

CHAPTER 10: HOW TO CONSULT TRANSORGANIZATION STORYTELLING ORGANIZATIONS?

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March 27, 2006; revised Dec 3 2007

Storytelling Organization (London: Sage, for release 2007)

There are 16 major schools of large system change I term “Transorganization Development” (TD). Each TD school has its exemplary authors, texts, methods, and devoted practitioners. My thesis: TD approaches put emerging story into narrative prison by orchestrating or steering dialog, debate, dialectic, or dialogisms. The breakout comes in deprogramming.

Table 12.1 TD GAMEBOARD © David M. Boje Sept 16 1999¹

1. DEBATE: Alinsky/ Cortez COMMUNITY ORGANIZING	2. DEBATE: Emery PDPD (Participative Design for Participative Democracy); SEARCH CONFERENCE	3. DIALOG: Davis & Weisbord STS (Sociotechnical Systems) & FUTUTRE SEARCH	4. DIALOGIC: Savall SEAM (Socio-Economic Approach to Management)	5. DIALECTIC: Argyris, Torbert, Reason ACTION RESEARCH, ACTION SCIENCE, & ACTION INQUIRY		
16. DIALECTIC: Collins CRITICAL THEORY SOCIOLOGY	TD GAMEBOARD RULES			6. DIALOG: Cooperrider & Srivastra; Georges APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY		
15. DIALOG: Chisholm NETWORK ORGANIZAITONS	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop a TD system change model; 2. Defend from all other models on the TD gameboard; 3. Launch a training seminar for consultant instruction in narrative control; 4. Build a following of Ph.D. consultants 5. Conduct research to confirm your model’s findings; 6. Loop up to game rule 1; or 7. Attend deprogramming classes <p>Source: Adapted from Boje & Rosile, 2003b: 11</p>			7. DIALOG: Hammer & Champy REENGINERING		
14. DEBATE: Boal; Boje, Rosile & Saner POSTMODERN THEATRE (organization is theatre approach)				8. DEBATE: Goffman FRAMEWORKS (metaphoric approach to theatre)		
13. DIALOGIC: Bakhtin; DIALECTIC: Debord; Best & Kellner CARNIVAL, SPECTACLE THEATRICALS				12. DEBATE: Culbert et al; Boje, Wolfe, Motamedi, Cummings TRANS-ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT	11. DIALECTIC: White & Epston; Barry Boje & Rosile; Kaye, Boyce RESTOPYING / NARRATIVE THERAPY	10. DIALOG: Senge; Schein, Boisot DIALECTIC: LEARING ORGANIZATIONS/ KNOWLEDGE/ NETWORKS

¹ This TD Gameboard is updated from the original by positing which TD approaches are more about Dialog, Debate, Dialectic, or Dialogic

Transorganization Development History: 1972 UCLA Management School professors wrote a manifesto on *Transorganization Development*, going beyond traditional *Organization Development*. They defined *Transorganizational Development (TD)* as planned change in the collective relationships of a variety of stakeholders to accomplish something beyond the capability of any single organization or individual (Culbert et. al., 1972). My first professor job was at UCLA, where the stage was set for TD (Motamedi, 1978; Boje, 1979; Cummings, 1984; Boje & Wolfe, 1989; Boje & Hillon, 2005).

In 1998, I began studying similarities and differences in TD schools by developing a web site, with TD schools as my focus.² Each TD school has different exemplars, and models of praxis; they engage in rivalry according to implicit rules, or what we call the '*TD Gameboard*' (Boje & Rosile, 2003b). I was particularly interested in deprogramming TD approaches that were guru fads without much substance. I turned to David Collins' (1998) work for sociological critique. Since then other critical theory books on consulting have emerged. Clark and Fincham's (2002: 14), for example critique, boils down to: "stories [told by consultants] are also a medium through which gurus can establish their own status within the broader business community by associating their ideas with highly regarded and successful people and/or organizations."

Various universities package and sell consulting stories. Moving clockwise around the TD Gameboard, Emery's PDPD is taught in Queensland University in Australia, as well as in workshops at New Mexico State University. Davis' approach to large system STS was taught for two decades at UCLA, until he retired. Savall's approach is taught at Lyon 3 University in France, as well as at New Mexico State University (by joint MOU agreement between our universities). Argyris' Action Science is taught at Harvard. Torbert's Action Research is taught at Boston College. Reason's community program is taught in the UK. Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is taught at Case Western Reserve and at Benedictine University. Senge's dialog Learning Organization approach to learning organization is taught at MIT. Culbert et al (1972) and my own work in TD, as well as that of Motamedi began at UCLA. Motamedi continues it in the

² TD Gameboard web site <http://business.nmsu.edu/~dboje>

Pepperdine program. Collins' (1998) critical theory approach is taught at Leister University in the UK. Other approaches are taught in various institutes or consulting firms without any university affiliation or partnership. Table 12.2 gives brief descriptions of the schools.

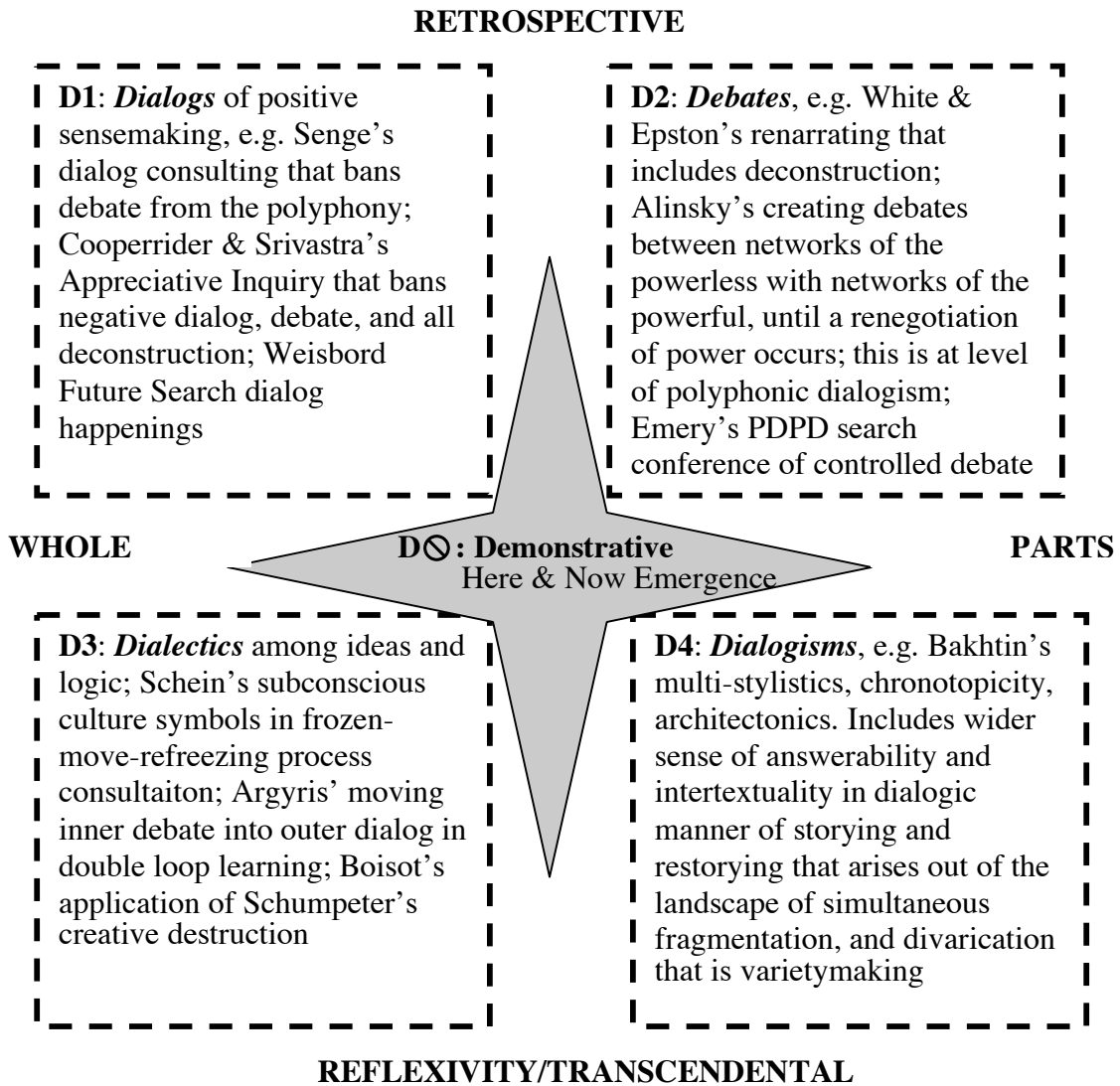
Table 12.2 TD Schools

TD SCHOOLS	Exemplars	Descriptions
1. Grassroots Community Organizing	Saul Alinsky, 1946, 1971; Ernesto Cortez	Alinsky brings community organizations together to change their relation to a target network of organizations through activism, until a renegotiation occurs; Cortez developed a more spiritual, less activist approach (most similar to 2 & 4; most dissimilar 7)
2. Search Conference PDPD	Fred Emery & Eric Trist, 1965; Merrelyn Emery, 1993	Rooted in sociotechnical systems approach; Fred Emery's wife Merrelyn do multi-organizational <i>Participative Design for Participative Democracy</i> (PDPD) search conferences. scenarios applies Pepper's (1942) contextualist world hypothesis. Most similar to 1, but without the activism; dissimilar to all others/
3. Future Search	Weisbord, 1992	Weisbord, one of Emery's students, does 3 day format of large group conferencing; participants put ideas onto large posit notes
4. SEAM	Henri Savall et al, 2000	Savall's version of STS is detailed qualitative study of metascript and metatheatrics that extends STS into accounting and economics, as well as strategy; Most similar to 1 & 2; most dissimilar 3, 6 and 7
5. Action Science/ Action Inquiry/ Participative Action	Argyris & Schön, 1974, 1978, 1996; Torbert; Reason	Collaborative approaches to joint research between academic scholars and practitioners
6. Appreciative Inquiry	Cooperidder & Srivastva, 1987)	AI applies retrospective narrative methods of Gergen (1991) and Weick (1995) to create collectively authored positive stories of change possibility; Benedictine and Case Western doctoral programs.
7. Reengineering	Hammer & Champy, 1996	Reengineering helps CEOs concoct a legitimating narrative of the downsizing
8. Frameworks	Goffman, 1959, 1974	Dramaturgical approach that is being applied to TD networks (see Boje, White, & Wolfe, 1994)
9. Open Spaces	Owens, 1995	Non-structured self-organizing of agenda and task groups
10. Learning & Knowledge Organizations/ Knowledge Networks	Senge, 1990, 1994; Schein, 1984, 1993, 1996; Boisot, 1995, 1998	Senge (1990) describes mental story as cognitive mental maps: "the images, assumptions and stories that we carry in our mind of ourselves, other people, institutions, and every aspect of the world."; for Schein (1984: 13) stories evolve over time in organization's life cycle, or become petrified and do not change with time; Schein (1993) look at culture as shared assumptions and values. Boisot maps tacit knowledge narratives into 3 dimensions of I-space
11. Restorying	Barry, 1997; Rosile & Boje, 2002b; White & Epston, 1990;	Barry argues that narrating and renarrating past stories is a major aspect of organizational change. White & Epston's work is more accurately, renarrating; Rosile & Boje's work on restorying.
12. Transorganization	Culbert et al 1972; Boje & Wolfe,	This is founding work in an explicitly TD approach to changing networks of organization

	1989; Motamedi, 1978; Cummings, 1984	
13. Spectacle, Festival & Carnival	Bakhtin, 1968; Boje, 2001b; Debord, 1968;	Theatrics of Capitalism approach looks at interplay of carnival, festival, and spectacle of late modern capitalism
14. Postmodern Theatre	Boal, 1979, 1992, 1995; Boje & Rosile, 2002a	Boal uses theatre for social change, as form of community activism; Boje & Rosille extends Savall's SEAM approach of metascript by looking at the more Tamara or Metatheatre aspects
15. Network Organization	Chisholm, 1998	Chisholm applies Action Research and STS background to the problem of Network Organizations. He uses Search Conference we have reviewed in the Emery and Non-Emery approaches, as well as the Davis STS Design Team approach of large system change
16. Critical Theory	Collins, 1998	A critical theory approach to large system change. A way to deprogram.

TD schools can be analyzed by their story/narrative practices and their affinity and resistance to debate. I distinguish in Figure 12.1 between approaches which privilege dialogue (without debate), debate, dialectic, and dialogic. At center the star, D \otimes (Demonstrative), indicates emergence of story in the here-and-now. My theory is that story emergence is trapped in the narrative prisons of D1 to D4. I propose an integrative approach.

Figure 9.1: Model of Narrative Control of Emergent Storying in TD Praxis³



³ D⊙ (Demonstrative) is defined as the interplay of narrative and storytyst turn in the here-and-now of story emergence. It can be understood as not-story, or not-yet story.

D1 POSITIVE DIALOG: The first narrative prison is positive-only dialog. Sometimes story control by narrative is very important and useful. Dialog is the positive harmonious, win-win, side of harmony. Senge's (1990, 1994) *Learning Organization* dualizes dialog and debate. Negative debate, negotiation is banished.

Teams learn to switch between discussion and dialogue. The purpose is to share mental models and find their convergence. He argues that it is not individuals, but networks of people and organizations that transform how large systems work. Yet, Senge (1990: 346), the "purpose stories" of managers is "the overarching explanation of why they do what they do, how their organization needs to evolve, and how that evolution is part of something larger." Managerial purpose stories are stressed, not polyphony (Senge 1990: 351).

Edgar Schein (1996: 19) also adopts a collaborative dialog approach to secure shared mental models. Like Senge, Schein (1993: 41) stresses dialog, "the evolution of shared mental models . . . [makes] dialogue a necessary first step in learning" (p. 41).⁴ Schein's *Learning Organization* is read differently by different authors. Schein's theory of culture and learning organization is critiqued by Collins (1998), but celebrated by Clark and Fincham (2002), and somewhat less so by Chan (2000). Of the three, Collins presents a more devastating critique.

Chan (2000: 13) applauds Schein (1985, 1999) for not conflating a signified (corporate culture) for its referent (social integration that increases productivity). Clark and Fincham's (2002: 5) celebrate Schein (1969) for "encouragement of management learning, and the avoidance of defensiveness and denial." They include Schein as a contributor, and label Schein *critical consultant* because he questions 'advice' consulting that can make them dependent. Their book does have one critique: Alvesson and Johansson (2002: 229) critique Schein (1969) for presenting an "idealistic picture, portraying the consultant as a competent professional embracing integrity and self-control, and possessing unquestionable expertise suitable for solving different kinds of

⁴ N. Craig Hayden (no date given) Organizational Learning, Team Learning and Dialogue as the Foundation of Educational Reform, Masters thesis, on line, http://www.collectionscanada.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk1/tape7/PQDD_0029/MQ47454.pdf

management problems.” Schein and other’s texts are “not particularly research-oriented” (p. 229). Schein’s famous ‘process’ versus ‘expert’ dichotomy breaks down, since both types of consultant “sells tools for producing meaning” in ways that controls social action, and in the helper role, the client, not the consultant is responsible for resolving organization problems (Alvesson & Johansson, 2002: 236).

Collins (1998), by contrast, is highly critical of Schein on many more levels than rhetorical prowess of substituting helper for advice-giver. Collins (1998) joins (Feldman, 1986) in critiquing Schein’s (1985) concept of “culture” as reserved for deeper levels of basic assumptions and beliefs that are either taken for granted or unconscious. In particular, Schein locates culture not in a place, but in (pre) linguistic, unconscious, mental phenomena (Feldman, 1986: 87, Collins (1998: 122). Schein’s trauma method of learning, thinking and action is based on a narrow range of previously negative experiences” (Collins, p. 116). It’s a negative feedback cybernetic loop. When environment shifts, the form of thinking changes. Collins also challenges Schein’s culture thesis of unconscious taken-for-granted assumptions: “It seems clear that each of us is able to operate, in some way with a negotiated version of dominant or mainstream values which suits our own aims and orientations” (p. 118). The” basic assumptions” are not, for Collins, rooted in the unconsciousness of deep culture or deep antecedent “psychological predilections” (p. 120). Feldman and Collins argue that patterns of behavior are cultural phenomena, and are not hidden in the unconscious, locked in mental models. One can think and reflect upon one’s ideas and thoughts using narratives and stories. Schein’s location of culture in the mind is inconsistent with Schein’s helper role of assisting clients to do empirical investigation of cultural artifacts. Artifacts like story/narrative. If culture is located in pre-linguistic subconscious, then Schein’s advice that founders or subsequent “managers can *create* cultures” [e.g. founding stories] is contradictory (Collins, 1998: 124). In anthropology, cultures are noted for being highly resistant to change. In folkloristics, oral story cultures are also noted for being resilient.

Cooperrider, D. L., & Srivastava’s (1987) *Appreciative Inquiry* (AI) does the same thing. Positive dialog is valued, and the debate among points of view is marginalized. I once co-chaired a showcase Academy of Management session where AI was compared to Narrative Therapy (NT). In AI the positive dialog produces a positive narrative of some

networks of organizations doing global good. In NT, dominant narratives are deconstructed, and then, like AI, people engage in some liberatory storytelling to get beyond oppression of the oppressive global organizations. In short, as my colleague Cliff Oswick puts it, what AI needs is DI, “Depreciative Inquiry!”

Harrison Owen’s (1995: 12-13) book provides an example of Open Space. Forest Service Managers get a 15-minute briefing by Owens. He tells the story of how 420 teachers, school board members and administrators in less than an hour created 85 workshops and then ran a 2-day conference. The Forest Service hosted 224 people representing 65 organizations from Sierra Club to National Nude Sunbathing Society. As the story goes, “in less than an hour, they created 62 task forces and managed the conference themselves” and as Owen says, “About the only thing they had in common was the issue at hand and their antagonism for each other” (ibid, pp. 12-13). My impression from Owen's Open Space is that it is an emergent process (structure is a happening). Yet, at its core I find lots of flip chart writing and post-it note collaging stems from Owen’s story. But where is the debate producing a critical story, and where is the evaluation of these task forces? I have been through Open Space approach. Most recent was an *Organization Theatre Summit* meeting of 35 theatre-consulting experts, in Copenhagen. We did the speak out. We put up a lot of one liners on flip charts that became the basis for task groups. We pretty much left Open Spaces behind and did theatric and story performances. Another encounter I had was with a New Mexico county that has brought in an Open Space consultant, but the intervention broke down into factions, and general chaos. Merrilyn Emery came with her Social Ecology (PDPD), and the County did a search conference, a form of debate we cover in next section.

Various approaches to STS (but not all) set up dialog among action research experts, and action teams of practitioners. Lou Davis (an apprentice of the Emerys) takes a more analytic approach to Socio-Technical-Systems (STS), and stayed with a form of social theory and technology analysis, that Fred Emery later abandoned. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Lou along with James Taylor, worked at UCLA. They did some great projects that built cooperative relationships between unions, workers, and management, as part of the Quality of Working Life (QWL). QWL flourished in the 1970s and 1980s but with the downsizing and reengineering mania of the 1990s fell on hard times.

As luck would have it, as a young UCLA professor, I got to teach the STS and environments of STS courses when Lou took a sabbatical. I had been teaching TD and a story ethnography seminar, and noted some of the differences, with STS, as Lou Davis, taught it. Lou was focused on combining social system model based on Parsons (1964) with a standard variance analysis charting of system waste and breakdown. Parson's model was highly functionalist, that a system is composed of subsystems, performing functions for the whole or entire system.

When I moved to New Mexico State, Merrelyn Emery was teaching a Search Conference seminar that seemed to resemble STS. I told Merrelyn I had worked with Lou Davis at UCLA; I got some lecture. She described Davis, as the father of STS (sociotechnical systems) in the USA. But, then added that when Davis apprenticed with Fred Emery at Tavistock, in the early days, he left before all the experiments had been completed. Davis kept doing the variance analysis of the technical, and Parsonian social analysis as the basis of STS in the USA, but Emery moved away from both. STS says J.C. Spender (1996) "is unsuitable as the basis for a theory of the firm because it adopt[s] too naive a view of social systems and ignore[s] economic interactions" (p.55). STS does not move "beyond the open systems" approach (Pondy, 1976) to get at higher levels of complexity (Boulding, 1956: 200-207).

The second STS student of Emery was Marvin Weisbord. Both do something called "Search Conference." They focus on design principles, but have some major differences. The Weisbord *Future Search Conference* these steps:

- Stage 1 - review the past with different methods
- Stage 2 - map the present
- Stage 3 - create a range of different scenarios
- Stage 4 - identify the common group
- Stage 5 - develop action plans

It is the work with Past, Present, and Future stories and scenarios that connects the approach to story/narrative. A steering committee and the consultant-facilitators manage Future Search Conference process. Large rolls of paper are unrolled and taped to the four walls of the room. The large group acts as a group mind to work through the stages (there is also small group work). Weisbord (1992: 325) is cited by Emery (1993:

228) as mixing "focused searching with experiential learning exercises, training modules, 'ice breakers,' expert lectures, question and answer sessions, and any group activity that takes people away from the central tasks they have come to do." I'd like to see some empirical evidence of the differences and similarities of Emery, Davis, Weisbord, and the Savall approach to STS (see dialogic).

There is no more negative use of monolog pretending to be dialog than reengineering. Boje, Rosile, Dennehy, and Summers (1997) looked at how reengineers use retrospective narrative as part of their training in several ways. De Cock (1999) also provides a critique of reengineering rhetorical tactics. We analyzed how consultants tell narratives of past reengineering successes, and coach CEOs how to tell the story of the impending reengineering, characterizing those to be downsized as the "fat" to be trimmed or the "casualties" of the war on global quality. CEOs and managers are trained how to narrate and spin press releases, and how to structure the rollout of the reengineering change as a narrative with several acts.

Max Boisot is after 'knowledge assets.' He is the hero of knowledge management and knowledge reengineering fad. This translates to getting tacit knowledge from narratives and emergent stories. Fortunately or unfortunately, things are not so simple. Transferring tacit knowledge (i.e. stories) is problematic for all the obvious reasons cited in this book. Even Boisot (1998: 57) points out, once you abstract, reduce, codify knowledge (i.e. tacit skill stories); you shed the concrete context. Narrative fragments that get diffused to another person no longer make sense to the end user. As he puts it, "unfortunately data-structuring strategies designed to enhance communicate reaches, often unwittingly sacrifice communicative depth in the process" (p. 57). Worse, only to the extent that stories can be standardized, are they deemed efficient for meaning transport, and result in economic utility in other contexts. Boisot (1998: 93) points out how tacit knowledge gets hierarchically themed, organized, and stored into (story) databases. Boisot (1998: 219) argues that we typically view networks (markets or clans) as an alternative to the hierarchical relationships in bureaucracies and fiefdoms. "One example of the market form of networking is the Internet" (p. 219). Boisot's model is highly problematic. It is true that stories are rooted in concrete experiential practices, but

when one reengineers them in acts of data reduction, shedding, and standardization, there is not much understanding remaining; the knowledge asset has been destroyed. Further, a critical issue that knowledge engineers ignore is that when creating transferable knowledge, you cannot just do away with thorny legal issues of story ownership rights (i.e. stories are an intellectual property of the individual as well as of the enterprise).

Finally, in the new global knowledge economy, a tacit knowledge practice communicative in stories of skilled labor of one country is being abstracted, codified, and diffused to less skilled, lower paid labor in Third World factories. That's deskilling, a narrative-interrogation to extract surplus knowledge value, then fire the worker. Narrative interrogation can make workers victims of the global knowledge economy.

Debate and all manner of deconstruction are dismissed from the social dialog playing field because such critical issues are highly problematic to managerialist control.

D2 DEBATE: The second story control by narrative is how one cannot just say anything. One takes account of local powerholders. Saul Alinsky was born in 1909; died 1972. *Grassroots Community Organizing Model* is the earliest form of democratic TD consulting. July 14, 1939 Alinsky held the first *Back-of-the-Yards Council* meeting. He began fresh out of college working in the same (Back-of-the-Stockyards) neighborhood in Chicago that Upton Sinclair (1901, *The Jungle*). Alinsky pioneered "organization of organizations" TD network composed of all sectors of the community: small business owners, labor union leaders such as Herb March of Congress of Industrial Organizations, Bishop Bernard Sheil of the Catholic Church, and leaders of ethnic groups (Serbs, Croatians, Czechs, Poles, Lithuanians, & Slovaks). The aim was to fight against poverty and unfair labor practices by calling for social and economic justice.⁵

Alinsky saw debate and protest as a way to bring the power organizations into negotiation with the poor. In 1940, he formed the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) a TD consulting organization to build TD networks throughout the U.S. Alinsky was mentored by CIO President John L. Lewis. Alinsky's (1946) bestselling book, *Reveille for*

⁵ This section on Alinsky's history is a summary of "the Life of Saul Alinsky," Wikipedia and "Progress Report" web documents
<http://www.itvs.org/democraticpromise/alinsky.html> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saul_Alinsky and <http://www.progress.org/alinsky.htm>

Radicals, was a manifesto calling upon the poor to create TD networks to reclaim U.S. democracy.⁶ 1959, Alinsky began to organize TD networks in black communities, co-founding The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) in Chicago's south side, a challenge to Mayor Richard Daley's political machine. He extended church participation from Catholic to Protestant. 1965, Alinsky organized a TD network of organizations to challenge Eastman Kodak's racial hiring practices in Rochester, NY. 1969, Alinsky set up a training institute for student organizers, and wrote *Rules for Radicals*. The focus of the book was on getting beyond rhetoric, and getting students into poor neighborhoods, to become organizers, and reclaim democracy from politicians and corporations. Alinsky would march a band of poor people, church and non-governmental leaders into a corporate board meeting, or onto the front lawn of a CEO's home, in order to get them to negotiate.

Alinsky's methods inspired ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now). After WWII, Fred Ross, Sr. began working in California to form Community Service Organization (CSO), mostly in Mexican American communities, and trained Cesar Chavez as an organizer. Unlike a TD model of organizing organizations into networks of action, CSO focused on "direct membership" and was a precursor to the ACORN model initiated by Wade Rathke. ACORN is U.S.'s largest community organization of low- and moderate-income families, working together for social justice and stronger communities. ACORN was founded in 1970 by Wade Rathke in Little Rock, Arkansas. ACORN works in over 75 cities to improve housing conditions for the economically disadvantaged, increase community safety, secure living wages for all workers and improve the quality of local schools (Delgado, 1986).

Alinsky wanted to organize the middle class, fearing they were turning conservative in their politics. He challenged owners of stock in publicly traded corporations to lend their votes to "proxies" so that social justice ballots could take place at annual shareholders meetings. June 12, 1972 Alinsky died suddenly of a heart attack.

IAF continues to this day, with over 50 TD networks of inter-faith, inter-racial community-based, and small business organizations from NY to LA, reclaiming

⁶ List of Alinsky Rules for Radicals, summary from <http://www.geocities.com/WallStreet/8925/alinsky.htm>

democracy, entering it with grassroots participation for social and economic justice. Alinsky's successor, Ed Chambers began to rebuild IAF as a training institute for organizers. Ernesto Cortés Jr., a young organizer, began to develop a faith-based model of organizing. Cortés recruited lay leaders, mostly female, in Hispanic Catholic parishes of San Antonio. Combining political organizing with faith traditions became a theology of organizing.

1996, I moved to New Mexico State University and met Merrelyn Emery. It is more about a controlled form of debate than Alinsky or Cortez. Participants in the Emery TD approach build a democratically participative "learning planning community" (M. Emery, 1993: 242). For the Emerys, two design principles are essential (Emery, M. 1993: 3, 11):

- DP1 - redundancy of parts
- DP2 - redundancy of functions

It's more structured than Open Spaces or Future Search. At the community or industry level, the first phase includes nominations (Jury System) to the main Search Conference. "The jury system is expected to yield a valid representation of what the community feels and thinks or wants in terms of justice, fair play and decency" (F. Emery in M. Emery, 1993: 207). As in the American tradition of the jury system, a cross section of the community is assembled, and it is these people that engage in the main TD Search Conference. It is the Search Conference participants who design and implement the actual change projects in the network of organizations (and for large programs, networks of communities).

Another form of debate is among frame-holders. Goffman's (1974: 133) frame analysis addresses the "dramatic scripting" of "everyday activity" according to knowledge people and organizations have about why events happen. If narratives are retrospective sensemaking of experiences, then Goffman's dramaturgical narratives are framing debates among stakeholders. Stories and narratives convey frames. Boje, White & Wolfe (1995) applied Goffman's (1974) frame approach to theatre to the networks of organizations involved in public housing in South Central Los Angeles. For my part, Alinsky inspired my six years working with a Watts organization, the Nickerson Gardens

Resident Management Corporation (NGRMC), where I was a volunteer consultant between 1980 and 1996. We worked with the Federal, State, County, and Community organizations that interacted with NGRMC. Two major frames were evident (Table 12.3).

Table 12.3 NGRMC President's Frames

<p>The NGRMC "Build Community" Frame from 1989 to 1992</p> <p>First NGRMC President</p> <p>"Resident management and ownership will boost the self-esteem of 'Housing Development X' thousands of residents, create a sense of neighborhood in a place now mired by fear, and provide a piece of the American dream to families that have given up hope" (Lacey, Marc. Watts Residents Go Public on Privatization. Los Angeles Times, July 14, 1992: B1/.</p>
<p>The NGRMC "Move Out" Frame from 1992 to 1996</p> <p>Second NGRMC President</p> <p>"My American dream is not to own a unit in public housing - come on... I want a white fence and a Jacuzzi. A housing project is not the American dream. It's not even the African-American dream... <i>LA Times</i>, December 14, 1992: B1, B12). (See pp. 207-208 in Boje, White & Wolfe, 1994).</p>

Our fieldwork identified frames of consultants working with particular organizations (Boje, White & Wolfe, 1994: 208-209):

Table 12.3 Seven Transorganizational Frames

<p>1. HUD/HACLA brought in someone from outside the state to train residents for Economic Empowerment in phase one (Resident Advisory Councils) and phase two (Resident Management Corporations). RMC By-laws were copied from their approach. E.g. "I have established resident management in my own housing development in another city. I can show you the way. I am paid by HUD/HACLA" (Source HA Annual Report 1991).</p>
<p>2. Someone with an MBA degree Frame authored the Economic Empowerment Grant for \$400,000 for this RMC. e.g. "I have MBA training and can show you how to write grants, conduct your affairs like a business, and take on the Housing Authority." (Source, First RMC President Speech January, 1993 presentation at inauguration of Second RMC President, Nickerson Gym).</p>
<p>3. Chief consultant Frame, and worked for First RMC President until January 1993 when Second President took office: e.g. "I can work with you on teamwork, communication, and resident empowerment." (Source, interview, 1993).</p>
<p>4. Boje Frame - worked as strategy consultant, grant writer (e.g. Peace Corps Fellows Grant) and got 1992 Dual Management One for First RMC President and worked with 1994 Dual Management Two for the Second RMC President. Second training was done</p>

with combination of RMC, staff and University faculty. E.g. "I will negotiate contracts, on behalf of the residents with the Housing Authority and work with both First and Second RMC President." (Source, field notes, 1993).
5. Various Consultants working for the Housing Authority, City of XX - Frame e.g. "I work for the Housing Authority to train residents to conduct Resident Management Corporations according to the HA policy and procedure." (e.g. Consultants mentioned in HA Annual Report 1993).
6. A congressperson's lawyer has a Frame - this consultant/lawyer favored "I represent the congress person in this." (Note: favored the "Move Out" Residents Frame above) (Source, Video taped RMC meeting Friday, January 8, 1993).
7. Consultant to a division of the RMC until January 1993. Did staff training, selection, and in-house consulting to Transportation Staff. E.g. "I work for First RMC President and do what she/he tells me to do. I am a professional." (Source, interview, January 1993).

Implications. First, there is consulting rivalry among frames in the 'real' world. Second, it takes time to understand the multiplicity of frames and the complex context of public housing. Third, when one president of an RMC is succeeded by another, and when the board also turns over, the staff relations are in a mess; a new consultant is brought in, often with yet another frame. Fourth, each president has such a different frame. Fifth, there is a great deal of stress and chaos to make sense of; and mostly that is through storytelling. For example, where I consulted, the locks were changed four times in one month. When consultants and Presidents with different frames gain control of the RMC and board, they dismantle the opponents' programs and initiatives. It's a cycle that seems to recur in many sites I have consulted with..

There are several differences between Alinsky Community Organizing, Goffman's Frame Consulting, and what the Emerys do. First, in community development (as practiced by Alinsky followers), the point is to disrupt the target system and bring them into negotiation. Second, the jury system of the Emery approach, is sampling of people is more stratified, and less a matter of who is willing to pay the consulting fee to bring in the community development activists. Third, the community development approach has a wider focus on what constitutes participative democracy. For example, for F. Emery, governance of the firm is outside the board room: "I do not think" says F. Emery, "that the functions of the board are best served by increasing management participation on the board. That sort of participation (by workers) threatens too many

other wider and longer term social interests" (additions mine, F. Emery as cited in M. Emery, 1993: 190). Emery looked at workers councils and other forms of worker control, and decided they were a failure. I need to point out that other approaches, particularly the more postmodern (e.g. Theatrics and Spectacle) and critical theory ones, do not share this view.

D3 DIALECTIC: A third means of control is what Mead (1934) calls the 'I-me' dialectic. The 'me' is all those internalized generalized Others we are socialized to be aware of when we tell stories: our parents, our organization, society, nation, and so forth. I used to teach Argyris and Schön's (1974, 1978, 1996) *double loop learning* to professional engineers who had become managers. In single loop learning, goals and strategies are selected and operationalized without critical reflection. The dialectic is between what we don't say aloud and what we let be said. The internal conversation is analogous to Mead's 'I-we' dialectic. There is only error-correction (1st cybernetic control, as in thermostat); Argyris and Schön (1978: 2-3) talk about it as thermostat control.⁷ In double loop learning our *a priori* ways of framing goals and strategies are questioned. The difference between single and double loop learning, recalls Aristotle's distinction between technical (preset routines) and practical (reflecting on what is good) thought. On the left side of the page, they wrote what they said to each other (single loop of technical thought); on the right side they wrote what they said to themselves (double loop of self-reflection and questioning what is good). Argyris and Schön seem to work with dialog, the inner debate, and sets up dialectic to yield a synthesis.

Schein's approach can be re-read as a different dialectic. Schein's (1984, 1993, 1996) process consultation assumes there are two types of learning: tough and tougher. Tough to learn to change surface artifacts of culture, tougher to learn are deeper subconscious patterns of thought. The tougher learning is through coercion (e.g. boot camp) and even indoctrination (e.g. nunneries) to transform resolute patterns of thought (antecedent transcendental, in Kant's term) into new configurations of thought. Schein argues that the deep stuff of culture is in the *a priori* taken-for-granted symbolism, buried

⁷ See online Infed.org encyclopedia entry on single-double loop learning <http://www.infed.org/thinkers/argyris.htm>

in our subconscious.

Collins (1998) is a Sociology of OD, that includes a dialectic Marxist approach. Collins (1998) critique of Schein's definition of culture is that it locates culture in the subconscious (or deep level), but asks people to manipulate the artifacts (or surface level). Schein is caught up in unfreeze, move, refreeze metaphorization of the coercive learning paradigm. Collins advocates a more critical theory perspective, noting that people can articulate the cultural fabric, and make liberating choices. Schein is more focused on the transcendental *a priori* symbolic constellations, while Collins, like Alinsky, is more focused on an open debate, one that leads to negotiation of points of view, and changes the balance of power of the haves and have-nots.

D4 DIALOGIC: The fourth way narrative controls story is through intertextuality limits on what one tells. There is always answerability, telling in ways that answers past ways of telling or anticipated ways not-yet told. It is apparent that if you exclude polyphony (in dialog or debate form), that there are few large system consulting models focused upon the remaining dialogisms (multi-stylistics, chronotopicity, or multi-architectonics). There are single styles, single chronotopes, and cognitive transcendental logic (in Kantian sense), but not variety or dialogism among the variants. I will suggest how one or two approaches are dialogic. They are not the usual one or two day, or weeklong workshops. These approaches take years to implement, and are based on collecting text, and showing intertextual relationships throughout the organization, and in between networks of organizations, in the case of TD. I do not want to leave the impression that the Polpi of dialogisms is being changes. It is one step beyond polyphonic, and that is about all.

First, Mikhail Bakhtin's work in dialogisms. While I do not know of a Polypi of dialogism approach, I want to sketch out some possibilities. Bakhtin (1968: 11), points out that "all the symbols of the carnival idiom are filled with the pathos of change and renewal, with the sense of the gay relativity of prevailing truths and authorities." Carnival is not only the parody and mockery of spectacle power of crown and clergy, or the satire of the grotesque oppression of (post) modern times, it is it life itself finding a way to revive and renew the community; life finds a way to break through, to liberate.

Heteroglossia (its polyphony & carnivalesque elements) has two forces that collide, the centrifugal (expanding) and the centripetal (enclosing).

I contend that centripetality (collapsing & centralizing) forces and centrifugality (expanding & decentralizing) forces of heteroglossia result in the hybrid of monological and polylogical oppositions that occur in complex organizations and in TD networks. The hybrid mixing of monological and dialogical forces of linguistic consciousnesses and speech acts are oftentimes widely separated and fragmented in time and the storied space of TD. In addition whatever “authoritative discourse” (Bakhtin, 1981: 342) becomes centered among the multiplicity, is subject to being dethroned by rivals.

Second is the SEAM approach, which I am discovering is theatrical, ethnographic, and intertextual, as well as interdisciplinary (inter-discourse). Henri Savall is the founder and director of the Socio-Economic Approach to Management (SEAM). As in various action research initiatives, these are cooperatively designed and executed interventions. The approach is much more inter-disciplinary and cross disciplinary than most others on the TD Gameboard. SEAM interpenetrates strategy, information systems, marketing, operations, production, organization, compensation, human resources, accounting, and theatrics. The implementation changes accounting, strategy, HR, and quality practices. Savall and Bonnett were vehemently opposed to the reengineering craze of the 1990s. They did not get sucked into the reengineering fad; they remained skeptical of an intervention that was premised on destroying to Social capacity of the firm in order to reap what they saw as temporary and short-term gains.

The major difference between these STS approaches is that, in France Ph.D. candidates are trained in the use of qualitative analysis, not just in OD process consultation. Ph.D. students spend a minimum of three years in the field under supervised apprenticeship doing semi-structured and unstructured interviews and observation of scripts and metascripts, as part of their training. The process of metascripts collection and diagnosis begins with employees, managers, and customers to explore areas of common and divergent. This is a careful and methodical diagnosis followed by a confrontation meeting called “Mirror Effect.” In these mirror effect sessions, verbatim scripts of different stakeholder groups are compared, such as between management and workers, technicians and customers, etc. This is followed by collaboratively designed and

measured experiments to effect changes in the relationship between Social, Technical and Economic. The firm goes through an extensive external and internal strategic planning and action planning initiative in the early phase in order to change the balance of power and authority to be consistent with the emerging strategic plans and their implementation. Policies and the allocations of training resources as well as areas of participation are re-negotiated among the stakeholders of the firm. In short, this is not a 3-day Future Search retreat.

SEAM has been "validated by thorough experimentation of long duration in 1000 companies since more than 26 years, in 30 countries on 4 continents. I have been going to Lyon, France and working with the ISEOR program (Institut De Socio-Economie Des Enterprises Et Organisations Centre De Recherche) since 2001. Savall combined STS with economics and accounting, in a socio-economic approach. It took a few years of working with Savall and SEAM, before he disclosed, "Organization is theatre." Organizations are many scripts, enacted by many authors, editors, and actors to constitute a confused "metascript." At the July, 2001 meetings of the EGOS conference in Lyon, France, I asked Savall and associates to explain the connection of SEAM to psychoanalytic theory. Their reply was the psychoanalytic approach to SEAM is focused on the archetypes revealed in the *Metascript* of the organization. *Metascript* is defined as the multiplicity of scripts (mostly unwritten ones) that define the field of actions, where strategies are plotted, characters get trained in their lines, and many feel con-scripted (imprisoned) in their character roles (Savall, 2001).⁸ By comparing the metascript of the managers, staff, customers, vendors, and workers, it is usually the case that people are not working from the same script, and that many script revisions are in progress.

Marc Bonnet and Vincent Crisalini (2002) take a TD approach: "Enhancing the efficiency of networks in an urban area through management consulting interventions." They worked with the government organizations in a city of 250,000 to apply SEAM to a Transorganizational context. They involved organizations from the public, private, education and labor section. They gathered the metascript fragments in over 100

⁸ Taped interviews with Henri Savall, Veronique Zardet, and Marc Bonnet were conducted at the July 2001 EGOS conference in Lyon, France, and follow up interviews were done at the August, 2001 Academy of Management meeting in Washington D.C. with this same group.

interviews and hundreds of hours of observation. After the diagnostic phase, the "Mirror Effect" results were fed back from those interviews and observations to participants. The data set consisted of 1,500 interviewee observations. People from throughout the network assembled to review their metascript, and suggest script changes. By sustaining a dysfunctional metascript (lack of effective dialog and performance) among the network players, there were measured economic costs to the city in terms of theft, damage to building & equipment, medical rehab costs from alcoholism, and lost revenues. During the Mirror Effect meeting, the costs and lost revenues were presented to the participants, so they could evaluate the result and do collective problem solving. How could a more effective network take place between key players in the city? The intervention was to have key players funded by the Municipal Authority work on an integration of their respective organizational processes. The players in the network identified the key processes of network interdependency that they needed to collectively coordinate. This involved not only logistic, but political and long term strategy decisions.

DO DEMONSTRATIVE: As reviewed in Chap 9, there are some OD practices beginning to stress here-and-now, 'working live' in the continuous present (Stacey, 2006). My students and I did a 'working live' theatre intervention with a network of county agencies. The problem was that permitting process had some many different agencies involved, as well as County Commissioners, no one could articulate or map what was the beginning-middle-and-end of it. We got people trained in some Augusto Boal theatre exercises, and helped them to act out the key problems. Then they collectively mapped and remapped their own system, until it made sense. We did not assume that there was a whole system; rather as systemicity, it was continuously under revision, and forever unfinalized, and unmerged. That's life in County government.