an equal footing, the participants obtained first-hand experience regarding the pros and cons of a work team environment.

The entire role-playing exercise was videotaped for content analysis. Nachmias (1981) describes content analysis for data obtained from records and documents. This method is most frequently employed to describe the attributes of messages. Content analysis involves two steps - specification of the content characteristics and establishment of a system for enumeration. Analysis of the role playing exercise was conducted using a frequency system in which every occurrence of a given attribute was recorded. Burgess (1982) has identified such oral sources to be legitimate documentary evidence for case studies. The transcribing of the videotaped role-plays was conducted in a manner consistent with the requirements on use of video evidence identified by Burgess and by William Whyte (1984).

The videotape of the role playing sessions was first transcribed

into text. Responses to the following specific questions were grouped together:

- a. What specific feelings did the participants who were workers in the role play express regarding their role in the hierarchical structure?
- b. What specific feelings did the people playing the supervisory roles express regarding their own roles and the actions of the rest of the group?
- c. What other responses did the group offer when they were asked to describe how the exercises went?
- d. How did people respond to the President's encouragement in the autocratic role-play?

Content analysis was performed to categorize the frequency of responses from the participants.

Post-Program General Survey

A general survey instrument was administered at the immediate closing of the workshop in order to assess the quality of the instruction and materials, which is normal in all of the company's training programs. The survey allowed each participant to freely comment on the activities in the workshop and allowed them to identify what they learned in the workshop. This survey instrument likewise conformed to the requirements stated by Converse and Presser (1986),

and is consistent with field research methods as noted by Whyte (1984). The post-program general survey instrument is included in the Appendix.

The first four questions on the post-program general survey gave the participants an opportunity to react to the quality of instruction, materials, facilities, and to offer an overall course evaluation. These questions were included because they are part of the traditional post-program evaluation in this organization. These questions were organized along a Likert type scale, where participants would identify numerical values to indicate their feedback. A value of "1" indicated Poor. A value of "2" indicated Fair. A value of "3" indicated Good. A value of "4" indicated Very Good. A value of "5" indicated Excellent.

The fifth question identified what the participants considered to be the most beneficial part of the workshop. This was an open-ended question designed to collect information about whatever the participants consider to be important concerning what they had experienced in the workshop. Question six established the cognitive changes which the participants considered to be important from the training. The seventh question identified what the participants considered to be the important behavioral changes which occurred due to the training. Question eight sought information concerning whether or not the participants had moved to a threshold accepting the concept of democratic leadership enough to recommend exposing other

supervisors to the training. Questions nine and ten were open-ended opportunities for the participants to add information which might supplement the general knowledge of supervisors' views about this training or the concept of training for supervisors in order to facilitate the transition to democratic leadership.

Composite responses from the pre-workshop survey form and the post-program questionnaire were compared in order to identify potential cause and effect relationships. It should be noted that there is no statistical test for cause and effect, only tests to reduce the likelihood that observed cause and effect relationships are created by variation in the data. Typical statistical tests, particularly Chi Square, can be used to assess for variation, according to Ott (1988), but Chi Square cannot be applied unless the trials are independent (p. 218). Data from a chronological time series are related, not independent.

Data from the post-program written evaluation fell into several groups for evaluation. The first group consists of the Likert scale responses regarding quality of instruction, materials, facilities, and overall evaluation which have been tabulated for a mean score from each workshop. These first questions provided a basic quality control function to assure that the research results were not corrupted by poor instruction, poor materials, or major physical distractions and discomfort in the workshop setting.

A list of what the participants observed to be the most useful parts of the workshop were tabulated with no apriori categories. Likewise, a list of the cognitive changes reported from the participants was prepared along with a list of improved behavioral skills reported by the participants with no apriori categories.

The recommendations for other supervisors to attend the training were compiled. Recommendations against sending people to this training have been reviewed for supporting reasons from the participant's complete evaluation form.

Answers to the open-ended questions were compiled aposteriori. Using inductive reasoning, the responses to all of the ten questions present an overall assessment of the participants' reaction to the training course at the immediate close of the workshop.

Since the data from the pre-workshop and post-workshop evaluations was on opposite sides of the same page for each participant, it was possible to review all 30 sets of participant responses. Pre-workshop evaluations with negative perceptions related to democratic leadership were compared with the post-workshop evaluations to determine if participants' perceptions were different.

Post-Program Focus Group Interviews

Two post-program focus group interviews were conducted with the workshop participants ten weeks after the training. This research method is advocated by Yin (1989) as a way "to corroborate certain facts that the investigator already thinks have been established" (p. 89). The questions were posed in an open-ended manner, consistent with Yin's requirement that "interviews are of an open-ended nature, in which an investigator can ask key respondents for the facts of a matter as well as for the respondent's opinions about events"(p. 89).

Participants for the focus group were selected by the organization's manager, based upon the manager's estimation of the participants' progress since the workshop. This continued involvement by the organization's manager was consistent with the real-life situation as well as the process for gathering access to the research population.

One focus-group was intended to bring together supervisors who had progressed toward creating a more democratic style of management. The other group was to consist of supervisors who had not yet opted to change their leadership styles. The focus group interviews were conducted by a third party who was not involved in the original workshops. The third party was selected by the researcher and was another staff trainer interested in conducting the workshop

to other groups in the company. A third party was used so that no one would bias their answers by having to give feedback to the workshop instructor.

Each group was asked open-ended questions to determine their opinions about how the training may have been useful to them. Both groups were asked what other training could be useful for supervisors in making the transition to a democratic leadership style. The group of supervisors who had not yet attempted to make the transition were also asked open ended questions to determine what factors led to their decisions not to become participative leaders.

Records of the focus group interviews consist of the notes taken by the third party interviewer. The researcher did not know the identity of the people who were selected for these interviews. The focus groups were arranged so that the participants' input would not be influenced by having their workshop leader in the room to hear what they had to say.

Responses from the participants in the focus groups were organized into categories around the three primary questions. One set of responses lists the aspects of the workshop which were beneficial and these were placed in categories of specific skill areas. A second set of responses concerns information regarding what other types of training would be considered useful by these people in further developing their abilities to be democratic leaders. This information is simply listed as

received from the participants. The third set of information concerned the response to the question regarding why some supervisors have not yet changed their leadership styles. Summary comments regarding the responses from the group interview have been written.

Results of the analysis are presented in the following chapter. Summaries and conclusions from the research findings are offered in the final chapter of the dissertation. Emerging themes in the data were derived by reflection upon adult education theory and the comments made by participants in the workshops.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The data analysis is reported in this chapter in sections consistent with the chronological times series analysis. First will be an analysis of the data collected from the pre-workshop self-assessment instrument. Second will be analysis of data from the role playing exercise. Third will be the analysis of the data from the post-program written evaluation. Fourth will be analysis of data from the post-program focus groups.

The Pre-workshop Self-Assessments

The pre-workshop written self-assessment was administered to all workshop participants when they entered the training room, but before the class began. It should be noted that not every participant chose to answer every question on the self-assessment, so the total number for each item will vary from question to question.

Data on Participants' Concerns

The first question asked participants to identify any areas of skepticism they had about forming work teams. Regarding these areas, sixteen participants identified issues related to the ability

of their people to work in this manner. Six participants expressed concerns related to management's commitment to the concept. Five believed that systems issues, such as performance appraisals, would keep this change from occurring. One said there were no concerns, and one expressed concern about consensus decision making. Table 1 displays the listing of the participants' concerns.

Table 1. Sources of skepticism about empowered teams.

Source	Frequency	Percent
Ability of their people to work in empowered teams.	16	55.2
Doubts about management's real support for empowered teams.	6	20.7
Systems Issues	5	17.2
No Concerns	1	3.4
Doubts about consensus decision-making.	1	3.4
total	29	

When participants expressed skepticism about the ability of their people to work in a more democratic environment, they used statements such as "some people are not natural team players." One expressed skepticism about his or her "confidence that the people who work for me will take the responsibilities given to them and do a good job." Another expressed concern about "individuals taking on their share of the work load."

These responses imply a basic doubt among many supervisors that all of their employees would really be capable of organizing and performing work without the supervisor providing oversight and control. This initial information contributes to a theme regarding the supervisors' perception that they are reluctant autocrats who are forced by a small number of employees to perpetuate autocratic leadership behaviors.

Readiness of Employees for Self-Management

When questioned about the readiness of people in their group to become more self-managed, fifteen participants believed that all or most of the people in their group were ready for this at the time of the workshop. Five people felt that roughly half were ready but that half were not ready. Four perceived that most of their people were not ready for a democratic environment. Three thought that their group could do it, but needed training, and one claimed to supervise in a democratic manner already. These data are displayed in Table 2.

Regarding the supervisors' perspectives of readiness of employees for self-management, a few of the responses indicated that every employee was ready immediately. However, most of the fifteen in the "All or most ready now" category were similar to the following statement: "Approximately 90% are ready to take on more responsibility such as teaming." Another participant stated,

"90% strongly supported." This implies that in the best of cases there would usually still be a small group of people who are not ready for self-management, according to their supervisors.

Table 2. Supervisors perspectives of readiness of employees for self-management.

Category	Frequency	Percent
All or most ready now	15	53.6
Half ready-Half not	5	17.9
Most not ready	4	14.3
Could be ready but need training	3	10.7
Already self-managed	1	3.6
total	28	

Slightly more than half of the supervisors took a position which acknowledges that many of their people are capable of taking on greater responsibility. However, there was still concern about a minority of people who were not ready. Five supervisors did not think that any more than half of their people were ready, using statements such as "Half of the group would do fine, the other half would need supervision or would not do their share." Four supervisors viewed their employees as completely unresponsive. One of these observed that his or her people were "not ready at all. They are still in the mode of 'I do what I am told.' Requests

for suggestions usually get no response."

Supervisors' Perspectives of their Own Readiness

Concerning the degree to which the supervisor perceived himself or herself to be ready to delegate more decision making to their team, sixteen thought of themselves as quite ready to do this. Ten people gave a qualified yes, they are ready if they could chose their team members or were given a responsive team. Two stated they were not sure if they were ready or not. One claimed to be ready, if he or she could have additional training, and one felt this question did not apply to them. No one in the sample stated that they were not ready to give more decision making and planning authority to their people. These data are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3. Supervisors' perspective of their own readiness to empower their people.

Perspective	Frequency	Percent
Very Ready	16	53.3
Ready, if they could choose people	10	33.3
Not sure	2	6.7
Ready, but need training	1	3.3
Not applicable	1	3.3
total	30	

Clearly, the majority of supervisors perceived themselves to be ready to give more planning and decision making authority to their people. Comments such as "I'm looking forward to the change," "Fully," "100%," and "Very Ready - I see it imperative if my group is to succeed," demonstrate perceptions among the supervisors that they are ready for a change. Again the theme emerges that the spoiler will be a few individuals who will compel the supervisors not to change. As one participant observed, "It depends on my perceived notion of the individuals ability to accept responsibility- 100% for those who can, 60/40 for those I don't believe can."

The responses imply that the supervisors do not want to be controlling autocrats, but that they maintain that role because some of their people force them to be autocrats due to poor performance. This poses an important assumption that can perhaps be challenged in a reflective practice experience.

Supervisors' Feeling About Work Teams

Responses to the statement: "Right now the word which would best describe my feelings about creating work teams is _____" are divided into three categories. Ten participants' responses fell in a category of positive statements, such as "great", "Excited", "Positive". Eighteen participants used expressions showing some apprehension or concern about the concept, included phrases such

as "Ambiguous", "Curious", "Cautious", and "Skeptical". Openly negative statements about the concept came from two of the participants, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Supervisors' attitudes about creating self-managed teams.

Attitude	Frequency	Percent
Positive	10	33.3
Skeptical/Cautious	18	60.0
Openly Negative	2	6.7
total	30	

Impressions About Empowered Teams

The final statement on the pre-workshop self-assessment was, "The information I have heard so far around the organization about work teams has been _____. " One of the respondents said that what s/he had heard had been very positive. Twenty-one described what they had heard as fairly positive. Five people described their information as somewhat negative, while one felt it was very negative. One noted that he or she had heard little information at all on the subject, and one reported having heard both positive and negative accounts of work teams. These data are displayed in Table 5.

Table 5. Pre-workshop assessment of supervisors' impression of empowered teams in other parts of the organization.

Impression	Frequency	Percent
Very Positive	1	3.3
Fairly Positive	21	70.0
Somewhat Negative	5	16.7
Very Negative	1	3.3
No Impression	1	3.3
Both positive and negative	1	3.3
total	30	

It should be noted that there were other active projects in the company at the time of the workshop which could have influenced participants' opinions prior to the training. In this case it appears that most participants were perceiving these other efforts positively. A strong negative response may have created an environment in which it would have been difficult for this workshop to be conducted according to the lesson plan. Positive perceptions about other activities worked in the instructor's favor in providing motivation to the participants to participate in the workshop.

Composite Opinion about Empowered Teams

By combining the responses to questions 1,2 and 4, regarding amount of skepticism, "readiness of my people", and personal feelings about work teams, it is possible to categorize the participants as negative about the concept, positive about the concept, or having mixed feelings and thoughts about the concept on entering the workshop. Table 6 illustrates the composite opinions of the supervisors.

Table 6. Composite opinion about the creation of empowered teams.

Composite Opinion	Frequency	Percent
Clearly Positive	10	33.3
Clearly Negative	2	6.7
Mixed Opinion	18	60.0
total	30	

Of the 30 participants, two were clearly negative about the concept, responding with doubt about the concept, concern about their peoples' readiness to proceed, and mixed or skeptical feelings about the concept. Ten participants were clearly positive about the concept, with positive statements regarding work teams, their people's readiness for teams, and their own feelings of optimism about the concept. Eighteen people expressed mixed signals about the the

concept, their perceptions of their people's readiness, and their own feelings about the idea.

An example of a clearly positive composite opinion provides these observations. Regarding areas of skepticism the participant expressed concern about the performance appraisal system used in the company. As to empowering people, this person observed, "My people do this now as much as budget limits allow." And the word this person chose to describe his or her feelings was "Excited."

A clearly negative response stated "this transition will meet great resistance from employees and supervisors." "Personality differences could make teams unbalanced." the word this person chose to describe his or her feelings was "skeptical."

Most responses indicated a mixture of positive and uncertain views. For example, one participant expressed concern about the "time it will take to do teaming," but noted the employees were "probably pretty ready." This person's feelings were self-described as "apprehensive."

The Role-Playing Exercise

Reactions to the role-playing exercise comprise the second source of data for the study. The exercise consisted of two parts. Part One placed the participants into a traditional autocratic work environment with a hierarchical management structure.

Most participants found themselves in a role in which they had little power or input into the system. The purpose of this part of the exercise was to re-create the frustrations which employees feel within this type of structure and to illustrate the effect of traditional managerial practices on the workplace.

The second part of the role-playing exercise utilized the same business situation but replaced the hierarchical structure with one person who served as a democratic leader. With all of the other workers on an equal footing, the participants obtained first-hand experience regarding the pros and cons of a work team environment.

Data from the Role-Playing Exercise

Transcribed accounts for the autocratic role play provided information regarding the workers' role, the managers' role, responses to open ended question about the exercise, and responses from the workers to the benevolent autocrat.

Reactions to the workers' role were categorized as expressing either frustration or satisfaction with the amount of participation they were allowed in their role. There were nine expressions of frustration and no expressions of satisfaction. Expressions of frustration included comments such as "In Limbo!," "Terrible!" "A Nightmare," and "We were ready to go on strike."

Responses to the managers were categorized as expressing

either frustration or satisfaction with the experience of leading in an autocratic condition. There were six expressions of frustration and no expressions of satisfaction. Expressions of frustration can be well illustrated by the statement of a person who played a manager's role. "I felt not very loyal to this company, to the people maybe, but not to the President. I was doing my best under the circumstances." This emerges as a theme from the data. People are not necessarily happy about leading in an autocratic style, but they see themselves as doing the best they can under the circumstances. There appears to be no thought about changing the circumstances.

Responses to the open ended question about the exercise were categorized into those which identified similarities between the exercise and the participants' real work environment, and those which cited differences. There were ten expressions of similarity and no expressions of differences. Statements such as "People, doesn't this sound familiar? We get this every day." strongly indicate that the distressing conditions created in the role play were perceived by the participants as mirroring conditions they experience in the daily work environment.

Responses from the workers to the benevolent autocrat were mostly non-verbal in the form of hand gestures. The benevolent autocrat received a "thumbs down" response from participants.

Several observations can be made concerning transcribed accounts

of the democratic role play. In this role play one person played the role of the facilitator and everyone else was free to decide their own actions. Because the democratic role play did not have a division between managers and workers, the responses from participants cannot be placed in the identical categories used in collecting responses to the autocratic role play as far as the managers' roles are concerned. Participants were asked an open ended question regarding how the role play went.

Responses to the democratic role play were categorized according to the amount of frustration or satisfaction the participants expressed in the situation. One participant expressed frustration in working in the democratic setting. Sixteen people expressed satisfaction in the democratic role play setting. Expressions of satisfaction ranged from short comments, such as "Much Better" and "Excited" to longer reflections, such as, "You felt like you were a part and were able to contribute."

The responses from the autocratic role plays and democratic role plays can be compared in terms of the expressions of frustration and satisfaction, as shown in Table 7.

The people who led the democratic role plays as facilitators each made important observations. One noted, "I felt like I didn't have control, but I was supported. It was an uneasy feeling for a while, but we did get there." The other observed, "The more I laid off (meaning the less he pushed), the better they did. I

listened to what their needs were and passed that along to the various sub-groups. There were potential leaders in the groups that emerged."

Table 7. Responses to autocratic and democratic role plays.

Response	Autocratic	Democratic
Frustration with Role	9	1
Satisfaction with Role	0	16

What is more important about this information is that it was collected by the researcher as it was being shared among the participants. Everyone heard the frustration of the "managers" in the first role play and the observations of the "facilitators" in the second role play. Each individual had the opportunity to consider other peoples' responses to the role play.

This reflective opportunity began to challenge the reification within the group that they were compelled to act using methods they might not prefer because the system force them to do so. They saw how the system could be changed and they experienced the impact that change could have on themselves and their employees.

The Post-Program Written Evaluations

Data from the post-program written evaluation fell into several categories for evaluation. The first group consisted of the Likert scale responses regarding quality of instruction, materials, facilities, and overall course evaluation which were tabulated for a mean score from each workshop. These questions provided a basic quality control function to assure that the research results were not corrupted by poor instruction, poor materials, or major physical distractions and discomfort in the workshop setting.

A list of what the participants observed to be the most useful parts of the workshop was tabulated with no a priori categories. Likewise, a list of the cognitive changes reported from the participants was prepared along with a list of behavioral changes reported, with no a priori categories. The recommendations for other supervisors to attend the training were complied and recommendations against sending people to this training were reviewed for supporting reasons from the participant's complete evaluation form.

The open-ended question responses were complied a posteriori. Using inductive reasoning, the responses to all of the ten questions were reviewed to comprise an overall assessment of the participants' reaction to the training course at the immediate close of the workshop. Pre-workshop evaluations with negative perceptions

related to democratic leadership were compared with the post-workshop evaluations to determine if these participants' perceptions were altered as a result of the training.

Data From Post Program Written Evaluations

The first four questions on the evaluation were quality control questions using a Likert-type scale. The purpose of these questions was to verify that the collection of data was not thrown off track by poor instruction, poor quality materials, or an uncomfortable environment.

Table 8 displays the frequency distribution of ratings for the quality control data. Responses were made on a Likert-type scale as note in Chapter Three, giving scores of Poor = 1, Fair = 2, Good = 3, Very Good = 4, Excellent= 5. Eighty-eight percent of the participants rated the instruction as Very Good or Excellent. Everyone rated the quality of materials and the facilities as at least Good. No one rated the overall course as poor, but one person rated the course as fair. Eighty-two percent of the participants rated the overall course as Very Good or Excellent.

Table 8. Quality Control Data on First Training Class

Quality Attribute	Frequency	Percent
<u>Quality of Instruction</u>		
Poor	0	0
Fair	0	0
Good	2	11.7
Very Good	5	29.4
Excellent	10	58.8
<u>Quality of Materials</u>		
Poor	0	0
Fair	0	0
Good	4	23.5
Very Good	8	47.0
Excellent	5	29.4
<u>Quality of Facilities</u>		
Poor	0	0
Fair	0	0
Good	5	29.4
Very Good	10	58.8
Excellent	2	11.7
<u>Overall Evaluation</u>		
Poor	0	0
Fair	1	5.8
Good	2	11.7
Very Good	7	41.1
Excellent	7	41.1

Table 9. Quality Control Data on Second Training Class.

Quality Attribute	Frequency	Percent
<u>Quality of Instruction</u>		
Poor	0	0
Fair	0	0
Good	1	7.6
Very Good	2	15.3
Excellent	10	76.9
<u>Quality of Materials</u>		
Poor	0	0
Fair	0	0
Good	1	7.6
Very Good	7	53.8
Excellent	5	38.4
<u>Quality of Facilities</u>		
Poor	0	0
Fair	0	0
Good	1	7.6
Very Good	5	38.4
Excellent	7	53.8
<u>Overall Evaluation</u>		
Poor	0	0
Fair	0	0
Good	1	7.6
Very Good	5	38.4
Excellent	7	53.8

Table 9 presents quality control data from the second class. In the second class 92.2 percent of participants rated the quality of instruction as Very Good or Excellent. No one in the second workshop rated the instruction, materials, or facilities as Poor or Fair. No one rated the overall course as Poor or Fair. Ninety-two percent of the participants in the second class rated the course as Very Good or Excellent on the Overall Evaluation.

Part of Workshop Most Useful to Participants

The fifth question asked the participants to identify the part of the workshop that was most useful to them. Five participants left this item blank. Eleven of these responses focused on skill building activities in the workshop, such as conflict resolution skills listening skills, conducting group meetings, and leading participative decision making processes. Fourteen identified conceptual understandings, such as "how teams can be useful in decision making," "the discussion of the facilitative role," and "the detailed explanation of work teams and facilitation" as the most beneficial part of the workshop. The conceptual understanding remarks also include statements by participants that they benefited from the dialogue which they had with one another. Table 10 displays the information reported as useful by participants.

Table 10. Most useful part of the workshop.

Category	Frequency	Percent
Skill Building Activities	11	36.6
Conceptual Understanding	14	46.6
No comment	5	16.6
total	30	

How Training Changed Participants' Minds

Participants were next asked to report on what they have changed their mind about due to the training. Half of the respondents left this line blank. Of the other half that responded, nine responses dealt with achieving improved understanding of teambuilding. This included statements such as "how I currently conduct meetings with my group," and "how the process can be implemented in a department." Six identified new knowledge of participative leadership roles and behaviors. This included observations such as "The idea of facilitator as opposed to supervisor," and "being an heroic manager." Data regarding how training changed participants' minds are reported in Table 11.

Table 11. How training changed participants' minds.

Category of Change	Frequency	Percent
Improved understanding of teambuilding	9	30.0
New knowledge of leadership roles and behaviors.	6	20.0
No response	15	50.0

Skills Learned During Training

The participants were also asked what new skills they learned, and how these skills will be helpful. Twenty-two participants offered their opinions, with many participants citing more than one skill being acquired. Table 12 shows the number of participants who identified each of the skill areas.

With over two-thirds of the participants reporting enhanced skills which could enable democratic leadership, another theme emerges. The participants are mastering skills which can give them confidence in carrying out the objective of democratic leadership.

Table 12. Supervisors' self-report on skills learned during the training program.

Skill Category	Frequency
Listening Skills	11
Managing Conflict	7
Running Participative Meetings	5
Group Decision Making	4
Dealing with Personalities	2
Creating Change	2

The participants were also asked if they would recommend this training for other supervisors. Twenty-six of the participants said yes. Three people left this line blank. One person said No, as show in Table 13.

Table 13. Supervisors' recommendation of training for other supervisors.

Recommendation	Frequency	Percent
Would recommend others have this training.	26	86.7
Would <u>not</u> recommend others to have this training.	1	3.3
Expressed no opinion.	3	10.0
total	30	

Suggestions for Improving the Training

Participants were also asked to offer suggestions for improving the course as shown in Table 14. Sixteen people either left this blank or said they had no ideas for improving the course. Six called for the course to be either shorter, longer, or broken into modules. Two suggested giving specifics on what other divisions were doing. Two called for additional training.

Table 14. Recommendations for improving the training class.

Area to Change	Frequency	Percent
Change the length	6	20.0
Give information from other groups.	2	6.7
Provide additional training.	2	6.7
Blank or "No Comment"	20	66.7
total	30	

In response to a final open-ended question for other comments, 16 of the participants left this item blank. Six gave kudos to the instructor. Two felt the program did not offer much that was new to them. Two commented that the course offered good reinforcement of concepts. Two expressed doubts about the concepts working in their organizations.

An assessment of the overall views of the participants was obtained by looking for indications of learning identified in questions 5 and 7 related to the most useful part of the workshop and new skills learned. The questions relating to the overall evaluation of the course and whether or not to recommend the course to other supervisors were used to determine if a participant's view of the democratic concept at the end of the workshop was positive, mixed, or negative. Table 15 displays the data from the composite views of the supervisors from before and after the workshop.

Table 15. Comparison of supervisors' attitudes before and after the training.

Composite Attitudes	<u>Before Training</u>		<u>After Training</u>	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Positive	10	33.3	26	86.7
Mixed/Skeptical	18	60.0	4	13.3
Negative	2	6.7	0	0.0
	total 30		total 30	

Based on this composite view, 26 of the participants were in the positive category. Four participants were giving mixed feedback about their views of the training. No participants indicated clearly negative views about the concepts and behaviors taught in the

workshop.

The following comparison can be drawn between the data from the pre-workshop self-assessment and the post-workshop self-assessment. "Positives" went up from ten to twenty-six. "Mixed" dropped from eighteen to four, and "Negatives" dropped from two to zero. None of the positives from before the class dropped to mixed or negative. One of the negatives rose to a mixed view, and one rose to a positive view. These data support the theme identified in the analysis of the role playing exercises that the participants perceive there is a real possibility for personally changing to a democratic leadership style.

The four participants who expressed skepticism at the close of the workshop expressed these concerns. One participant observed that the concepts still might be difficult to accomplish due to problems with the people in his or her organization. Another offered no feedback on the post-program evaluation. A third rated the program as only "Good", offered no specific feedback on new skills, and no feedback on recommending the training. The fourth person offered no specific feedback on skills or useful parts of the workshop, but was complimentary of the program.

One participant would not recommend the workshop for other supervisors. This individual was in the mixed category at the beginning of the program and in the mixed category at the end of the program. This individual also gave the workshop the one "Fair" rating

on the overall rating, and did not give any of the Likert Scale ratings a value higher than "Good". This person began the workshop with skepticism about management's commitment to the concepts but professed himself/herself ready to delegate more, but describe his/her feelings as "cautious". His or her post-program comments were: "The information on listening skills and the related activity" were most helpful. The reactions on new skills was blank. Suggestions for improving the course were "it could be shorter, less background and more examples of skills needed." Other comments were "I don't really feel that I learned much that was new in this course. Most of the information and activities have been presented in other courses, meetings, etc." This participant was not expressing resistance to the concepts, but did have concerns regarding the use of his or her time.

Regarding the two participants who had negative views before the workshop, one reported benefiting from the sessions on conflict resolution and listening skills, considered the overall course to be "Very Good", and recommended this training for other supervisors. However, on other comments, this participant expressed continued concerns regarding problems with the people in his/her work group. The other negative pre-workshop participant gave the workshop an "Excellent" overall rating, and cited the exercises in the course as beneficial. This person would recommend the training for other supervisors, and suggested that more time be provided for the training. This person also appeared to have made a significant

change in opinions in the course of the workshop.

The Post-Program Focus Groups

Responses from the participants are organized according to three primary questions which the focus group members were asked. The open-ended first question asked for the aspects of the workshop which were beneficial. Answers to this question were often not specific. According to the interviewer, the participants' overall feedback was that the workshops helped them understand the philosophy and some of the skills for democratic leadership. However, the participants indicated that more "hands-on" experience would be beneficial. While the training was reported by the participants to be informative, it left detailed questions unanswered, such as how time cards should be handled, and what to do about pay scale issues.

A second question concerned information regarding what other types of training would be considered useful by these people in further developing their abilities to be democratic leaders.

As Table 16 shows, most of the recommendations were for expanding topics covered in the workshop. This included more work in personality types, group facilitation skills, conflict resolution skills, and interpersonal relations. There were two proposals for new training on time management skills and training

in computer programs to help the team track improvements and data.

Table 16. Focus group feedback on training needs.

Category of Training	Frequency	Percent
Expanding Current Topics	6	75.0
New Topics	2	25.0
total	8	

The third question concerned why some supervisors have not yet changed their leadership styles. There were several factors identified which were causing people not to move into becoming participative leaders. The factors can be categorized as those which are attributed to the team members, the supervisors, and to the customer, as shown in Table 17.

Of the seven reasons given for delay, five were attributed to be problems within the group, such as limited time to perform work, peer pressures, team members who will not listen to each other, and division with the group between smokers and non-smokers. In the category attributed to the supervisors was the concern that creating participative teams is another management fad and not worth pursuing. The third category of concern was towards customers who are resistant of working

with anything other than a traditional organizational structure.

Table 17. Reasons for delays in becoming democratic leaders.

Category	Frequency	Percent
Problems with team members	5	71.4
Problems with supervisors	1	14.2
Problems with customers	1	14.2
total	7	

This completes the data analysis from the workshop setting. A summary, along with conclusions, implications, and emerging themes is presented in the final chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This action research project was conducted in order to create new knowledge about how to help traditional supervisors become democratic leaders in the work place. The findings from this project can be organized around several questions offered in the first chapter. These questions are:

- (1) Is this specific training program for supervisors, based on input from the literature and from other democratic team leaders, perceived by the supervisors as beneficial in terms of helping them change their leadership styles?
- (2) What can be learned about how the supervisors in this project see themselves, the people that work for them, and their organization from the perspective of changing to a democratic leadership style?
- (3) Will the supervisors perceive a change in their views on leadership and their ability to lead in a democratic manner?
- (4) Will the supervisors identify changes in their leadership behavior after participation in the training program?

Summary of Results

The content of the training was beneficial to the participants, both in challenging their perceptions about leadership, and in building vital skills for becoming democratic leaders. There is a clear relationship between the training and the supervisors' reports of changes in their perceptions and the increased skill in democratic leadership which they reported.

Supervisors in this study did not see themselves as a source of resistance to the democratization process. Instead, they identified their management and their employees as the source of resistance. The data suggest that supervisors may act out a self-fulfilling prophecy allowing their doubts about how well their people could perform in a democratic setting to forestall any steps toward democratization.

The supervisors reported that their perceptions about democratic leadership were altered; specifically, they increased their understanding and willingness to demonstrate democratic leadership in their own work group. Reflective practice exercises created clear challenges to underlying assumptions about leadership in their organization. Supervisors moved from negative and mixed feelings about the introduction of democratic leadership towards much more positive perspectives.

The training alone did not lead to reports of immediate changes

in the supervisors' leadership behaviors. However, the post-program focus group interviews identified possible causes for this lack of real change. Recommendations will be offered for actions which will bring closure to the change process.

Question One: Helpfulness of the Training

There is clear evidence that the supervisors in the workshop perceived the training to be helpful to them in understanding the principles of democratic leadership, which is a first step towards changing their leadership styles. As noted in the report of data, many of the supervisors identified specific skills which were improved by attending this course. Ten people cited listening skills as being enhanced. This confirms the observations by Walton and Schlesinger (1979), Pierce (1986), Mangiapane (1988), Aubrey and Felkins (1988), and Mandl (1990).

Seven people reported improvement of their conflict resolution skills. This feedback supports the positions of Bate and Mangham (1981), the Work In America Institute (1982), and Rubinstein (1987). Four people claimed that their abilities in group decision making were improved in the workshop, reinforcing the recommendations for training made by the Work In America Institute (1982), and Holpp and Wellins (1989). Four more identified improvement in conducting participative meetings which affirms the opinions of Walton and Schlesinger (1970) and Gonnodo (1989).

There can be little doubt that most of the participants found it to be a very useful experience. As noted, 87% stated they would recommend the training for other supervisors in the organization. If a person really did not believe the workshop provided them with a meaningful learning experience and was a worthwhile expenditure of two days out of their busy schedules, it is doubtful they would recommend it for other people. Three people left this line blank, and one said he/she would not recommend the training because there was nothing new for that individual in the content of the program.

At the time of the post-program focus group interviews none of the participants had actually gone on to change their leadership styles. While the training was clearly beneficial in helping people become prepared to change their leadership style, there was no actual change reported.

Overall, the results of this study strongly support the general position by researchers in the review of literature that education to support the building of new skills would be useful to the supervisors making this transition to democratic leadership.

Question Two: New Knowledge about Supervisors' Perspectives

There is no information in the review of literature concerning the perceptions which supervisors have about themselves, their people,

and the organization regarding democratic leadership. The review of literature suggests that supervisors will resist the move towards democratic leadership and argues that they need training to help them make the transition. Klein (1984) suggests that the resistance comes from supervisors' beliefs about the need to control workers, supervisors' enjoyment of their status, and their fear of loss of power.

The supervisors in this action research project revealed an important insight into their thinking about the proposed move towards democratic leadership in their organization. Only one of the 30 supervisors identified his or her own ability or commitment as a potential concern related to implementing this change process. All of the others either identified the potential problem for implementation as being their unsupportive management, or their unwilling or uncooperative employees, or a system which would not support this leadership style.

The strong indication in this group is that supervisors do not see themselves as the obstacle, but rather point to the people above them or below them in the organization as being the problem in making change. They perceive themselves as ready and willing to make the change, even prior to having much training in the area. However, they doubt the ability of their employees to function without an autocratic leader, or they doubt that their management is really serious about creating this kind of change. They

therefore do not see it possible for them to change when they have the same boss and the same people who apparently need to have the existing autocracy in order to function.

This indicates a type of self-fulfilling prophecy for the supervisors in this change effort. They perceive that people cannot really manage to work without the autocratic system, therefore they may fulfill that perception by resisting the modification of the system. While the skills training is important for the supervisors, in order to help them lead in a democratic manner, the most important part of the training may be activities which promote critical thinking about the ability of their people to work in a democratic environment. This reinforces the need for designing experiences like the Frisbee Factory role play into the workshop. Something must happen in the course of the training that unfreezes the supervisors' perceptions about the ability of their people to function successfully in a participative environment.

The literature strongly suggests that the supervisors will be a potent force of resistance against democratization. Selekman (1924) clearly cited front-line supervisors resisting involvement efforts at Minnequa. Follett (1927) offered the same observation in the railroad. Zwerdling (1978) noted this problem in the coal mines. Marchington (1980) found the same problem in his manufacturing study. Klein (1984) made this same observation in an eight plant study. Lovrich (1985)

cited this problem among civil service supervisors. Ross and Collins (1987) documented this problem in an automotive study.

The supervisors in this study did not envision themselves as resisting the involvement of their employees. Rather, they see themselves as the reluctant keepers of the status quo. They claim to be willing to change, but doubt that those around them can make it work. Their concerns about the change process did not center around their own ability or willingness to become democratic leaders.

Question Three: Changes in Cognitive Perceptions

Reports of changes in perceptions can be assessed on the basis of the feedback to the role playing exercise and from the post-program written evaluation. In the role playing exercise, people were asked to talk about their experiences in the exercise. These comments were transcribed and reported in the last chapter. It is clear that for many participants the role playing exercise did raise their awareness about autocracy in the behavior of supervisors and that they shared these thoughts with others in the group, based on the verbal statements they made.

Content analysis of the role playing data indicated that the exercises created a great deal of frustration with the autocratic roles and a high degree of satisfaction while working

in the democratic setting. This strong shift in frustration and satisfaction created the opportunity for reflection. This can be identified in quotes from the participants such as, "People, doesn't this sound familiar? We get this every day!" "I think this happens all the time where decision are made by one group without even consulting with the groups that the decision impacts the hardest." "We learned that management doesn't listen." "We wanted to make some decision on our own and move on. Having to make decisions by going through this only gateway was holding us back." "We give up our ideals in order to produce something."

Each of these statements by the participants indicates some serious reflection occurring regarding the behaviors they had just acted out and how those behaviors related to their own life situations at work. The role play recreated a simple but fundamentally accurate power structure in the autocratic organization. The participants, who are supervisors endowed with power, were forced to see the organization from the perspective of those who have no power, and had to think about how they themselves control the flow of information, make decisions without involving their people, and keep their people in the dark about what is going on in the organization.

If the supervisors approach democratic leadership with a belief that their employees are unable to participate in a responsible manner, then this type of role playing exercise may

be quite valuable. Without a challenge to this belief, a self-fulfilling prophesy will occur where the supervisor believes the people cannot participate, so he or she does not enable them to participate, and any forced participation fails. If the supervisor is confronted through a role play with his or her own behaviors which strip employees of the ability to fully participate, then the supervisor may see how his own actions have led to the belief which he holds.

When the role play changed to allow people to work together to make decisions, there were responses which indicated that the role play was effective in creating an opportunity for the supervisors to re-think their opinions about how their own employees, back in the work place, could participate. They found themselves effectively participating in planning and executing the work without a direct supervisor, and saw that the change was not a change in the people, but a change in the structure in which the people worked. Comments such as, "You felt you were a part and were able to contribute" indicate that some participants were perceiving advantages to a participative approach to work.

This exercise is clearly not a propaganda piece which tries to sell supervisors on accepting the concept of democratic leadership. the data indicate that this role playing creates a setting for allowing people to challenge some of their basic precepts regarding the structure of work. The supervisors were

made personally aware of the feelings of alienation or confusion which different work structures create.

This opportunity for reflection could lead supervisors to see that the people in their organization are not well prepared for participation if the structure has never allowed them to do so, but that changing the structure could, in turn, change the people's ability to successfully work together. On the other hand, a supervisor in this role play may conclude that the organization really could function without them, and may then resist the change out of fear of losing their position and influence.

In the post-program written evaluations, half of the participants did not offer written information about how the training changed their minds about democratic leadership. This may have been a poorly phrased question that participants glossed over at the end of a two day workshop. Of those who did respond, most indicated that they could definitely see how the concepts in the training course could be implemented in their group.

There is strong evidence from the post-program written evaluation to indicate that cognitive changes were perceived by the participants to have occurred, based on their reports of changes in the behavior areas. Of the participants, 22, or 73% identified new skills they learned from the program, as reported in the last chapter.

It is clear that most participants perceived that they learned new leadership methods which they would be able to apply back in their organization.

It was Kurt Lewin (1945) who first suggested the need to confront managers with their own autocratic behaviors before skill building can begin. This idea was supported by Furtado (1988) in his study of managers at Pratt and Whitney. The evidence from this action research reinforces the claims by Lewin and Furtado. The role playing exercise was an effective tool for confronting managers with the problems of an autocratic system, thereby establishing the motivation for the participants to learn new skills.

Question Four: From Training to Implementation

It is noteworthy that the participants expressed a need for additional training. The identification of additional skills training, and the suggestion of more training in administrative details indicated that the supervisors perceive an important relationship between education and behavior in creating democratic work groups. However, the data from the focus group interviews lead to the conclusion that training alone is not enough to create action for creating democracy in the work place.

This observation does not contradict the opinions expressed in the review of literature. No researchers have claimed that

training alone will create democratic leadership. Instead, researchers such as Bradford and Lippitt (1945), Pasmore (1982), and Klein (1984) have advocated training as an essential part of the transition process. To leave out this part of the process is to invite failure. To rely only on training would likewise cause the transition process to fail. Weisbord (1987) specifically noted the need for learning coupled with other vehicles such as changes in policies and work design to create a total package for the transition to democratic leadership.

On entering the course most of the participants saw themselves as being supportive or capable of making a change to a democratic leadership style. They also perceived either their managers or their employees as being unsupportive or not ready for this type of change. While the workshop was effective in helping supervisors grasp the concepts and skills necessary for becoming democratic leaders, there are no data to indicate that they saw themselves as translating this into action.

Focus group feedback indicated that some people were not willing to introduce change until all the systems issues were addressed, such as control of time cards and pay scales. This is useful to know since the training materials pointed out that organizations cannot wait to have all the systems lined up before embarking on this type of change effort. This creates a circular problem. Supervisors will not make the change until

all the systems issues are addressed. The systems issues cannot be addressed until the change is implemented and the need for systems change becomes critical.

The feedback from the focus groups leads to the conclusion that some people clearly saw a need for more training before they would be ready to lead these changes. Most of these identified needs appear to be clearly linked to steps in creating a democratic process and indicate that the supervisors were still thinking about how to make the change happen. However, they were not comfortable with moving beyond the thinking stage.

Emerging Themes

There were three themes which can be detected in the data; a presence of reification, a sense of possibility for change, and the development of alternate perspectives about leadership.

The first involved a presence of reification within the participants. Reification was defined by Mezirow (1990) as "seeing a phenomenon produced by social interaction as immutable, beyond human control." While the supervisors in this case did not support autocratic leadership, they continue to practice it. They believe that the behavior of the people who work for them forces them to remain autocrats. The supervisors see themselves as just doing the best they can under the circumstances. They

do not question their assumptions or their circumstances and do not wonder how their situation would change if the circumstances were altered. There appears to be an acceptance of their work setting as being an unalterable system in which the supervisors must labor.

The theme of reification can be illustrated from the sources of skepticism expressed by supervisors in the pre-workshop questions, in their views about their employees' readiness to take on more responsibility, and their overall attitude about creating work teams. Sixty percent expressed skepticism or caution about creating empowered work teams. While they saw themselves as being ready to change, and while they perceived many of their employees to be ready, they appeared to be trapped by the few people who were not ready and trapped by "the system." Statements such as "some people are not natural team players" and "Half of the group would do fine, the other half would need supervision or would not do their share," indicate the skepticism held by some supervisors.

The issue of reification can also be detected in concerns related to management's commitment to a more participative environment and the belief that systems issues, such as performance appraisals, would keep this change from occurring.

There appears to be a parallel between the reification among supervisors in this case and the reification identified by

Freire (1985) regarding literacy training among the poor in Latin America. In both cases there is a clear need and opportunity to provide education which will help empower people to create more democratic systems in which to live. In both cases there is reification, the reluctance to act caused by a belief that the existing system really cannot be changed. Supervisors and workers in industry may parallel Freire's poor in a common lack of perception that the systems in which they live were created by men and can be changed by men. It is their own set of beliefs that keeps them from changing and traps them in conditions which they do not desire.

The second theme involved the creation of a sense of possibility that the circumstances in which these supervisors worked could actually be changed by them. They began to see how the existing conditions may encourage the employees to behave in ways which the supervisors had used as their justification for being autocratic. This theme emerges in the comments during the role playing exercise.

The opportunity for reflective thinking through the role playing exercise began to challenge the reification held by many of the supervisors. The accounts from the autocratic and democratic role play indicate that a moment of praxis was occurring in the workshop. One manager observed to the others, "People, doesn't this sound familiar? We get this every day."

Another described the democratic role play by saying, "You felt like you were a part and were able to contribute." The evidence that 90 percent of the responses to the autocratic role play were expressions of frustration and 100 percent of responses to the democratic role play were expressions of satisfaction lends credence to suggesting that the role play did indeed create an opportunity for reflecting on the autocratic structure.

Brookfield (1987) described the use of a "trigger event" which "prompts a sense of inner discomfort and perplexity" as the first step in a reflecting thinking process. The role playing exercise served as such a trigger event. This exercise gave the participants the chance to consider how their beliefs about the behaviors of employees was challenged by the influence of the structure and leadership style within the work group. This learning was praxis, the reflection about one's actions based on one's theories, and the reflection about one's theories based on one's actions.

The third theme was one of developing alternative perspectives as supervisors reported that they learned new skills in the workshop which will enable them to serve as democratic leaders. They reported new ability to lead participative meetings, handle conflict, and lead groups in participative decision making processes. They also reported

changes in their thinking about leadership which indicated a positive view of the democratic leadership concept and the emerging of a new confidence that the supervisor can become a democratic leader.

The skill building exercises moved the participants from the initial re-appraisal of their beliefs created by the trigger event of the role playing exercise. Brookfield (1987) has described the next steps as exploration and development of alternative perspectives. Positive composite attitudes about the leader/facilitator role rose from 33.3 percent before the program to 86.7 percent after the program. Negative attitudes fell from 6.7 percent to zero. The post-program focus group interviews showed that the overall workshop helped the supervisors understand the philosophy and some of the skills for democratic leadership.

Over two-thirds of the participants reported learning new skills which would enable them to change their leadership style. The support for the workshop, endorsed by 86.7 percent of the participants for other supervisors to take, indicated a positive reception of the concepts and skills.

Overall, the workshop created the opportunity for the supervisors to move substantially through the emancipatory learning process as outlined by Brookfield (1987), Mezirow (1990) and Freire (1985). The participants entered the program

in a state of reification. They encountered a trigger event which offered discomfort and set the stage for discussion and reflection. Subsequent lectures on organizational structure and participation in skill building sessions enhanced the process of exploring options and developing alternative perspectives.

Implications: Comments on the Research Design and Techniques

Virtually all information developed to date related to democratization of the work place has resulted from action research. This specific project proved effective in capturing the thoughts and reactions of the participants in an environment which was genuine for them. The training program and documentation of reactions were conducted in a real-life setting so that the data collected reflect spontaneous reactions and thoughts from the participants.

Each of the data collection instruments blended into the conduct of a training class in the company's normal training environment. There was no artificial intrusion into the setting.

Results of the research were fed back immediately to the line management in order to take further steps towards implementing the democratic change process. This brought

the action research process through its full cycle.

Implications for Practice

There are implications from this action research related to program planning, the use of reflective practice in workplace settings, and the role of the educator in emancipatory learning projects in the workplace.

This research suggests that practice in education for democratization needs to be approached from a more systematic program planning perspective. Boone (1985) has identified several program planning concepts which, if applied to workplace democratization, would improve the change process. First, Boone points out the need for concepts which express abstract thoughts. The review of literature has shown the need for a more systematic formulation of the concepts related to democratization of the work place. There are multiple approaches to workplace democratization which can be applied in different economic settings. Boone's suggestion of using a "cognitive map" could be successfully applied to these various approaches. Boone also advocates the use of operational definitions, which are generally lacking among people attempting to provide education to support the democratization process.

There needs to be clarification of what Boone refers to as the "macro objectives" of the democratization process. Again, the review of literature displays a wide variation in objectives among people

who are pursuing democratic ventures. The change strategies need to be better documented by all practitioners in the field of workplace democratization. Additional identification of what Boone refers to as "micro objectives" would facilitate communication about both research and practices.

It is time for practitioners to have a program plan which defines macro objectives and micro objectives and then defines the optimum strategy for achieving those strategies based upon research. An overall process might include:

- (1) Decision by management to democratize the workplace.
- (2) Communication of this goal to the work force.
- (3) Educational activities for supervisors and employees.
- (4) Coaching to follow up on educational activities.
- (5) Clear time line for implementing the change process.
- (6) Measures of changes in business performance.

This study also has demonstrated the usefulness of an "esthetic trigger" device in order to create reflective thinking about the power structure in the workplace. Further application of this tool might be useful in the workshop setting. A well prepared workshop leader could use the videotapes from the workshop and play them back immediately for the participants, pointing out the key statements which people made regarding their perceptions about the workplace.

The research has demonstrated the possibilities of utilizing a reflective practice exercise as a method for creating learner motivation for skill building exercises. There are additional possibilities for expanding the use of reflective practice methodologies in the work place as a means of generating new thinking about many unquestioned assumptions in the work environment, such as hierarchical structures, ownership of resources, and distribution of benefits and protection of the environment.

There are advantages in future workshops to utilize former supervisors who have become leader-facilitators as the workshop leaders. These people might have a greater ability to address concerns from the participants.

This research project also suggests implications regarding the use of emancipatory learning experience in the workplace.

First, it should be pointed out that this research was conducted with the full support of the management of the organization. To attempt to conduct this type of training in an environment where management was not supportive of the concepts would discredit the educator, create unresolvable conflicts for the supervisors, and probably poison the climate for democratization for many years in the future.

Second, the opportunity to provide education which will democratize a workplace can exist in many types of economic settings and business areas. This research was conducted in an

economic setting where the resources were owned by the state. Most of the examples in the literature review cite progress being made in work settings which are investor owned. Whyte (1988) showed that even in worker-owned businesses, such as the Mondragon cooperative, there is an opportunity for expanding democratic processes.

A third implication for practitioners concerns being aware of where one's organization stands regarding the desire to maintain autocratic leadership or develop democratic leadership styles. Educators need to be critically aware of their role. They need to recognize if their actions are truly aimed at creating a more democratic process, or if in Freire's term, they are being used by management to "domesticate" the vision of a democratic work place. The distinction which Elden (1987) offered between working on an organizational development project or an organizational democratization effort must be examined by each educator to avoid naive projects which do little to create the democracy which has been a central theme of the adult education process.

Implications for Research

The idea that supervisors are locked into a self-fulfilling prophesy regarding autocratic leadership may be a new concept coming out of this research. While the idea of a self-fulfilling

prophecy has been investigated in educational and financial settings, there has not been prior linkage of this concept with the change from autocratic to democratic leadership styles. Expanding on the concept of a self-fulfilling prophecy may be very helpful for supervisors as a follow-up or addition to the content of this training.

While the training program in this research clearly supports the claims in the literature, and can be clearly demonstrated as supportive to supervisors in changing their thinking and behaviors, it must also be observed that training alone did not lead to creating democracy. The training must be reinforced in some manner. Perhaps this could be accomplished by a specific plan established by the leadership of the organization. This plan might identify the point in time by which a first pilot group will be created, and set milestones for other groups to follow until a wholesale transition occurs. At any rate, some driver apparently needs to be in place to set the expectation that change will occur once it is clear that the supervisors are well prepared to make the change.

A few organizations have used staff people to work as coaches with the supervisors after the training programs. There is little information about this approach in the literature, but further descriptions of the effectiveness of post-program coaching would be valuable in finding the best method to

optimize this change process.

A cross-organizational survey to identify approaches to education for democracy in many companies would provide comparative data which would enhance the program planning process. This type of comparison would provide information on the content of classes and the participants' evaluation of the usefulness of differing approaches. It is currently too difficult to compare training activities between companies since there is little documentation of the content of classes.

A longitudinal study of any company which has pursued this effort for several years would be valuable in developing a program plan for the democratization process. A study which documents the lessons learned and long term problems and benefits would provide more insight into how to construct educational programs to advance the process as effectively as possible.

Finally, the researcher is concerned with ethical implications of the research process. There does not appear to be any conflict of interest for researchers associated with universities conducting research in this field for clients in order to establish a more effective program planning process. However, some researchers are working for private firms which are in the business of marketing training programs to further some form of democratization, usually some weak version which

will be palatable to benevolent autocrats. The objectivity of this research is highly questionable when it is being conducted in order to expand into a market.

Conclusions

The numerous claims in the literature that companies should invest in training in order to create a more participative climate are supported by this study. Until now, these claims have not been supported by any validation from supervisors that such training is truly beneficial to them in helping them change their perceptions and develop skills which will support them in their new leadership roles. This research provides the first evidence to move these claims for training out of the realm of opinion and into that of fact.

This action research project also confirms another use of emancipatory learning processes as beneficial in the work environment. Brookfield's process of critical thinking consisted of five stages: the trigger event, appraisal, exploration, development of alternative perspectives, and integration of new perspectives into behavior. The training in this research provided a setting for the first four stages of critical thinking to occur. The final step, integration, can be obtained through the use of an implementation schedule and a person who can coach the supervisors in using their new skills.

For those who may believe that the creation of self-managed teams and leader/facilitator teams is a recent fad, this study includes an extensive literature review which reveals that these recent developments are part of a process which has been under way for over 70 years in the American workplace, and which has every prospect of continuing into the future.

Closing Statement

The movement toward democracy in American industry has been a slow, gradual process with many side roads and diversions. Research to support this process has come from a variety of sources, most notably from adult educators and social scientists.

The interest in implementation of democracy in the workplace is currently increasing, so the need for a systematic approach, based on research, is greater than ever before.

A systematic program plan cannot be established on the basis of this action research project. However, by comparing this specific project with those from other companies, it should be possible to develop a broad strategy to facilitate the democratization of industry and accomplish one of the earliest objectives of the adult education movement.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Needs Assessment

The content for the Facilitating Work Teams course was drawn from three sources. The first source was a focus group interview with supervisors who were leading work teams. The second source was a focus group interview which consisted of members of a high performance team. The third source was the general review of literature, including the review of course materials utilized by the American Productivity and Quality Center and materials developed by Bill Belgard.

The focus-group interview involved ten supervisors who had been assigned the task of creating "Performance Measurement Teams" which were intended to create a more participative climate in their work areas. While these supervisors had received little training in preparation for the assignment, they had developed their own opinions as to what types of training would benefit other supervisors who would make a similar transition, based on their own experiences.

The supervisors were asked to participate in a brainstorming session to identify the types of training which they felt supervisors would need in order to become more participative leaders. After the supervisors brainstormed their list they used nominal group technique to prioritize the list. The highest areas of need identified by the

supervisors were (1) improvement in communication skills, (2) understanding of measurement, (3) better skills in running participative meetings, (4) group decision making skills, and (5) more knowledge in resolving conflicts.

The supervisors' needs assessment was quite similar to the needs identified through the review of literature. The top five needs were consistent with those identified by Walton and Schlesinger (1979), Bate and Mangham (1981), and the Work In America Institute (1982) study. Likewise, Holpp and Wellins (1989), Gonnodo (1989), and Mandl (1990) identified the same basic needs for supervisors making the transition into a democratic leadership style.

Course Outline

The workshop consists of two parts. The first part focuses on challenging assumptions about leadership styles in order to prepare supervisors to become democratic leaders. The second part deals with developing specific skills for democratic leadership.

In the first part of the workshop there are four stages. First is an exercise designed to involve supervisors in describing their work environment. Following this the supervisors are exposed to a concept briefing on various theories of workplace design. A major group exercise follows the concept briefing, with the intention of personalizing the meaning of the briefing. The exercise is followed

by a second concept briefing which draws from the learning in the group exercise and links it to the question of leadership behaviors.

In the second part of the workshop the focus shifts to learning more about specific behaviors and skills conducive to being a democratic leader. There are nine modules in this part of the program, covering the facilitator's role and skills, group dynamics, measurement processes, running participative meetings, personal empowerment, listening skills, conflict management, involving people in decision making, and a segment on creating change.

Logistics

The workshop is intended to be conducted in two one-day sessions for a group of ten to twenty supervisors. Participants would ideally be arranged in a U-shape table setting.

Part One: Reflective Practice

The supervisors are asked to divide into small groups. If they are from only a few organizations they can be grouped together by those organizational units. In their small groups they are given an easel page and some magic markers. Their assignment is to draw a picture which will illustrate their work organization, showing aspects such as hierarchy, customers, products and services. After they have created their pictures, a spokesperson from each group will explain

the drawing to the group as a whole. The facilitator should point out similarities and differences between the drawings and solicit reasons for these from the group.

With this exploration as a base, the next stage involves building on concepts related to organization design. The facilitator will explain the traditional work systems design which seeks to break overall tasks down into their simplest components of work. Individuals are assigned to these elementary jobs, and the jobs are coordinated from above with constant supervision. An alternative work systems design groups tasks together and assigns individuals to work as a group. The group becomes responsible for getting the tasks done, becoming more self-regulating and coordinating, with the support of other resources as needed.

The facilitator then presents a diagram of the stages of involvement efforts in organizations, based on information from APQC. An early stage allows employees to participate in suggestion systems, surveys, and early forms of information sharing. An increased stage of involvement utilizes joint labor-management teams, quality circles, and cross-functional teams for special projects. With these experiences to learn from, organizations can create democratic work teams with leader-facilitators. In some cases teams can even go on to become semi-autonomous work teams.

Group Exercise

With this concept briefing completed, the participants are set to work in a major role playing exercise called the Freedom Frisbee Factory. Volunteers are solicited to play the roles of a factory President, Production Manager, Distribution Manager, Engineering Manager, and Quality Manager. All other participants are designated as workers in either a Drawing Department or a Cutting department. The company's objective is to market frisbees to customers in East European countries. The frisbees will be made from paper plates, and must have words or drawings related to freedom in two colors as well as two notches cut in each "frisbee". The President is to physically isolated from the workers. Only the Production Manager can give instructions to the two work groups and only the production manager is authorized to requisition blank paper plates from the facilitator at a cost of two cents each. Only the Distribution Manager may contact the buyer, also played by the facilitator, in order to make sales. All outgoing frisbees must be approved by the Quality Manager. Designs for plates must be approved by the Engineering Manager.

The expected result of this part of the exercise is that the majority of people, playing the workers, will become very frustrated at their lack of decision-making authority. Furthermore, the "managers" will also have a great deal of frustration due to the constraints placed on them. It should be expected that participants in the role play will be commenting on how much the situation

resembles their normal work environment.

The facilitator should allow the role play to run for about 30 minutes, keeping track of how many frisbees were sold to the factory, how many were purchased by buyers from Bulgaria (at five cents each), and the factory should be charged three cents a minute for operational costs such as salaries. At the end of the 30 minutes, total up liabilities and sales to see if the group has made any money or if it has gone bankrupt. This part of the exercise should be processed by asking the group some open ended questions. "How did it feel to be a member of the Notching Department?" "How was this similar to or different from your normal work environment?"

After everyone has had an opportunity to make their observations, re-create the same factory but under new policies. Keep the same person as president, but tell everyone else that they are now all on the same equal footing. The President will be a facilitator and everyone else will work together to decide what needs to be done and how it will be done. Run the factory for fifteen or twenty minutes to allow the participants to see that they are already out producing the old factory. Then process the exercise with questions. "What was important to you about the difference in the factory?" "How did you feel about being a member of this factory?" "Why was the second factory more productive than the first?"

Second Concept Briefing

The second concept briefing will provide more empirical data to reinforce the group exercise.

A brief presentation on Team Effectiveness Theory will point out that group members are always dealing with issues such as whether or not they are "in" the group or "out" of the group, how much power each person has, and how many skills and resources the members have. The feeling of being "in" the group, with the group having power and skills leads to openness and effective feedback within the group. In this climate the group's performance will be optimized in regard to planning, and working together, which leads to high output, improved quality, lower costs and increased profits. These benefits are motivating to the group and reinforce the basic group issues of being in or out, with or without power, with or without skills and resources.

Supervisors will often take on a heroic leadership style when faced with a difficult situation. The hero will try to take on more and more of the work, seeing himself or herself as noble and heroic, but will be seen by the group as being autocratic. In our contemporary climate, with increased environmental, health, and safety requirements, tough competition, procedures, audits, and investigation, we must each ask ourselves as leaders if the organization can afford for us to be heroic leaders when that keeps

our peoples' energy from being fully utilized in decision making and control.

The supervisors are then briefed on several classic studies on leadership. Kurt Lewin's triangular model of autocratic, democratic and laissez-faire styles is presented. Bradford and Lippitt's four styles of leadership, the hard-boiled autocrat, the benevolent autocrat, laissez-faire, and democratic are discussed. Tannenbaum and Schmidt's continuum of leadership behavior is presented and each supervisor is asked to circle where s/he would be on the continuum. The Harwood Manufacturing Study is reviewed to show that in comparisons with autocratic leadership, participative groups respond better to change, have better long-term performance, have higher morale, and have lower turnover and superior attendance. Rensis Likert's research is quickly reviewed to show that democratic groups can match autocratic performance in the short run and out perform autocratic styles in the long run. Democratic groups have higher attendance and better relations with their supervisors. Democratic groups have more loyalty to their company and less turnover than autocratic-led work groups.

Information from the company's internal communication survey is then reviewed with the supervisors. The survey data found that only 22% of the employees in the company see themselves as involved in making decisions. Only 26% believe that decisions are being made at the proper level. Likewise, feedback from external audits has

revealed that most audit findings are deficiencies which are well known at the laboratory, shop, and office level, but which are filtered out through the many layers of management. Managers who are residing in the stratosphere may have difficulty resolving issues through typical autocratic means.

As a closing place in the concept briefing, the group is briefly introduced to the concept of a high performance team. This team has a definable membership, a group consciousness, a shared purpose, interdependence and interaction within the group, and is led by a leader-facilitator. The key to creating this group is the change in the leadership style. The old style involved a boss who made decisions, did the planning, saw the budget, and measured performance. To make great increases in performance the boss must become a facilitator who involves the group in planning and making decisions, gets the group involved in looking at budget and other information, and allows the group to measure the team's performance.

Part Two: Skill Building

The workshop leader presents a concept briefing to the group which previews what the rest of the workshop will cover. This briefing introduces facilitators roles, and a brief overview of group dynamics.

The role of a team facilitator will involve activities such as being an educator, a technical resource, a counselor and a change

agent. It is important to share with the group the types of skills which facilitators need to have, based on input from the focus group supervisors and the review of literature. These include understanding how to establish measurements, how to run participative meetings, effective listening skills, conflict management skills, and participative decision making.

Underlying all of these skills, the facilitator must have an understanding of group dynamics. The work group will always need to focus on two issues, task achievement and group maintenance. Regular team meetings allow the group to focus on tasks and will help in group maintenance. Special meetings are needed for group development and training. Teams have patterns for participation over time. The patterns can be recognized by asking questions about how much talking is done by the leader, to whom are questions addressed, and who in the group is not talking. Communication patterns can be physically mapped during the course of a meeting to illustrate dynamics. Over time groups may develop some degree of cohesion. Group cohesion will influence how well the group will work together. Issues related to cohesion will involve sub-groups, loners, lack of interest in doing the work by group members, and how the members refer to the group. Facilitators should watch for the development of synergy as the group begins to become cohesive. Synergy exists when a team interacts effectively so the benefits it creates, both for the members and the organization, are greater than the resources it consumes.

Of course personality styles can have a great impact on team efforts. Each team is a unique blend of unique individuals. Supervisors in the workshop should be made aware of various personality assessment resources which they may want to use with their teams. These include the "I Speak Your Language" assessment, the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, and Wilson Learning's Managing Interpersonal Relations assessment.

Principles of Measurement

The participants will need a brief concept briefing on measurements. Measures, for instance, should meet the user's needs, and not be taken simply for the sake of having measures. The reason for using measures should always be to feed performance improvement. The people who are doing the work need to be able to influence the measures through their work and need to understand what the measures mean.

To be effective a work team needs a family of measures rather than one or two measures. To create these measures the team should think about what is important to the organization as a whole. Measures should be related to the team's mission within the company. What is important to your immediate customer and what is important to the people within the group? Key items from both perspectives should be considered. It is very important to involve the people who will do

the measuring in choosing, collecting, and analyzing the data. In addition, it does the group very little good to collect data and have it put on a shelf out of site. Data for the team needs to be displayed where the whole team can see it.

One method for choosing key measures is to conduct a brainstorming session and then use nominal group technique to select the most important elements to track.

With this briefing completed, divide the group into small groups, preferably from common organizations, and ask each group to brainstorm a list of key items they think they should measure. When they have completed their brainstorming ask each group to assign each idea a number. Then ask each member to individually select the five most important measures and give the a ranking of five (most important) down to one. Then each group will add up how many votes each of the brainstormed ideas received. The measures with the highest total votes would be considered to be the most important by the overall consensus of the group. After the group has completed this exercise they can be told that the name for this type of decision making method is "Nominal Group Technique" and they have just learned how to do it.

Leading Participative Meetings

This is a concept overview of vital points related to leading participative meetings. Develop these concepts using the viewgraphs which express each of these points.

One of the most important aspects of creating a participative work environment concerns the process by which information is shared and decisions are made. The supervisors will need some basic information on leading meetings which are designed to involve the members of the work team.

There are six tips for running effective work team meetings to discuss with the class. The first concerns the use of a standard agenda. Rather than wondering around in each meeting trying to decide what to talk about, the team should have a standard meeting agenda so that everyone knows what is going to happen and can be prepared for the meeting. The first agenda item should be a review of the measures which the group uses for tracking performance. Then the group should move on to special items from the last meeting, or urgent matters from customers, other teams, or staff groups. As the team discusses each item there should be clear assignments for each action which members of the group are going to take.

A second tip to discuss with the class relates to having a regular time for the regular team meetings. If meeting times bounce around, people will not be able to plan to attend and will feel that the meetings are not a high priority. The team needs to discuss and agree on a regular time to meet and then all team members need to make plans to attend.

Interruptions to meetings will not only disrupt the flow of the meeting, but also send a message that meeting as a team is not a high

priority. The democratic leader needs to go to extra efforts to assure that the group can meet in a place where interruptions will be minimized.

Another important aspect of a team meeting relates to keeping the group all involved with the meeting. An effective way to keep the whole group participating is to use a flip chart pad for putting information visibly up in front of the whole group as items are being discussed. This allows everyone to see the information and to have everyone's comments put up in an equal setting.

Finally, as the group becomes skilled in participating in the meetings, participation can be further enhanced by rotating the responsibility for running the meeting. Rotation of the chair allows other people to take more responsibility for the meeting process, provides a learning opportunity, and creates a more democratic meeting environment.

Key Principles For Empowerment

This section of the program consists of a short concept briefing which includes a recommended reading for the supervisors which they can pursue after the workshop.

A recommended reading for supervisors on the topic of empowerment is Zapp, The Lightening of Empowerment. This short story relates the experiences of a typical supervisor when he is suddenly able to

visibly see how people really feel about the work they are doing and the effects of supervisors' leadership styles on the workers. Over time the supervisor discovers that there are three key principles to empowerment. These are to maintain or enhance the self-esteem of others, listen and respond with empathy, and ask for help in solving problems.

Ask the class participants for their opinion about what happens when we do or say things which hurts other peoples' self-esteem. What is the effect on the work environment and peoples' willingness to participate?

Ask the class for the meaning of empathy. Ask why they think it is important to listen to people in the first place.

Ask the class why it wouldn't be a lot more efficient to just jump in and solve the problem yourself? What do they think can be gained by asking for help in solving problems?

Communication Skills

This section of the training consists of a concept briefing on the theory of listening and an application exercise to involve the participants in practicing their listening skills.

Point out to the group that all supervisory training talks about the need to have effective communication. Working in effective teams requires even a higher level of communication skill. The area of communications which most people need to improve is their ability to

listen effectively. Good listening is the key to cooperation in a team, and leads to respect among people. The ability to really listen is also one of the most important tools in conflict resolution.

The method we will cover in this workshop is called Active Listening, and was developed by Carl Rogers. Active listening helps people better understand the full aspects of a situation, and improves cooperation between people. By actively listening we also encourage other people to take more responsibility for solving their problems, either in the workplace or at home. The vital part of active listening is for the listener to try to grasp the facts and feelings of what she hears and to reflect these facts and feelings back to the speaker.

There are many goals of listening. We should listen in order to respond to the speaker's needs, not our own. We should keep listening even when the speaker's ideas and actions are different from our own. Sometimes this is difficult when the speaker wants to talk about a problem which makes us uncomfortable, or uses language which we don't want to hear.

In order to achieve active listening we need to reflect back the facts and feelings we have heard from the speaker. Our objective is to respond to the speaker with empathy. While we do this we need to withhold our judgment about the content of what the speaker said and about the speaker himself.

In active listening we want to get inside the speaker, to

understand his or her perspective of the situation. We must seek to listen for the total meaning, not just the information we want to hear. The listener needs to recognize and acknowledge all of the feelings which the speaker is trying to tell us about. Often the feelings are more important than the factual information being offered. While listening to the words, we must also note all of the nonverbal cues such as how the person sits or stands, the amount of eye contact, and other actions the speaker may be involved in while also speaking. Once we think we understand what the speaker is trying to say we must test for understanding by reflecting what we think the message is back to the speaker to verify that we really have understood the message.

Divide the class into groups of three. In each part of this exercise the participants will each play three separate roles, that of speaker, listener, and critiquer. The speaker's role is to select a situation and discuss it with the listener, ad libbing the feelings and concerns which the speaker might experience in the situation. The listener is to listen for the content and feeling and to reflect both of these back to the speaker. The listener is not to offer his or her own opinions and is not to slip into a problem solving mode. The critiquer is to listen to how well the listener reflects the speaker's thoughts and feelings and to give the listener feedback about how well he or she did as an active listener.

The possible situations for the role plays are:

- a. "I really don't like the way that I have to work so much more overtime than everyone else in this group."
- b. "I'm tired of being the only person who will clean up around the coffee pot."
- c. "I think we're letting our telephones go on ringing and ringing and our customers don't like it very much."

Allocate four to five minutes for each role play. The three team members are to rotate the roles so that everyone will play each of the three roles.

After all of the role playing is completed, ask the group for observations about what happened during the role plays. Ask them if they found themselves jumping into problem solving. Ask how well they did in reflecting the facts and the feelings. Ask them if this style of listening was easy for them. What can they see as the possible benefits of using active listening?

Tools for Dealing With Conflict

This section of the training involves a self-assessment exercise, a concept briefing on the exercise, and a discussion of methods for dealing with conflict.

The workshop facilitator should point out to the participants that conflict will naturally occur in any setting and that the first step to dealing with conflict is to understand our own reactions to a situation where conflict exists.

Hand out copies of the Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument

and ask each participant to complete the questionnaire and to score the instrument. After everyone has completed the instrument and has their scores, review the five styles of managing conflict which the instrument focuses on: competing, avoiding, accommodating, compromising, and collaborative. Point out the positive aspects of each style and the concerns which are associated with each style. Do not try to offer one style as better than another.

The competing style allows people to achieve their objectives and to enjoy the feeling of being assertive. Peoples' views are clearly stated. Concerns about this style include the feeling of defeat which other people may experience, an increase in distance which other people may feel, a possible climate of distrust, and other people seeking their own interests without concern for other needs.

The avoiding style allows a person to not have to deal with the unpleasant tension of conflicts. Likewise the adverse effects of conflict can be avoided and more time is available to focus on pleasant and constructive matters. Concerns about this style include the lack of resolution of concerns, and the fact that communication often does not occur when one person is avoiding the situation. The avoider may harbor unspoken resentment about the situation and problems may get bigger over time because they were not dealt with early on.

The accommodating style allows people to maintain harmony. People avoid the adverse effect of defeat by agreeing to whatever

demands are placed on them. By being very cooperative they establish more of a relationship of trust and can reduce tension in the environment. Concerns include people giving up on their own objectives in order to satisfy others. People may experience a loss of self-confidence due to always meeting other peoples' needs, and may harbor suppressed resentments over the situation. Creativity may be repressed because people are accepting easy answers and communication may become a one-way flow from the assertive party to the accommodating party.

The compromising style offers some positive rewards by allowing people to obtain part of their desired goals. This style reduces the strain of conflict, helps teamwork, and can maintain harmony. On the other hand, a compromising style may mean that no one achieves all of their goals, actions become watered down, and people may have a lack of commitment to the plans. Over time a compromising style may lead to a trading pattern so that each group goes in asking for more than they really want so that they can trade off items and end up with what they want.

In a collaborating style people can achieve mutually agreeable outcomes. Hopefully this leads to acceptance of other people, improved communications, decreased interpersonal distance, and reduced tension. Concerns regarding this style include the additional time required to agree on outcomes, strain on peoples' patience, and the exposure of interests that people may not want to have discussed. A

collaborating style may hinder competition in the future due to social relationships developed through collaboration.

In regard to specific behaviors which the participants might want to work on in order to improve their ability to deal with conflict, it should be pointed out that active listening is widely regarded as the primary skill in developing collaborative agreements.

Tools for Group Decision Making

This part of the training consists of a concept briefing on decision analysis and a group exercise to apply the concept.

For groups to work together to make decisions it is useful to have an agreed upon method for making decisions. One method was developed by Kepner and Tregoe and is known as Decision Analysis. In Decision Analysis a group identifies a Decision Statement, which is the focus of what the decision is about. The team must then identify the objectives to be achieved by the decision. Objectives can be thought of as existing in two categories, musts and wants. Musts are the minimum criteria for success for the decision. Wants are additional outcomes you would like to see from the decision. After groups have an understanding of the objectives they can generate alternatives which are the choices. Before making a final decision, the group should consider the Adverse Consequences, which are the things that could go wrong with the best choices.

As a group exercise, divide the class into groups based on the organization they are from. Group sizes may vary from two to eight people. Each group is to work with the same situation where the group has been authorized to buy a new vehicle. The group has \$16,000 in the budget to spend. Money that is not spent on the vehicle is available to use for improvements in the offices and work area. Based on the number of people in the work group and the type of travel needs the group has, each team is to use the Kepner-Tregoe process to select one of these available vehicles:

- a. Full size van, seats 18, costs \$18,000
- b. Mini-van, seats 8, costs \$15,000
- c. Large Sedan, seats 5, costs \$13,000
- d. Utility Van, seats 2, costs \$12,000
- e. Compact sedan, seats 4, costs \$9,000

After each team has made their selection, ask them to explain their objectives and why their choice was the best for them. Ask the participants to identify the strengths of using this process.

Another approach to making collective decisions is the use of nominal group technique. Briefly review the steps in NGT, such as brainstorming ideas, reviewing the list to identify overlaps or unclear ideas, ranking the ideas, and creating a tally of individual rankings. Remind the group of how they used NGT in establishing the measures for a work group earlier in the program.

Becoming An Educator and Change Agent

As the role of the supervisor shifts from being a heroic leader (benevolent autocrat) to a democratic leader, the leader may find that he or she takes on more of the role of an educator and a change agent. In preparation for this shift, the training includes a short concept briefing on each role.

Everyone is learning new things every day. Learning may be divided into discover, which is unstructured learning, and education which is a structured process. While one may learn something by being struck by a car, the experience is not considered education unless you planned for it to happen. Within the area of education there are three broad fields: expert-directed education, self-directed education, and group-directed education.

The expert-directed education is what people in the workplace think of as training. In training, objectives are set by a content expert/instructor. Enabling objectives are defined which serve as milestones in achieving the final objective. Course content is explicitly defined and structured. The instructor can even rehearse the presentation and tests can be developed to verify the acquisition of content or skills.

In self-directed learning the objectives are set by the individual. The individual learner creates the enabling objectives as well as the course content. The individual creates the learning

process as he goes along and is the ultimate judge of the success of the educational effort.

In group-directed learning the objectives are set by the group. This style of learning is sometimes referred to as action-research since it involves a group of people in creating new information from their environment. The group defines its enabling objectives and whatever content is needed. The group researches the issue at hand and either finds the knowledge which the group collectively needs or creates new knowledge. The group is the judge of its success.

The supervisor may find that her role shifts from being an expert source of knowledge, which is imparted thorough training, towards becoming a facilitator of group-directed learning. As the facilitator, a person has knowledge of the process for researching information in the organization, helps the group develop a plan, encourages discussion, and gives power to the group to do the research to create new perspectives on the organization.

Becoming a Change Agent

The first step towards becoming a change agent is to have a better understanding of how change occurs in organizations. This section is a concept briefing on change.

One model for change involves the "Four Room Apartment" model. In this model people are living in one of four rooms, either contentment, denial, confusion, or renewal. When you are living in

contentment you are not going to be listening to any messages about the need for change. The change agent is well advised to leave these people alone unless the building is on fire. People in the denial phase are becoming aware that there is a need for change but are trying to deny that fact. The change agent should ask questions and give support to raise people's awareness. Giving advice at this point is not helpful. When people enter into the stage of confusion they fully admit that it is time for a change. They need help in focusing on what the future should look like, in structuring tasks to achieve that vision, and on organizing. The stage of renewal is the stage of implementing the new ideas. The change agent can help people implement their new ideas, and identify potential problems with the implementation plans.

Change agents should recognize that change always occurs within the context of a social and technical system. Systems want predictable, redundant behaviors and will create rules to achieve this level of comfort. Rules exist as both informal behavioral expectations and as formalized policies and procedures. Ask the group for examples of each.

When confronted with a proposal for change, most people will adopt a wait-and-see approach. there will be a small number of innovators who have a positive perspective towards the proposed change and a small group of inhibitors who will actively resist the proposal for change. The change agent must develop a strategy for winning over

the conservatives who are neutral and waiting to see the benefits of change.

In creating a change, people should not use a linear cause and effect model. Change in systems involves feedback which creates new and unexpected flows of information. A system is more than the sum of its parts, so change agents should consider launching interventions at a variety of places in the organization.

There are several models for how change occurs. One model suggests there are three stages of change: unfreezing the situation, implementing the change, and then refreezing the situation. Another model suggests that change involves educating people about the situation, doing something new, and then reinforcing the new behavior. A more detailed model suggests that people first have an early encounter with the coming change and then become aware that change may be on the way. People need time to understand what the change means and need to then develop a positive perception of the change. When this groundwork is done, the change can be installed and adopted to specific needs. Over time the change becomes part of the informal or formal rules of the system, which means it is institutionalized. Finally the change becomes internalized so that everyone accepts the new process or situation as the normal status-quo.

Why do efforts at change fail? There are two major problems associated with change. One problem is insufficient knowledge and capacity to change. This stems from not knowing what to do, when to

do it, or how to do it. In this case people need skills, information, tools, methods, and procedures. The source of this comes from education and training.

The second problem involves insufficient empowerment and permission to implement the change. This stems from not knowing that the time for change has begun, that it is okay for us to do it, and that it is part of our job. In this case people need roles, systems, symbolic reinforcement, and role models. The source of this comes from leadership in the organization.

A change agent can make a major mistake by investing heavily in the education and training if the leadership is not also present to create the change process. In the long run, leadership may emerge from the newly educated people, but that is a risky process.

There are several guidelines to help change agents create effective changes. Work on building awareness about the new concept, and provide an opportunity for people to develop new skills which support the change. Involve people in creating what the change will become. Work with prototypes to create more knowledge about the change. Offer ongoing consulting to people who are making the change. Provide role models for the change effort. Gather the people involved in supporting the change together into support networks. Provide rewards and recognition for implementing the changes.

Ask the group how they might apply some of these ideas to the creation of their work teams, and list the ideas on an easel pad.

Closure

Thank the group for their participation in this workshop. As part of our effort to continuously improve our training programs be sure to have the group complete the post-program evaluation.

Pre-Workshop and Post-Workshop Evaluations

The pre-workshop and post-workshop data collection instruments are attached.

FACILITATING WORK TEAMS

PRE-WORKSHOP QUESTIONS

1. The item I am most skeptical about regarding work teams is:

2. To what degree do I think my people would be ready for a change which gives them more responsibility in planning and conducting their work?

3. To what degree do I think I'm ready to give more responsibility to my people to allow them to plan and make more decisions?

4. Right now the word which would best describe my feelings about creating work teams is:

5. The information I have heard so far around the organization about work teams has been: (Please circle one)

Pretty Negative Somewhat Negative Fairly Positive Very Positive

FACILITATING WORK TEAMS
POST-PROGRAM EVALUATION

	POOR	FAIR	GOOD	VERY GOOD	EXCELLENT
1. Quality of Instruction	1	2	3	4	5
2. Quality of Materials	1	2	3	4	5
3. Quality of Facilities	1	2	3	4	5
4. Overall Evaluation of Course	1	2	3	4	5

5. To me the most useful part of the workshop was: _____

6. I changed my mind about: _____

7. What new skills did you learn, and how will they be helpful?

8. Would you recommend this training for other supervisors? _____

9. Suggestions for improving the course: _____

10. Other comments: _____

VITA

John Robert Dew was born in Louisville, Kentucky in 1952. He attended school in Nashville, Tennessee, Louisville, Kentucky, and graduated from Palisades Park High School in Palisades Park, New Jersey in 1979.

He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Kentucky Wesleyan College in Owensboro, Kentucky in 1974, majoring in Sociology. In 1974 he was hired at the Paducah Gaseous Diffusion Plant, operated at that time by Union Carbide Corporation for the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission. He worked as a technician in the Quality and Technical Services organization and then transferred into the Training Department.

In 1978 he received his Master of Arts in American History from Murray State University, Murray, Kentucky. He became Training Manager for the Paducah Gaseous Diffusion Plant in 1982 and transferred to the Y-12 Plant in Oak Ridge in 1984. At Oak Ridge he developed and managed training programs in quality and management development fields. In 1990 he began developing training programs to support Total Quality Management for Y-12, the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, the K-25 site, and the Gaseous Diffusion Plants in Paducah, Kentucky and Portsmouth, Ohio.

In 1992 he returned to the Paducah Gaseous Diffusion Plant and now serves as TQM Manager for the facility.