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Some Perspectives on Art, Organizational Behavior and Democracy

LEE G. COOPER

Art and Wealth

Artistic ability undoubtedly predates any recognizable form of wealth. The learning required to produce works of art is gained from elements of play, which is the natural self expression of children. Autogenetic play is initially a kind of random activity. Out of it develop stable aspects of children's play which are basic elements of art (e.g. repetitions of motions and sounds, creation and selection of patterns and sequences). Late childhood produces the ability to manipulate objects based on experience. Adolescence produces the ability to deal with (or hypothesize) relations which go beyond experience. The mystical basis of some of our earliest art relics represents not the "magic" beliefs of childhood, but rather must come from developmentally more mature thinking. Paleolithic men and women emerged from adolescence with all the mental and physical ingredients needed to create works of aesthetic excellence. The *Horse* from the Vogelherd cave (circa 28,000 B.C.), the *Venus of Willendorf* (circa 25,000-20,000 B.C.), the *Bison* from La Madeleine (circa 15,000-10,000 B.C.), the *Wounded Bison* cave painting of Lascaux of the same period are rich evidence of the beauty, sophistication and long development behind our earliest known works of art.

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The Neolithic Revolution brought the first recognizable forms of wealth. About 8,000 B.C. came the first successful attempts to domesticate animals and food grains.

. . .having learned how to assure their food supply by their own efforts, men settled down in permanent village communities; a new discipline and order entered their lives. . .The new mode of life brought forth a number of important new crafts and inventions long before the earliest appearances of metals: pottery, weaving and spinning, basic methods of architectural construction in wood, brick and stone (Janson, 1977, pp.27-28).

Most likely all professions evolved out of part time occupations. While men, women and children had previously differentiated work roles, with the centralization of living and the acquisition of wealth came the potential for dividing labor more in accord with ability than pure necessity.

The first real concentration of wealth was controlled by religious leaders. One of the first occupations this wealth employed was that of artist. The earliest known religious shrines, in Catal Huyuk circa 6,000 B.C., contain the earliest paintings ever found on manufactured surfaces (i.e. plaster walls).

Our sense of personal space and territory is primordial, but it was the Neolithic understanding of territory as a source of wealth which led to the evolution of kings. Kingly wealth and power was mostly inseparable from religious wealth in early monoreligious societies. The kings and their contemporary religious leaders chose to express their wealth and partly expend their wealth through the consumption and patronage of art.

It seems there has always been, since the dawn of wealth, an art of the people as well as the art supported by wealth. Art was expressed in the abstract designs of everyday pottery and most likely in the less durable fabrics of the populace. The wealthy *chose* to differentiate themselves from others through the consumption of more expensive art. The wealthy could have perhaps chosen to ignore art and express their wealth in other ways. The point is that in many ways *art* was *wealth* in a far more conspicuous and portable form than the fundamental wealth stored in the granaries of Neolithic communities. In addition to kings demanding tribute in art from their dominion, art was one of the first commodities of free international trade. Cycladic marble idols were imported by the Minoans of Crete and the pre-Mycenaean lords of mainland Greece around 4,000 years ago.

One of the problems of wealth is that those who possess it often have a reluctance to share it. Dynastic Egypt represents the epitome of the *exclusivity* of the relation between wealth and art. Pharaohs were buried with their art and the people were *excluded* from sharing that wealth for thousands of years, It may well be that the enormous popularity of the *King*

Tutankhamen exhibition was partly in reaction to this exclusivity.

Access to the arts takes on some of the aspects of access to wealth. It is a complex issue and presents hurdles no democracy has yet overcome.

The first major attempt to provide access to the arts was during the age of the great Greek tragic theatre. In the fifth century B.C., Athens and the immediate vicinity (Attica) had a population of about 300,000. About 150,000 were slaves. The slaves were allowed at the Festival of Dionysius in the company of their owners, but it was considered bad form. However, the attempts to provide access even to the top half of their social structure is very instructive. The admission charge of two obols translates into \$7.00 per ticket in today's dollars. (Two obols is a third of a drachma. Six thousand equals one talent. A talent could support 15 families of four or more at the subsistence level (Baldry, 1971). The 1981 poverty level for a family of four in the United States was \$8,500. At this rate a talent is \$127,500 and an obol is \$3.50.) This price was charged all the audience except for the "comps" provided free to the religious and political leaders, benefactors, young men in military training and the sons of fallen soldiers. This produced a minimum of \$119,000 gate per day in a festival that often went three days. In addition to the over \$357,000 admission income, the expenses of mounting each play were born by a *chorego*. This patron could be a volunteer—wealthy citizens gained great popularity by backing a play. If not enough volunteers were forthcoming, the lottery selected, mayor of Athens, who had major responsibility as the manager of the Dionysia, had the power to conscript a patron. A patron might well spend \$60,000 on a play and considerably more if a patron was really going for a victory in the dramatic competition.

An admission charge to a three day festival of \$21.00 excluded many citizens. Pressure for subsidies built. From the time of Pericles on, the city-state paid the admission charge for citizens, if they applied in person. This enabled the poorer of the citizens to share the wealth. The arrangement worked relatively well until the wealthy demanded and received public subsidy too. Then the Theoric Fund grew to such proportions that it began to threaten other essential functions of the city-state. The Greek example indicates that at least the lower and middle classes can gain access to the arts as long as the wealthy bear their share of the costs and are not extended too great a public subsidy.

The decline of the city-state democracies brought a return to the traditional relation of art and artist to the wealthy. Most artists eked out a marginal subsistence and occasionally artists who served the wealthy exclusively prospered. The peerage supported the arts, but kept the artist in a subservient or exclusive relation. With the Industrial Revolution came the rise of the individual capitalist as a center of great wealth. These individuals

continued the tradition of patronage of the arts. Some bought great libraries by the yard and others developed and expressed fine aesthetic sensibilities. In either case it was the transformation of one form of wealth (i.e. money) into another form of wealth (i.e. art). Nothing stood in the way of their expression of individual tastes.

The situation today is only different in two ways. Corporations are now a possessor of great wealth and they express their tastes collectively rather than individually. Committees do not act like individuals. They struggle over value-based decisions which individuals make quite readily. Committees are rightfully wary of setting standards of quality which should stand for all people while individuals have often little difficulty setting quality standards for themselves.

All decisions contain both subjective and objective aspects to one degree or another. Even if a committee can agree on a common objective picture of reality (which is by no means an easy task), the committee rarely agrees on the subjective component. It is consequently much easier for an individual possessor of wealth to exchange with an artist or arts organization than it is for a collective such as a corporation or governmental unit.

Collective forms of government have acquired the powers and wealth of the old European monarchies. Perhaps it is the long history of royal patronage that provides the momentum; but, as Dorian (1964) chronicles, each European government is continuing, in its own style, its strong support of the arts.

The United States lacks this long history of patronage. There is no collectively agreed-upon sense of "a culture to be preserved." It was 160 years from the founding of our country to the passage of the first major arts legislation during the Great Depression. It took another 30 years to create the first federal agency with a primary mission in the arts.

Our eclectic heritage is exacerbating the problem the arts face whenever they must rely on the support from the collective sources. If the arts are to play their "hoped-for" role in our society, it will require a continued rethinking about the relations among the artist, the arts organization and society. The following sections provide a framework for understanding the exchanges between an arts organization and its members as well as the exchanges between an arts organization and the surrounding environment.

Organizational Behavior in the Arts

A lot of what organization theory and practice "has to say" to the arts applies to other organizations as well, but in some degrees and qualities the arts are different. Most basically, the value position, caring or feeling of

connectedness to the endeavor of the arts, which is experienced by individuals who work in the arts, (e.g. artists, technical, and clerical staffs, managerial and directorial staffs) becomes for these individuals a partial substitute for other factors which influence organizational behavior. Everywhere one looks in the arts there are examples. Clerical staffs sometimes spend 70 to 80 hours a week performing dull repetitive tasks for very little or no pay, in stuffy and cramped quarters getting out the season subscription mailing. The physical work is neither intrinsically nor monetarily rewarding. If one asks they will tell you that they are doing it because they care about this theater or this symphony. The exchange may not be fair, but the "caring" does help to explain behavior that might otherwise appear irrational. The same behavior in General Motors or many other profit-oriented endeavors would be much more unexpected.

Connectedness to the endeavor of the arts or the arts organization has its counterparts in variables such as "organizational identification" (Brown, 1969; Hall, Schneider and Nygren, 1970; Schneider, Hall and Nygren, 1971; and Hall and Mansfield, 1971), "goal integration" (Barrett, 1970) and "organizational commitment" (Grusky, 1965, Sheldon, 1971; Hrebiniak and Alutto, 1971; Buchanan, 1974; Porter, Steers, Mowday and Boulian, 1974; and Steers, 1977). These authors have studied the commitment of scientists, school teachers, nurses, TVA employees, managers from all levels of private enterprise, Forest Service members, research and development personnel and employees in an oil refinery. But they have bypassed the arts in which these variables have the most pervasive and powerful role.

The Roles of Mission and Commitment to the Mission Within an Arts Organization

Commitment to the mission of the arts or an arts organization has barter value. Psychologically and/or economically this commitment or one of its situational equivalents can be and is exchanged for other commodities of the work place (e.g. pay, working conditions, employee benefits and other quality-of-working-life variables, c.f. Taylor, 1973). It can be shown that utility theory is not capable of fully explaining the nature of these exchanges (Cooper, 1973). March and Simon (1958), Hrebiniak and Alutto (1972) and Steers (1977) speak of the role of commitment in an exchange and accrual process, but they speak as if commitment were the organization's reward for providing an organization member with a work environment which allows the individual to utilize his/her abilities and satisfy needs and desires. While this may provide a marginally adequate

explanation of the over-individual fluctuations in commitment they studied in various non-arts organizations, the underlying conceptual model has to be expanded and altered to understand the issues facing the arts.

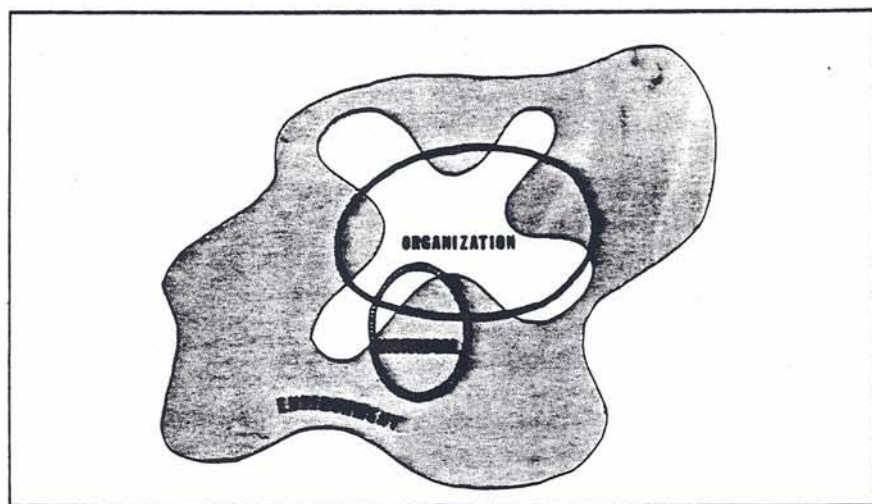


Figure 1. The individual, the organization and the environment

An elementary framework which underlies all these discussions is pictured in Figure 1. It is meant to show that although the environment surrounds all, it selectively impinges on both the organization and the individual. The individual is partly in the organization, partly penetrated by the environment and partly alone. These are the three parties in the exchange. These are pairwise exchanges (i.e. individual-organization, individual-environment and organization-environment). While each of the parties may be characterized by a vector of resources and a vector of needs, the environment may make different demands on the organization than on the individual, and provide different resources to the individual than the organizations. The same is true for the needs demanded and resources provided between all pairs. Further, all exchanges can be partial. Needs may be partially fulfilled and resources partially provided.

The most impoverished view of the workplace is the exchange of the individual's time and effort for pay. Organization theory and common sense recognize that even in the most utilitarian of organizations there are many more elements being exchanged. An organization member provides more than time and effort. Each person contributes to the organizational climate as well as its "product." The purpose is not to provide an exhaustive list of all the dimensions of the exchange. Rather, it is to focus

on the role of mission and commitment of mission, with respect to the rest of the exchange.

One of the resources of any organization is its mission. Just as the dollar resources of an organization can vary, the value of the mission can vary. To a violinist the mission of IBM is most likely less valuable than the mission of any symphony orchestra. The value of the mission of an orchestra may be different to a violinist than an oboist. While you can't serve it for dinner, the mission of an arts organization potentially has exchange value as one element among a whole profile of things exchanged between an organization and its members, and the organization and its environment.

To see how this comes about one needs to look at the first two of the three roles of mission. The value that is accorded the mission by an individual would typically be called a motivational factor (Herzberg, Mausner and Synderman, 1959). They identified intrinsic factors such as recognition, achievement, responsibility, advancement and personal growth in competence as sources of satisfaction and motivation (c.f. Porter, Lawler and Hackman, 1975, p. 299). Other things being equal, the first role of mission is to motivate through the satisfaction provided by being part of something about which the individual cares. The second role of mission is as a substitute for what Herzberg et. al. called hygiene factors (e.g. company policies, supervisory practices, working conditions, salaries and wages, and interpersonal relations on the job). In Herzberg's Two Factor Theory, tolerable conditions among the hygiene factors is what keeps down the level of dissatisfaction. One of the problems with the theory is that it does not recognize the ability of a motivational factor to substitute for hygiene factors. The substitution is not complete, however. The motivational role of mission directly impacts the individual's commitment. But with respect to the substitution of mission for missing hygiene factors in the workplace, commitment is much more like a line of credit. In effect, the organization which relies on the value of mission as a substitute for hygiene factors is borrowing from the individuals in the organization. How much an organization can borrow, and over how long, depends on three things. First is the level of commitment of the individual: the lower the commitment the less borrowing that will be allowed, other things being equal. Second is the amount of resource the individual has stored. Among the hygiene factors is salary and salary is one of the main ways individuals put food on the table. An arts organization can only borrow to the extent that the individual can provide what he or she considers essential necessities from personal resources.

The third factor is the environment. Emery and Trist (1965) discuss four idealized styles of environments. The first is called "placid

randomized" because the resources and threats are disbursed randomly in the environment and are unchanging over time. Organizational survival or death depends on luck and the overall density of resources and threats. Organizations exist as single, small units which use short-range tactics to deal with situations as they are encountered. The second is called "placed clustered." Here the resources and threats are clustered in some ways, but still conceived as unchanging over time. Strategies, rather than merely tactics can be useful in dealing with this style environment. Organizing in larger units, with central control and coordination is viable and enables units to plan to exploit resources and defend against threats. Third, the "disturbed reactive" environment portrays resources and threats as changing over time, but clustered rather than random. Competitors in this style environment seek to improve their own chances by hindering each other or by coming to terms with each other in a monopolistic fashion. The fourth style is called a "turbulent field." In the "disturbed reactive" environment the dynamism comes from the actions of competitors, but in the "turbulent field" it is the field itself which changes. The casual connections among and between resources and threats are wildly complex. There is a deepening interdependence among economic, socio-psychological, political and technological influences. There is a great increase in the relevant uncertainty. While the environment which surrounds most artists and arts organizations has some of the characteristics of all four styles, a "turbulent field" is probably the best single description.

The environment may provide the individual with the resources needed to sustain the borrowing. Actors who live with their parents have a much better chance of surviving on \$25 a week. With respect to an actor in a theatre company; parents, unemployment insurance or veterans benefits may certainly be considered environmental resources. It should be remembered that the environment can drain the resources of an individual with the result that while the organization's credit is still good, no borrowing can be tolerated due to a lack of substitute resources.

An organization can be providing its members with a) more than fair trades, b) relative fair trades, or c) less than fair trades (substituting and borrowing). There are rare cases of more than fair trades. These occur when salaries are adequate or better, other hygiene factors are good, mission and intrinsic work elements are motivators. Some of the world traveling opera stars and other major soloists and conductors may fit this category. They may or may not have strong commitments to organizations, but their expressed commitment to the "art" is most likely higher than organizational commitment. Here, there is some substitution of higher pay for other working conditions, but this is more like traditional exchanges in the profit sector. The organization issues deal with the impact of that role model on other

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organization members and the extent to which the organizations' resources are drained by a net outflow.

Fair trades are still rarer than they should be. In general, fair trades exist when the mission is used as a valuable motivator, the hygiene factors are in tolerable ranges to minimize dissatisfaction and very little or no borrowing is occurring. The issues deal with how organizational resources are being built. Is the environment being relied on too heavily to sustain the organization? Will changes in the environment necessitate basic changes in the exchange between the organization and its members?

Unfair trades, those that are sustained by borrowing or substituting motivators for hygiene factors, are pretty much the rule in the arts. The organization must be cognizant that a debt is building up and the value of their mission is being depleted insofar as it is able to influence organizational behavior. The organization should also look to see where the resources which result from these unfair trades are going. Are they being used by the organization to build its own reserves? Or are they going to satisfy partially the demands of the environment? It makes a big difference. If resources are being used to increase somehow the organization's reserves, those resources may be available in the future to deal with the consequences of sustained borrowing. If the environment is draining them off, then the organization may be greatly underestimating the real demands of the environment.

The mission of an arts organization establishes direction far more clearly and purposefully than mission of utilitarian organizations. For example, the Los Angeles Shakespeare Festival is a project of the Free Public Theater Foundation whose mission is:

To develop, establish, and administer, for the benefit of the people of California, a theatre dedicated to the principle that the dramatic arts should be wholly accessible to the entire community and that in a democratic society a free public theatre is as desirable as a free public library. To present, or cause to be presented, professional theatre productions without admission charge to the public, wheresoever and by whatever means determined appropriate by the Board of Trustees of this corporation. To stimulate, promote and develop interest and participation in the dramatic arts, to educate members of the public in the dramatic arts, to advance national culture in the dramatic arts, and to bring the dramatic arts generally to members of the public wheresoever they may reside by any means or medium whatsoever as may be determined appropriate by the Board of Trustees of this corporation. (From the articles of incorporation.)

While giving broad latitude to adapt to future conditions, this mission does establish clear direction. It provides a basis for selecting from among a

multitude of activities the organization might undertake. On the other hand, the mission of a "diversified" company such as Litton Industries cannot possibly provide as much clarity of direction. This is the third role of mission.

Because the mission of an arts organization establishes direction it has value as a guide in organizational decision making and as a directional influence on organizational behavior. The mission provides not only a sense of caring, not only a partial substitute for pay and working conditions, but also a source of understanding of the nature of the endeavor in which the organization members are involved. This understanding can lead to scenario such as: a. "I care about what the organization is doing," b. "The organization is moving in this direction," c. "Does what I am doing further the mission direction of the organization, or even make sense in terms of the mission of the organization?" While such a scenario is not universal in the arts, it does serve to highlight the mission, in its role of providing direction. This provides an added element in the management control system of an arts organization or a partial substitute for such a system, if it is lacking.

Some Impacts of Mission at the Individual Level

It should be remembered that an individual's commitment is dual. Somewhat like a professional's commitment to his/her respective field, an individual is partially committed to the art and partially to the mission of the arts organization. There is only a partial transfer of commitment to the arts to commitment to the arts organization. So the explanation of the influence on commitment at the individual level will be complex.

- 1) People seek, rather than stumble into, jobs in the arts. So they typically enter arts organizations with pre-existing commitment. Individual and family history can play a large role in determining the extent of a pre-existing commitment. Individual and family history also determines the level of resources available and needs demanded on entering an arts organization.

- 2) People perceive the value of mission differently and thus develop different levels of commitment to the same organization.

- 3) People need to perceive themselves as a participant in the attainment of mission in order to sustain borrowing. The motivational aspects of mission may be manipulated by varying how instrumental a role is in mission attainment. But to sustain the borrowing value of commitment only the perceived participation, not the instrumentality of participation, is needed.

4) People can derive status from commitment, through the social norms established in the work group and in the environment.

5) Commitment norms can develop and organization members of varying status may feel pressure to conform publicly and/or privately to those norms.

6) People make career choices based on the kinds of exchanges. I have participated in the review process which struggles over the qualifications of some exceptionally able and creative students who wish to become managers in arts organizations. The artistic accomplishments of many of these candidates are very impressive, yet many have chosen not to pursue careers as performing or visual artists, composers and so forth. They choose to express their love for the arts and their connectedness to artistic endeavor through the management role. What makes the ones who could make it as professional artists reject that path? The written reasons are as diverse as the candidates on the surface. One of the very central underlying themes concerns the lack of balance they experienced as artists. Putting words into their mouths, they saw pursuit of artistic excellence as unidimensionalizing of their existence. If they wished to do "one thing and one thing only" they could create at a level acceptable to their own sense of excellence. And even then they would be willing to substitute most of the hygiene factors of life for their art. They see management in the arts as an outlet for their creativity which allows for more multidimensional expressions. In order for them to be satisfied with their creative efforts they require more balance in their life roles and fairer trades.

There may be a decrease in the perceived instrumentality of their work role to the produce of the arts, but they will certainly still feel themselves very much a participant in the organization's product. They know that with an MBA degree they will still earn far less than their colleagues in the profit sector, but the exchanges are fairer and they are highly committed.

Some Impacts of Mission on the Arts Organization

The arts organization is constantly involved in activities which may alter the value an individual perceives in the mission.

1) The organization may *de facto* change its mission (in the eyes of the individual) by the activities in which it engages. Many arts organizations are greatly increasing revenues through increased merchandising activity. This is certainly true of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. While on one side this may increase the monies available and indirectly provide for better hygiene factors among the employees, it may at the same time decrease the commitment and directly reduce the amounts individuals will allow the Met to borrow. It will be healthy to the extent that organization members are accumulating less debt. It can be unhealthy to the extent it decreases the motivational value of the mission.

In this respect, merchandising is a two-edged sword. The same holds true for the Museum of Modern Art's plan to build a highrise apartment building above their building. As long as an arts organization is borrowing from its members it must recognize the consequences of its plans for both the motivational and substitutional role of its mission.

2) An arts organization has broad latitudes in maintaining the feeling in its members that they are participants in mission attainment. The less instrumental a work role is in mission attainment, the more care the organization should put into assuring at least a minimum sense of participation is maintained. Many arts organizations achieve this by assuring some free access of all organization members to performances or exhibits. It is more of an issue in art service organizations where the product is less seeable and shareable.

Evaluation of Action Proposals from the Arts in Education Conference

Art should have a central and basic role in the delivery of high quality public education. All parties to the discussion of action proposals at the "Coming to Our Senses" conference agree this is the goal. Disagreement is focused on how to best achieve this.

The two alternative strategies are to focus energies and resources on the evolution of statewide curriculum or the spread of artists-in-schools programs such as the City Building Education Project (CBEP). People often conceptualize problems in terms of their own greatest strengths in problem solution. This is why it is not surprising to discover:

1) a member of the Board of Education of the Los Angeles Unified School District recommends centralized curriculum change spearheaded by the local school boards,

2) a coordinator of a statewide center for the study of instruction advocates the use of statewide communications networks to gather and disseminate information addressing centralized curriculum changes,

3) a member of the California Arts Council sees working through the State Board of Education in Sacramento as the most efficacious approach, or

4) a university faculty member sees things as complex systems, partially open to exchange with the environment.

The premise of this analysis is that the Los Angeles City and County Schools are resource-deprived systems. Just think what could be done if more resources were available. Look at what goals are not being achieved and at how goals have been scaled down due to the tightness of resources. See how teachers' salaries have fared vis-a-vis the Consumer Price Index and how teachers have used an exhaustible supply of promotions to try to keep pace with inflation. Much more evidence could be developed in support of this premise.

Given this premise, it is instructive to think about, first the nature of the exchange between a resource-deprived, not-for-profit organization and its members, and second the nature of exchange between a resource-deprived system and an outside organization.

A resource-deprived organization relies on the value of mission as a substitute for hygiene factors and borrows from the individuals in the organization. This borrowing creates a pressure in the system. One might think of it as resource osmosis—a pressure for diffusion of resources from areas of higher concentration to areas of lower concentration. Ergo, if one introduces resources centrally to achieve certain purpose there will be a pressure to drain those resources, at least partially, to repay old debts.

The nature of exchange between a resource-deprived system and an outside organization has a different dynamic. Outside organizations can make mistakes or misjudgments in the terms of the contract for exchange, but inherently they have an advantage in gaining fair trades with the resource-deprived system. If project costs are carefully estimated, an outside organization may say no to any contract which would drain their resources. The City Building Education Project would not long survive if it exchanges from school systems on a less than fair basis. CBEP contracts with school systems when there is an alignment of the joint missions. The

school systems expect their mission to be advanced and the CBEP personnel have their mission to direct and motivate their activities. Bringing into the classroom outside personnel creates an additional boundary to the rest of the school system, which serves to reduce resource osmosis. CBEP is not unique in this advantage. Any outside organization with a compatible mission which exchanges fairly with its members, would share this advantage.

What are the implications of developments so far for "Bang for the Buck?" One must first consider measurement strategies. In simple learning experiments one of two basic measures is employed. One may measure the number of trials it requires for an individual to reach an established criterion of performance (e.g. how many learning trials does it take to get 18 out of 20 items correct). Or one may measure the number of items correct by trial 17. If one wishes to measure aggregate achievement, one could measure the number of individuals brought up to criterion by a learning experiment or measure the average number of items correct at the end of a learning experiment. Average number correct is an aggregation which may belie what is occurring at the individual level. No one need be at the average. It could be composed of some who learned nothing and others who learn much. If one has high standards the trials to criterion approach is the best way of insuring that high level of achievement is attained, if even for only a few. If one adopts this view, then special projects would seem to represent the more advantageous strategy. There would be a large impact on the few who could participate as opposed to a small impact on a larger number of students. Even if resource osmosis were not operating, and the average impact of both strategies were identical, the special project approach would have a greater chance of bringing more students up to a high level of achievement.

When one considers the effects of resource osmosis, again special projects from the outside seem to have a "Bang for the Buck" advantage. Less penetrable boundaries to the rest of the school system help keep the resources focused on the intended audience. What a project such as CBEP does intensely for the students it also does intensely for the teacher

One must also consider the impact of these two strategies on organizational behavior. For teachers in general, even if there is no beneficial impact on the students, diffusion of the resource throughout the system is "fairer" in terms of their exchanges with the school system. This is partially what creates the osmotic pressure to begin with.

For art teachers, outside projects may produce fear of loss of job. Even without this fear outside projects have a "too easy" look to them because of the greater density of resources and the fairer history of exchange of the members of the outside organization with their organization when compared to the exchange history within the resource-deprived system. This can

be personalized in terms of jealousy or transpersonalized in terms of their increased awareness of their deprivation.

The sociological view of the job of a teacher shows it to be pretty grim. Two primary sources of intrinsic reward are often cited. The first is when young minds have that "aha" experience of initial insight and the other is when a special program is initiated which provides help for the teacher inside the classroom.

The optimistic view of outside projects holds that by sticking to high standards some students achieve high level of excellence. This becomes a model for the possibilities of education. Other teachers use that model as a focal point for pressuring the school system for a greater density of resources. By not allowing the intensity of the projects to be diluted, a continuous pressure is on the system to come up to that level of concentration (or find some way to drain off some resources).

The optimistic view of a central plan and systemwide diffusion of resources holds that since the end-point ideal has art fully integrated into the curriculum at all levels and in all pedagogic domains, why not make all your steps in that direction? It is able to be done but with the probable sacrifice of control over the intensity of the education experience. (N.B. The schools should take a lesson from the 1% for art legislation in California. Compromise allowed it to be reduced to a line item of \$700,000 the first year and it was "blue pencil" vetoed the next year. Curriculum without the resources to implement it is next to worthless.)

The pessimistic view of outside projects holds that the tension created within the school system could be misdirected and backfire on the arts. There could be a resulting decrease in the willingness of general faculties to participate in or support ventures in the use of art in general curricula. The pessimistic view of a central plan and systemwide diffusion of resources acknowledges that the effort to bring such a plan into being will deprive further the intensity of the interim education experience.

There is a synergistic potential for a compound strategy. A long-range curriculum plan is developed in which the best project models are used as guideposts for levels of achievement and levels of resource intensity. The projects continue and spread horizontally as far as resources permit, while the system moves toward a position of resource parity with them.

Organizational Regeneration

If an arts organization uses its mission, it can exhaust the values of its missions. To deal with the rather uncomfortable possibility consider Mittler's (1974) theory of organizational regeneration. According to Mittler, ". . . human organizations are not capable of survival without periodically

regenerating their reason for being." While it might not be true for all organizations, the statement seems clearly applicable to arts organizations who employ all three roles (i.e. motivation, substitution and direction) for their mission.

The evidence for confirmation of his theory was developed on Theatre West in Hollywood. Theatre West is a workshop theatre composed of professional actors, directors and technicians, who pay monthly dues to cover operating expenses.

Our simple purpose shall be the exercising, flexing and continued training of the actor's instruments. Presupposing a group of actors already accepted as competent and successful in their fields, a more important purpose of Theatre West will be the experimentation with theatrical material, styles of acting and concepts of theatre above and beyond the areas in which we make our living. Other techniques than those we have been trained in will be examined and studied. We will attempt to collate and examine those ideas of acting which come not from a theory of acting, but from the actors' own pragmatic experience before an audience and before a camera. Experiences that have proved to be invaluable to the actor but are unformulated in a theory. (From *Artistic Aims* by the Board in 1963).

The organization appears to use all three roles of mission and is an appropriate sight for validating the theory.

The theory presents a recurring, fixed order, of three stages in organizational life. In the first stage the primary concerns are with internal organization and goal formation. The mission of the organization is the embodiment of the directed needs of the organization. The first stage is when these needs are translated into practical goals and resources are allocated for the achievement of these goals. Power and role relationships are usually realigned to parallel the new goal structure. The organization undergoes a restructuring to be more internally adaptive to the achievement of new goals. While deciding on new strategy, the management becomes distant as the rest of the organization continues to operate on old rules. It is a time of strained relations between top management and all others.

A faculty supervisor recently had a troubled call from an arts management intern, who after several months of working closely with the top management of an arts organization, suddenly felt his supervisors were completely ignoring him. The organization events surrounding this change included: a. the decision to terminate one major project of the organization, and b. debate over whether or not the two major divisions of the organization should be permanently separated. In the meantime, the intern and the rest of the organization members were expected to just keep on as before. A little bit of the theory of stage 1 would help him understand what is going on

around him and what to expect in the way of role relations in the near future.

Normally, one can assume clear cut decisions made to alter goal sets will not always follow a smooth path to adoption. Instead, it seems more likely to find uncertainty, bitterness and stalemates, a road often blocked. When new goals are proposed to supplant old ones, more words are often necessary to convince the entrenched that a change is in order. Thus, at this time, the use of pilot or test projects becomes a potent tool to give support to new ideas. Based on the practical experience derived from pilot situations, new paths can be initiated. Simultaneously, looking ahead, top management may assess how new strategies can be implemented and if the rest of the organization will accept the new. Once the decisions are made, the rest of the organization must be structurally changed to accomplish the goals. (Mittler, 1974, p. 3-4).

The process of deriving new goals from the organization's mission can revitalize the value of the mission, but only for those who are a part of the process. The rest of the organization is excluded. If the top management wishes to recharge the mission for the other organization member, they need to either, a. include them more in the evolution of new goals during stage 1 as is done in open system planning (McWhinney, 1972), or try to deal with the issue in stage 2.

In stage 2, the plans to achieve the new goals are put into practice and carried out. Because management estranges itself from the rest of the organization in stage 1, it must now concentrate on strengthening the weakened relationships. "This is demanded or chaos will inevitably result. The management role is to develop a common sense of goals, of unity" (Mittler, 1974, p. 4). It is a time to revitalize the rest of the organization. While this is going on the organization temporarily puts up stronger boundaries to buffer out environmental influences. The organization would have great difficulty undergoing this internal reorganization and revitalization while still responding fully to environmental demands.

If one looks at a suborganization within a larger context, a microcosm of stage 2 occurs whenever a new play begins production or a choreographer begins rehearsals of a new piece. It is a time for establishing new relations among organization members. It is a time of renewed vitality, creativity and learning, as concepts and ideas are translated into actions.

Stage 2 is a transition. The environment cannot be permanently buffered. It eventually becomes important for top management to determine if new plans are viable in the face of environmental demands and see if the organization is meeting its goals. This is the beginning of stage 3. The organization acts to consolidate its previously beneficial relations, break up

those which are not satisfying its needs and tentatively replace them with new relations.

Stage three represents the first step in the process of regeneration, where the organization can find its new position in society and create a new appreciation and image of itself. As regeneration implies, the organization both acts upon and reacts to the environment openly in order to achieve a spiritual rebirth and to establish a new base on which to create its future. Then beginning the pattern again, the organization can restructure its goals and turn the tentative appreciation into appropriate realized relationships (*Ibid*, p. 6-7).

The kinds of organizational events associated with these stages are:

Stage 1

- 1—Formation and prioritization of organization goals
- 2—Power struggle within management ranks
- 3—Realignment of roles and tasks among management
- 4—Construction of written detailed plans for short term goals
- 5—Allocation of resources
- 6—Strained relations between management and the work group
- 7—Use of pilot projects

Stage 2

- 1—Role changes incorporated on a permanent and visible basis
- 2—Bringing of organization together; management building a sense of community and unity
- 3—Concentration of management on strengthening management-group relations.
- 4—Expansion of work group activities—introduction of new tasks based on goal changes.
- 5—Expansion of work group activities—involvement of work group in previously exclusive management buffering functions
- 6—Routinization of tasks and standardization of relationships
- 7—Ignorance of or refusal to accept environmental change or intrusion

Stage 3

- 1—Evaluation of success in meeting goals

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- 2—Reorganization of external relationships and procurement of new ones
- 3—Making decisions affecting the physical growth of the organization
- 4—Evaluation of long range goals of organization
- 5—Creation of impersonal communication links to the work group by management.

The theory received strong support in the case of Theatre West. The majority of the theatre's business was carried out by an elected eight member executive board which kept extensive written records of its monthly regular meetings, its common special meetings, and its bi-yearly general membership meetings. The study period was from March 1964 to July 1970. Approximately 1200 single spaced typewritten pages represented the record of 125 board minutes, 10 general membership meetings, nine newsletters and 28 pieces of correspondence.

The records were used to determine the occurrence of 19 organizational events which Mittler derived from his theory to characterize the three stages.

In the case of Theatre West, the theory indicated and the evidence supported, in terms of the concurrence of independent judges with expertise in this field, that the following cycles had been experienced:

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Time</u>
1	March 1964 to September 1964
2	October 1964 to September 1965
3	October 1965 to April 1967
1	May 1967 to November 1967
2	December 1967 to March 1969
3	April 1969 to May 1969
1	June 1969 to July 1970

The listing of organization events and the timing of these stages are presented to emphasize that what is happening within the organization heralds the changes, not time in a stage or time of the year. They are offered here to help organization members diagnose where their organizations are in a continuing cycle of roles, relations and activities.

Three Interrelated Problems at the Organizational Level

- A. The unplanned expansion and contraction of managerial staffs.
- B. The loss of responsible middle management.
- C. The transformation of organizations with line production responsibilities into ones that look like they have only staff duties.

In the management of the arts, more than in the management of many other sectors if someone leaves a job the chances are that he or she won't be replaced. At the clerical/secretarial and lower levels of management in the organization, fluctuations in work load, brushfires and the like tend to pull the resources from a vacated position to another area. Sometimes the scarcity of resources presses everyone to take on an incremental load formerly associated with the vacated spot. There is a resultant loss in the organization's ability to come up with meaningful work roles. Along with this can go a decrease in the perceived instrumentality of a work role in the goal attainment. If organization members can't make sense out of a patchwork job assignment, they have a more difficult time figuring out how their efforts help the organization meet its goals. While they still may feel a participant, and maintain their commitment to the organization, instrumentality of a work role has a direct impact on motivation, so motivation derived from this source may decline while motivation derived from commitment remains.

When middle management leaves, some extra dimensions enter. Committed people tend to form stronger bonds with each other and/or the organization. The departure of a responsible middle manager is partly seen as a defection. One response is, "We'll show him we can do fine without his help." They split up the tasks and muddle on. The role of management is more than the tasks. Although the task may be completely allocated, the role remains unfilled. If and when the recipients of the tasks leave the organization, they are more difficult to replace because their job title and job responsibilities don't match. Their new roles are historical hodgepodes, better for a colorful tracing of the path of the organization through time than for effective achievement of organization goals. The syndrome becomes self-sustaining.

Say it is the assistant concert manager who leaves. Typically his or her line of responsibilities is divided up among the heads of the functional departments (e.g. personnel, publicity and promotion, production). This brings each department head into seemingly closer relations with the top manager. This makes communication between each department head and the top manager seemingly more direct, which the department heads often like. But gone is the ability to make even routine organizational decisions

involving conflict among departments without the direct involvement of the top manager. And although they all know "it will make things tougher," they all join in a conspiracy. Department heads feel an increased responsibility to protect the top manager. Partially realizing the growing impossibility of the job of the top manager, they attempt to isolate him or her from the turbulence. This tends to exacerbate problems in organizational communication. While the links are more direct, there is less actual communication.

This same pattern has occurred recently in two very different arts organizations, with very different top management personalities. Even though each organization "coped" in a different way, the issues and the problems were the same.

In one organization the assistant concert manager had effectively delegated many tasks and coordinated the work of the departments. The department heads felt they would now begin to get the proper credit for what they had been doing all along and ignored the lack of coordination. In the other organization, the department heads devoured the power and most of the tasks of an assistant concert manager. This organization actually hired someone with the title of assistant concert manager, with the nominal authority to be a second in command. But the department heads reserved any interdepartmental issues for resolution by the top manager. The assistant concert manager is in reality another staff slot with no coordination responsibility.

The result on each organization and its top manager was ultimately the same. A level on the organizational chart was eliminated—a further transformation of organizations which have production responsibility into ones that look like they have only staff responsibilities; informal power and authority systems which bear little resemblance to the written chart; and an inability to initiate elementary organization activities without the direct involvement of the top manager.

Boundaries Between Organization and Environment

An artists' workshop closed its doors recently. It had provided a space where serigraphs, lithographs, etchings and other graphic art forms could be produced. Its well-equipped darkroom facilities, copy cameras and enlargers had provided the opportunity for artists to experiment with many different technologies in the production of visual art. The artist/owner of the workshop had kept it open over four years under a variety of membership dues arrangements. The one element all these arrangements had in common was that sooner or later a substantial number of artist/members continued to use the facilities but stopped paying dues. The owner used the facility to produce his own work and commissioned silk screening jobs. He

found that through his own effort he was supporting himself and a cadre of nonpaying artists.

There are, of course, many "organizational responses" available to deal with nonpayment—legal and managerial remedies. The owner/artist viewed all his available reactions as intolerably altering the organizational climate into a more prison-like atmosphere, or entrapping him into more policeman-like behaviors. The spirit of a "working community of artists" would vanish in the attempts to make a financially viable organization, so instead the community of artists will have to suffer the loss of this resource.

There is more than enough blame for this loss to be shared by many parties. The nonpaying artists have a heavy, but not an exclusive, burden. They are ripped off in a multitude of ways, by a business world which capitalizes on their vulnerability. The scale of their operations often forces many to pay retail prices for their supplies of paper, solvents and paints. They pay or they don't receive. The only place they could, for a while, receive services and not pay, was the workshop. It was the only place with any latitude. The environment demanded all the resources these artists had. That latitude was abused partially because it was the only available. Its side-effects will hurt. The workshop was a gathering place. One could find there another artist or two who would share a ream of BFK paper, so that all could get a discount, or divide up a 50-gallon drum of solvent. These informal cooperatives will find it harder to emerge, and the effective demand of the environment will consequently increase.

One sees the same phenomena in the Graduate School of Management. Every once in a while an experimental course will arise which presents students with a unique learning opportunity if they individually take responsibility for their own learning. When a course is designed with the latitude needed for individual expression and learning, a lot of the standard pedagogic controls (e.g. exams, problem sets, case write-ups) don't seem to fit. The environmental demands take over. The faculty's commitment to other courses, research and administration, doesn't allow the dedication of huge amounts of time, to individualized instruction and monitoring. The students' commitment to other courses and research projects with tighter performance controls doesn't allow them to spend the discretionary time needed to take full advantage of the experiment. When the crunch comes, the problem set gets in on time, the research paper gets faculty approval, and the innovative course gets the short end.

The artist pays the rent or is out in the street; pays the utilities or they turn off the heat. When month-end comes and there is no more money, the workshop gets nothing.

A system operates in an environment. Living systems build semipermeable boundaries and attempt to control the kind and quantity of

flow both ways across those boundaries. The artists' workshop and the innovative course are little systems which too easily fall prey to environmental forces competing for resources. These systems have boundaries too weak and unregulating to withstand the assault of the environment.

The lesson is not to build impenetrable boundaries. Boundaries of any living system must be partially open. If the workshop owner puts coin-operated meters on his presses or impounds artists' supplies for nonpayment, the quality of life within the system would decrease. Somehow pop quizzes, midterms and final exams do belie the innovative character of self-oriented learning experiments. But each of these systems must evolve boundaries which are realistic in the face of environmental pressure and realistic in terms of the internal climate they produce.

Stepping Across Organizational Boundaries

At times it seems the not-for-profit status of most fine arts organizations is little more than an adaptive convenience to the unfortunate economic facts of life for too much of the arts. Some not-for-profit arts organizations make money (far too few) and react to market conditions in much the same way as a for-profit enterprise. But a caution flag should appear whenever a not-for-profit arts organization starts to cross its boundaries to engage in cooperative endeavors with a for-profit operation. A case in point concerns a not-for-profit theatre which entered into an agreement with a triumvirate of Broadway producers. The theatre and the producers would develop a Broadway-bound musical as part of the theatre's regular season on a fixed length run. The agreements on financing weren't completely clear, which was a serious mistake in itself. The theatre expected to spend \$200,000 on the production, the producers came up with \$50,000 to cover unexpected overruns. The theatre would get all revenues from their production, a small slice of a tryout in yet another city, and around 8 percent of the "net" from the Broadway run. If you are madly calculating what would be reasonably expected profits, you've found a symptom, but not the illness. The problem here is one of management control. The problem is created by crossing the organizational boundary and not having the mission or its surrogates to guide the theatre. Who makes decisions? In particular, who decides that changes in scenery, costumes, vocals, musical scores and the like are really needed to ensure a "Broadway hit." Who says, "We cannot afford it!" On the theatre side, all the standard management control systems are in essence alerted that "this production is different!" They are aware that a pile of money to cover the expected overruns has been put up by the Broadway people. The Broadway producers have little interest in keeping the theatre's cost down. The producers view control as the theatre's responsibility. They want as much as they can

get in terms of costumes and sets to make the musical attractive to audiences. They want all the bugs worked out so the Broadway run is as trouble-free as possible.

There is a mismatch at the level of the mission of the theatre and the producers. It is the mission of an arts organization which is used as a substitute for some of the ordinary mechanisms for the influence and control of organizational behavior. From the mission of the theatre, goals were derived which include the presentation of a six-play, fixed length season. The role of each play in that season is very important, but not the beginning and the end. In some sense, each production is an experiment in theatre. Each is designed to fulfill the audience and the actors' needs and be a learning experience for all. The fate of the theatre shouldn't rest on one experiment. The Broadway producers could possibly ride a success on Broadway for years. For this particular group of producers, it may be the only production they do as a group. They may completely reorganize for a next production or simply cease to exist as a unit.

A mismatch at this level isn't a signal to terminate the cooperate effort. It is a very serious warning signal. It says clearly that the organization is most likely not set up to cope with the class of problems and issues that are involved. The signal should say, "Warning! You are about to cross the organizational boundary. Check your mission for guidance. Check your management control system; it is not accustomed to this territory."

It is certainly possible to venture out. Many benefits can accrue which serve the mission well, but the organization must recognize that it is in strange territory.

Failing to recognize the full impact of this transorganizational endeavor on the internal system of the theatre led to a pre-production cost spiral totaling \$480,000. No one knew how to stop writing checks. The show left the theatre with a deficit of around \$330,000. It broke even on its road stop, but closed its doors in less than two weeks on Broadway.

Epilogue

We are seeking to demonstrate there is no incompatibility between democracy and high artistic standards.

And we are seeking to do so on a grand scale.

The Rockefeller Panel Report, 1965, p. 6.

It was the ancient Greeks, not the Rockefeller Panel's discourse on the dilemmas facing the performing arts, who demonstrated the compatibility of democracy with high artistic standards. But Athens in the Fifth Century B.C. was a slave state, which denied access to the arts to half of its total population. Modern democracy has gone its neonate forms one better and

advocated *access to the arts* by the broadest possible spectrum of the public. Mr. Livingston Biddle's address to the California Confederation of the Arts, just prior to the Senate confirmation hearings on his appointment to the Chairmanship of the National Endowment for the Arts, and his final statements in the *Cultural Post* had a common theme. They heavily stressed "access to the best" in the arts as a "fundamental and guiding principle."

This advocacy brings us face to face with the stiffest challenge art has presented in any society. Can the arts in the United States garner the resources needed to achieve the highest creative standards while insuring and expanding access? This is the fundamental question.

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