CHICAGO COPED ACTIVITIES--SOME COMMENTS ON STRUCTURE,
FUNCTION AND THE HELPING RELATION.
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DEVELOPMENT (COPED)

     THE CHICAGO COOPERATIVE PROJECT IN EDUCATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT (COPED), LIKE OTHER COPED CENTERS, WAS DESIGNED
TO STUDY AND FACILITATE THE PROCESS OF PLANNED CHANGE IN
SCHOOL SYSTEMS. THE PROJECT IS DESCRIBED AS "EMERGENT,"
SLOWLY EVOLVING WITH EACH ACTIVITY ALTERING ITS DEVELOPMENT.
A DISTINCTION IS MADE BETWEEN PLANNING AND PREPARATION. COPED
IS UNPLANNED BUT PREPARED. THAT IS, COPED RESPONDS IN
CO-VARIATION WITH CLIENT RESPONSE. COPED'S PURPOSES
INCLUDE--(1) THE TENDENCY TO SLOW UP THE DECISION-MAKING
PROCESS IN THEIR DISTRICT SO THAT PROBLEMS CAN BE THOROUGHLY
EXPLORED, (2) TO INCREASE GENUINE DIALOGUE, (3) TO KEEP THE
CLIENT IN THE GROWING ROLE, (4) TO BROADEN THE ROLE OF THE
SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST AND OTHER TRAINED PERSONNEL, (5) TO
PROVIDE MODELS OF THE DESIRED BEHAVIOR, AND (6) TO EXAMINE
THE CONSTRUCTS STRUCTURING THE BEHAVIOR OF THE CLIENT SCHOOL
DISTRICT. THE BEGINNINGS OF COPED IN CHICAGO AND ITS WORK ARE
DISCUSSED. VARIOUS SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS ARE
DESCRIBED AS THEY EMERGED. ATTENTION IS FOCUSED ON COLLECTIVE
DELIBERATION, A FUNCTION WHICH EMERGED IN THE STEERING
COMMITTEE. A HYPOTHESIS ABOUT THE NECESSITY OF COLLECTIVE
DELIBERATION IS OFFERED. (SK)

~~DRAFT: Not for Quotation~~

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Chicago COPED[1] Activities: Some Comments on
Structure, Function and the Helping Relation

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To describe the Chicago COPED relation with its school

system requires a consideration of at least the following topics:

source or purpose, social structure, functions, development,

and effects. No consideration of these could possibly be

adequate, however, that did not treat them in relation to their

emergence over time. The source of each step in the project

is a peculiar and, I want to emphasize, unpredictable and un-

planned, function of the structures, functions, and effects

of earlier steps in the project. That is to say, the purposes

of the intervention are in important respects emergent.

To point to the emergent nature of the project is to

speak of its development. The project's development has been

unplanned in important and purposeful ways, and will continue

to have this characteristic. But I want to pick up a distinction

here that one of my associates in the project, Audrey Borth,

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[1] The Cooperative Project in Educational Development (COPED)
is an inter-university enterprise, with centers in Boston, Chicago
Ann Arbor, and New York, designed to study and facilitate the
process of planned change in school systems.

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has found useful. The distinction is between being <u>planned</u>
and being <u>prepared</u>. To be unplanned is not to be haphazard
or whimsical. Many of my colleagues in COPED apparently conceive
the only alternative to a tightly designed study, for example,
to be a study that is haphazard, unsystematic, and undisciplined.
A view of inquiry that requires the inquirer to plan what data
will be gathered and when, regardless of its relevance at the
time and regardless of the effects of data-gathering operations
on the course of the intervention is too narrow a definition
of inquiry. A prepared inquirer will, on the contrary, monitor
his design, his planning, and his inquiry as he proceeds. His
criteria for decisions may be just as disciplined and just
as consistently adhered to as the planned inquirer, but they
will be conceived at a much more abstract level than are
plans or designs. A comparison of an experimental psychologist
in a Hullian or Skinnerian laboratory, on one hand, with a
psychotherapist, on the other, may help to bring into relief
the difference between being planned and being prepared. The
designed or planned study of the laboratory is prepared up to
the point of running the rats. That is, the scientist shifts
his design in relation to unstated notions about good science,
artful experimental manipulations, and the like, and finally,
after much uncharted and unplanned but still well prepared
shifting around, he comes up with a plan or a design. From
that point on, his inquiry is planned, and can be (and
frequently is) carried out by a relatively untrained assistant.

The therapist, on the other hand, is never quite in the position to carry out a planned study -- he tends to get caught in the pre-planning stage of inquiry where what he knows informs what he can look for and what he may test out with his patient, but where events in therapeutic sessions transpire much too rapidly for him to be planned for more than fleeting moments. What saves him, if he is saved at all, is not planning but preparation -- preparation for the classes of events he will be confronted with and for the characteristics by which he may know them when they do appear; preparation for recurring kinds of relation with his client; preparation for recurring kinds of emotion within himself.

Let's consider in greater detail the comparison between an experimentalist in the laboratory and a therapist in his consulting room. The experimentalist has planned his study and is now carrying out pre-scheduled procedures for obtaining responses that will be quantified into evidence that certain antecedent conditions cause, lead to, or are followed by certain consequences according to prediction. The experimentalist does not alter his procedures in the course of his study of his subjects. He does not respond to their responses with a shift in his experimental intervention. Why on earth would he do such a thing? His interest is in the data, not the subjects. They are working for him, not he for them.

In therapy the relation between the chief participants is different from the relation that obtains in the laboratory.

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The therapist, even the experimentally oriented one, responds
with his intervention in co-variation with his client's response.
Or rather, the therapist's response is contingent upon his inter-
pretation of the client's response. Does this make the therapist's
interventions whimsical and unsystematic? Certainly not.
There is a pattern of contingency there, as anyone who watches
a motion picture of Carl Rogers in a client-centered session
can attest. And yet the intervention is not planned in the way
the experimentalist's is in the laboratory. Why on earth would
it be? The therapist's interest is not in data that might be
produced by some constant stimulus or even some constant and
irreversable contingency. His interest is in the client,
and the contract is for the therapist to work for the client,
not the other way around.

The consequence of this kind of contract is that the
client can and does have the power to change the intervention
whether or not he is aware of that power. This power is the
source of problems when an investigator assumes a data-centered
attitude toward a consultant-client relationship. I hasten to
add that the problem this power poses is not insurmountable,
but one must at least recognize and deal with the problem.

On the one hand the consultant wants to help the client.
On the other hand he wants to study the process of helping.
If he assumes the attitude of the laboratory experimentalist
in his inquiry he is led to set up a particular set of condi-
tions or contingencies with regard to a limited number of

variables, and to run his clients through these conditions or
contingencies without shifting them. On the other hand, if
he is dealing with human clients, he is likely to be presented
repeatedly with variations in client behavior -- responses
that indicate emergent priorities or sudden spurts of growth --
that were quite unanticipated, that bear directly on the client-
consultant relation, and that require the devising of unanti-
cipated moves if the relation is to continue or to continue
to be helpful. And I want to emphasize that I am not including
in these unanticipated client responses those which are merely
manipulative; such manipulative attempts on the part of the
client will, if allowed to become the basis for the consultant's
accommodating shifts, nullify the help even if they prolong
the relationship In considering only non-manipulative client
behaviors that emerge unexpectedly, what does the data-oriented
consultant do? Does he shift his plan and thereby alter irre-
versably the quality of his intervention, or does he stick to
his plan and jeopardize the help that his relation with the
client might eventually bring to the client? There is no getting
around the conflict of purpose here. If the consultant wishes
to study a helping relation over time, he has to develop a
relation with a client that is one that helps. If, on the other
hand, he simply wants to study variables associated with client-
consultant relations irrespective of their helping quality,
then he has no conflict and will not hesitate to stick to

his plan in the face of a presumed decrement in its assistance to the client.

Certain other conditions might also affect the data-oriented consultant's decision. Suppose, for example, that the data-oriented consultant wants to study the emergence of a genuinely helping relation and has instrumentation and well-defined criteria for assessing help, but only has a very limited number of possible clients. He would then assume a different stance toward the discontinuation of a relation than if he had clients banging on the door and sufficient time to engage them.

In the COPED situation we have neither many clients nor great ease of establishing relations with them. Our decisions about holding to a planned design or altering it are conditioned by such constraints. But our commitments to data and design, as distinct from commitments to the client, hold still another problem in COPED. Even if we conceive of our intervention as one that may vary according to emergent client conditions, we may, in our commitment to data, insist that certain kinds of data be gathered at certain planned junctures in the relation and that these data-gathering commitments, at least, must remain inviolable. This certainly sounds reasonable; how else could any data be gathered if not by some planned schedule?

Unfortunately, this commitment, too, may run afoul of the requirements of a helping relation. Much depends on the nature of the data and of the procedures, of course. In COPED the major source of common data is a rather extensive

questionnaire. It consumes the better part of two hours for
most adults and nearly the same for the children. If a demand
for such time is seen as an arbitrary imposition from above
in a school district, and if one of the major purposes of a
helping intervention in the district is to develop a norm
counter to arbitrariness and imposition, a norm of participa-
tion and shared problem solving, then to introduce such a massive
data collection without its being clearly instrumental to
some shared goal or problem solution as seen by those who
will respond to the questionnaire is to violate the purpose
for being in the district in the first place. And so, given
a commitment to facilitate such values, it is clearly necessary
to take steps that will guarantee that the COPED instrument
package will be instrumental to the purposes and problems of
the district. Such a presumption, of course, is Machiavellian;
to intend to come out on the other side of an intervention
simply where we want to be is clearly to intend mere manipula-
tion on our part.

On the other hand, without some prior agreement about
data, how shall we collect any evidence that reflects our own
purposes for inquiry or that allows cross-center comparisons?
Clearly we must agree to some instrumentation. But does it
have to be inviolate? Let us put the matter this way: to
the extent that we can negotiate with our districts a data-
gathering procedure that does no violence to our relation with
it, we shall do so. This recognizes the client power that I

mentioned before, the client must retain this power. It is
this power of choice, in fact, that we want to enlarge and
leave more robust after we leave the district than when we
entered. As one of our Steering Committee members put it:
"You would never be allowed to come into the district now in
the way that you did enter, and we're glad you came"! Her
sentiments are not yet universal in the district, on either
point.

Our inquiry in our school district is to some extent
prepared, and one of our aims is to become increasingly prepared.
Our inquiry is, however, relatively unplanned. The reasons
why planning must give way to preparation may become clear as
this narrative proceeds.

Our purposes are not easily stated. Quite aside from
the fact that each of us in the Chicago consultant group
has his own purposes in addition to those he may share with
others, those purposes that we share are not completely described
by any existing theory or frame of reference. I think, for
example, that we all probably share the purpose of developing
and reinforcing in our client district the tendency to slow up
the decision-making process so that problems can be thoroughly
explored before solutions are sought. This is essentially what
N.R.F. Maier has been referring to for many years as the problem-
oriented, as distinct from the solution-oriented process of
problem-solving in groups. And so we might say that we are after

in our district what Maier is after in his industrial settings.

But to say that is insufficient to describe our purpose.
We could also say, for example, that we want more emphasis on
what messages are received and how they are decoded and less
emphasis on what messages are sent and on their encoding.
That is, instead of (or perhaps in addition to) much effort going
into the wording of a memorandum from the superintendent's
or principal's office and little or no effort into finding out
what information is internalized by the readers of the memoran-
dum, we should like a greater percentage of time and effort
devoted by the senders of messages to what is understood and
internalized by the receivers of messages. We would intend
"message" to denote both spoken and written communications,
of course.

Another purpose, then, can be stated in the language of
communication; and this language employs terms quite different
from the language of Maier in discussing problem solving.
But the language of communication, too, is insufficient to
encompass our shared purpose. We have to have recourse to the
language of Buber, for example, who speaks of the life of dialogue
and monologue and the worlds of I-Thou and I-It. To increase
the incidence of genuine dialogue is a shared purpose; a shared
purpose quite unstatable in terms of communication theory or
in Maier's problem-solving framework. We have to have recourse,
also, to the language Rogers uses when he describes the
necessity of allowing the client to be. An important component

of Rogers' thinking is the assumption that the client has magnificent growth potential within himself, even when he seems completely stultified and hemmed in by his own behavior and desires. Thus Rogers' language provides a way to describe one of our purposes: to keep ourselves in the helping role and our client in the growing role and to keep as our highest priority the emergent powers of the client, subordinated to our own conceptions of how organizations have been found to behave in other studies or what it would be good for the client to know at this point or that point. This is not a denial of an active, intrusive role on our part, however; rather, it makes our expression at every point contingent on the emergent powers of the client. Sometimes the client will fairly cry out for intrusion on our part -- not a dependent cry for mothering, not an escape from freedom, but an adaptive plea for another's point of view to break out of an unwanted parochialism. We will respond to this kind of cry in various ways that we suppose are relevant to an expansion of client powers. When we do we will try to be conscious of our purpose, stated earlier in communication terms, of finding out what message was actually received, what the actual effects of our intrusion have been.

Another purpose, drawing on the concepts of role and social organization, is to broaden the role of the school psychologist and other psychologically trained personnel in the district. We want to help the district develop indigenous,

and profesionally catholic roles for psychological specialists and to move away from the encapsulated, professionally parochial roles imported from other institutions like child guidance clinics.

Still another frame of reference, psychoanalysis, provides a term needed to extend these statements of purpose -- ego ideal. One of the most important conceptions to which we repair again and again is the conception that what we do we are instructing; how we act provides an immediate, tangible image of behavior untransformed by the words we may use. One aspect of our purpose, then, is to model the kinds of behavior we want to leave behind us when we leave.

As a final example, our current conception of our purpose cannot be stated fully without using the language of personal constructs and of constructive alternativism provided by George Kelly. The network of constructs that structures client behavior is an important focus of our purpose; such networks must become conscious, examined, and aligned with values held by the client. But the network of constructs that structure our behavior as consultants must also become conscious and we must be as active in aligning our constructs with our values as we hope our clients will be. Our conception of ego ideal demands this, but so does our conception of dialogue. Each frame of reference contributes a part to the statement of our purpose.

One of the characteristics of our purpose evidenced in even the gross attempt I have just made to state it is that each of its parts impinges on others. This means that when we

become clearer on or expand one of these parts the whole
conception shifts. Our purpose is emergent in the same sense
as the project as a whole is emergent.

I entered the District on the basis of professional
concerns about school psychology shared by the Superintendent.
The initial social structure of entry, then, was an attraction
between a power figure in the client system and one in a still
to be formed consultant system (COPED) that was based on
mutually held concerns about a particular kind of role in
school systems generally. This social structure was small and
its purpose was focused and limited. As consultative activity
proceeded in the District, both structures and functions
expanded and became differentiated. Some structures were
fleeting while others seem to have become relatively permanent.
Representative social structures are presented in Figure 1
in the sequence in which they were created in the District.

The initial structure endured long enough to shift its
purpose from a focus on a particular role to a focus on a new
curriculum project in sex education that had been developing
in the district. That project never became the actual focus
of consultation. Events forged a substitution. A choice of
subject matters was offered the consultant by the Superinten-
dent; he was to select from a number of different areas one
of interest to him that would become clear to him from a day's
activities in the district. In a brief one-day survey, through

the consultant's participation in the Administrative Cabinet

and through interviews of teaching teams and of individual

teachers and administrators, the consultant was to select an

area of work in the system that he thought his skills might

facilitate. The consultant, in turn, offered his own substi-

tute: an opportunity for the District to work with a team of

consultants, namely COPED, rather than an opportunity for the

Superintendent to work with the consultant on a one-to-one

basis. In addition, accompanying the substitute offer were

two $1,200 five-week summer traineeships in educational

consultation for District staff members. The Superintendent

facilitated the entry of COPED by holding another meeting of the

Administrative Cabinet with the consultant for the purpose of

exploring a by now much modified purpose: the facilitation

of work in groups. Two of the five principals in the District

were named to receive the traineeships.

Thus from a rather limited purpose, exploring a concern

over a particular school role, with a limited social structure,

a one-to-one relation between a consultant and a client, the

client consultant relation emerged with a very broad purpose,

improvement of work in groups, with a much more complicated

structure, a group-to-group relation between a team of consul-

tants and an on-going administrative committee, the Administra-

tive Cabinet. The two principals chosen to receive residential

training in educational consultation were members of this

7-man Administrative Cabinet.

The Superintendent asked for a formal proposal about COPED activities in the District that he could take before the Board of Education. And so the social structures implicated in the relation expanded further. The proposal, in essence, offered the District the same option that its Superintendent had offered this consultant earlier, namely, a choice of goals that it might choose to have COPED work on with groups in the District. The Superintendent failed to obtain approval of the proposed COPED activities from the Board of Education, prolonging the life of the project in the District only by interpreting COPED activities with the Board as coming under his jurisdiction as administrator according to powers already granted to him by the Board. These events transpired after the summer training of the two principals.

With this rather inauspicious beginning, a first COPED intervention was launched in the District itself. An ad hoc group of teachers and administrators was convened, including the Administrative Cabinet and a teacher from each of the five building advisory committees, to begin sensing changes needed in the District. The intended method called for members of the group to respond to five open-ended questions on changes, a sub-group tabulation of these responses, and a discussion about the responses that would be fed back to the group by the tabulators.

Instead, questions about COPED and the task occupied the group, along with a brief report from the Superintendent

about the fate of the proposal. Before the second meeting,
responses to the five change questions were written, reproduced,
and circulated, and everyone read the original proposal. A
second meeting worked as a whole and in small groups to find
themes in the responses to the questions on change in the
District. After a number of themes were identified, we turned
to questions of structure again: (1) who else in the District
was needed in the group to identify and work on problems in
the District? and (2) from this large, representative group
how could we go about establishing a smaller steering committee
that would guide all COPED activities in the District? On
these questions the group foundered: silence, boredom, embarrass-
ment, and confusion about purpose and about the future of
the group were apparent, and were expressed on post-meeting
reaction sheets. A review of the meeting afterwards by consul-
tants (we were now two) and various members of the ad hoc
group produced the conclusions that (1) we needed broader
representation from the District' (2) this group was unable
to provide that broader representation because it had no legi-
timate power in the District and because its relation to the
existing committee structure was completely unclear; (3) no
steering committee could be created from this group, since it
lacked representativeness and legitimation; and
(4) there already was a completely representative body in the
District -- the District General Council -- of which almost
all of the persons attending the ad hoc meetings were members;

(5) the present, ad hoc, committee should be discontinued and
its purposes pursued with the District General Council; and
(6) a third and final meeting of the ad hoc group should be
held to (a) announce its demise, (b) review events so far in
the District and project future activities with the District
General Council, and (c) enlist this ad hoc group's help in
avoiding repetition of earlier mistakes and inclusion of acti-
vities that they saw as definitely being needed.

And so another phase in the project's involvement with
social structures ended, and one began. A single meeting with the
District General Council -- a large committee whose repre-
sentation extends to both certified and non-certified personnel
-- led to the naming of six persons who would become, with the
two COPED members, the Steering Committee. The six were named
on the basis of interest and variation in role and level of
involvement in the system. We wanted teachers, principals, and
district-wide administrators represented in the Steering
Committee.

Ten Steering Committee meetings have now been held;
they last two hours and occur regularly every two weeks. The
task of the Committee has been to make recommendations to the
District through the District General Council as to where COPED
activities ought to concentrate in the District. There have
been no additional structural changes beyond the Steering
Committee. As we now shift to consider our functions in the
District, it will be clear that additional structural changes

are imminent.

Early functions served by the consulting relation were
contact with a university, experimentation with a new kind of
consultation (review of several District activities), and staff
development through the traineeships. Early functions served by
the client relation were contact with an unusually receptive
and stimulating Superintendent and experimentation with a new
kind of consultation. As the consultant-client relation proceeded
through the proposal, the three ad hoc meetings, the District
General Council, and the Steering Committee, functions became
more differentiated. The functions that the Steering Committee
has served to date have been internal to the Steering Committee
rather than in its relation to the rest of the District through
the District General Council.

The consultants have had an opportunity to watch the
tortuous emergence of a consensual diagnosis of a single,
over-arching problem that permeates the District and the somewhat
less tortuous identification of the categories of people in the
District that should be involved in any solution of that problem.
The consultants, being relative novices, have also observed them-
selves self-consciously over these ten meetings. One thing
has been apparent over and over again to all of us in the Steering
Committee. We have observed and voiced awareness that the
three levels of experience and professional responsibility repre-
sented by the Associate Superintendent, the three principals, and

the two teachers, have broadened in definite and consistent ways
the concepts of problem and solution that we have finally arrived
at. Quite consistently the administrators in the group have been
sensitive to the gaps in teachers' conceptions of the total system
and in teachers' skills in working with groups; just as consistently
the teachers in the group have been sensitive to the narrow
conception held by administrators regarding how information is
conveyed, and how the dichotomy between planning and implementing
can lead to frustration if the planners are superordinates and the
implementers are subordinates. In our proposals for how we should
tackle the problem that we had worked so hard to formulate and had
finally agreed on, the teachers, for example, saw a great need
for administrators to have intensive training in T groups while
the administrators saw the necessity for workshop-like activities
for teachers.

One of the functions the Steering Committee has served,
then, is the function of making manifestly apparent to the two
major professional levels in the group that they have favorite
solutions and favorite problem formulations that are each quite
insufficient. The term "manifestly apparent" must be qualified,
however. The tendency for teachers, quite unwittingly, to propose
solutions that require change in administrators' behavior and the
equally ready tendency of administrators, equally unwittingly,
to call for teacher modification as the solution has been acted
out and verbally labeled in the group, much to the amusement of
all. The phenomenon is thus manifestly apparent on our tape

recordings. It is there in hard data. But the extent to which
its manifestness has led to a change in behavior tendency is still
quite open to question. We shall have made significant progress
toward genuine dialogue or what Buber calls "experiencing the
other side" when members of each group check themselves in this
apparent parochiality.

So far the presence of both groups has functioned as a
sort of natural power balance to mitigate the one-sidedness that
would clearly prevail were only one or the other group present.
The much more significant function of internalizing the other's
point of view is yet to be in evidence.

Another function served by the Steering Committee is a
sort of half-way house or protected but real situation in which
the interpersonal skills to which the two principals were exposed
in their residential training may be practiced by them. In
this regard it is a continued training experience for then in the
context of their on-going work. But it is also, of course, a
training experience in the same sense for the others in the group.
Thus training, of the modeling rather than the didactic kind, is
one function of the Steering Committee.

There is some evidence, through our observations of a
District General Council meeting and a tape recording of an
Administrative Cabinet meeting, that some aspects of the training
can quite naturally spill over into the on-going life of the school
The evidence regarding the effects of COPED activities in the
District is minimal at this point, however. We can see evidence

in group behavior outside the Steering Committee of testing for
committment, of summarizing, of clarifying, of questioning
an apparent consensus, and of keeping discussion open long enough
to obtain extended consideration of an unpopular point of view.
There is evidence of this on the tape of a recent Administrative
Cabinet.[1] What we do not know is whether this quality
of discussion existed before special training and the supporting
Steering Committee meetings. Some spontaneous comments have
been heard (and recorded) in Steering Committee meetings about
the fact that no vote has been taken in Cabinet meetings for
several months, and the like, but we must push inquiry into the
history of these behaviors further. Interviews conducted with
non-COPED participants in the Cabinet regarding passages of the
tape should provide helpful data on this point.

Another function of the Steering Committee, of course,
relates to its first and continuing charge: to plan for and guide
COPED activities in the District. The Steering Committee has not
been a T-group; it has had a task function from the beginning.
We have confronted process issues directly as they were instruments
to improving work flow, not as ends in themselves or as activities
undertaken apart from the Steering Committee's task. In the course
of planning, the Committee has explored some of the favorite

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[1]
The Cabinet itself has not been the scene of any COPED
interventions directly.

techniques of group dynamicists with some considerable excitement.
After identifying the over-arching problem of the District and
providing various examples at several levels of the system, it
became clear that we had to get back to the District with a com-
munication that would excite interest in educational activities.

How does a group that has come some distance in its
thinking about what should happen in the District come back to the
District with a communication that will not destroy its intention
by being arrogant and dictatorial or boring or simply confusing?
As usual a number of alternatives were suggested, including the ti
honored administrative technique of having a presentation that
would describe COPED activities. That could be benign, if
boring, but how could it invite excitement and participation?
There was universal agreement that whatever we did we should not
make the same mistake as other institute activities where the
teachers always brought knitting and no one ever missed a stitch!

Our solution was an adaptation of two techniques known
to Bethel types: the fishbowl and the empty chair. We would hold
a regular Steering Committee meeting, in the round, with the entire
faculty of the District. The issues that would come up would be
precisely the issues that each Steering Committee member wanted to
bring up, as usual, and they would undoubtedly include all of
the concerns that each of us had expressed about developing
commitment from District members, making in-service training
meaningful rather than simply a professional obligation, what the
major and recurring problem of the District was, anyway, and

finally, why the administration of the COPED core instrument package had generated so much hostility. Two empty chairs would allow participation from the audience. They might not be filled. Then that, too, would be grist for the mill.

One function of the Steering Committee, then, was to encourage thinking about how to communicate with others about the plans you have for them. The administrators are accustomed to this problem, but I dare say, our solution is not wholly familiar to them. They, like the rest of us, are scared to death at the prospect of an open meeting where District issues will be confronted directly.

Our ninth Steering Committee meeting was one of the most novel of our meetings, in my estimation. There were no fireworks or anything overtly dramatic, but there was an unusual kind of synthesis of two kinds of COPED work in the District that had been separate up to that point. It was a special meeting, called at the request of our Research Director and Historian. At this meeting we were to negotiate with the District, through the Steering Committee, a second administration of the long question-naire that had caused widespread aggrevation at the first poorly prepared, administration.

We wanted to ensure an apparent connection, as well as a real connection, between our data-gathering efforts and our interventions, but we were committed to going the way the Steering Committee decided, regardless of our desire to assess our effects in the District. The research team as well as the intervention team attended. After stating our own preferences

the District members explored their pros and cons and, after

pushing the limits of possibilities, from not giving the instru-

ment at all to just giving it all again in the same way, came to

a tested consensus that (1) all but one part of the instrument

would be administered to (2) a sample reduced slightly in

numbers and in kinds of role, (3) after the two initial workshop

with our "target population" which (4) in turn, would have

been prepared through (a) a District-wide fishbowl meeting and

(b) faculty meetings attended by members of the Steering Committ

Our negotiations, at first seen as simply a necessary and

consistent approach to the District, appear in retrospect to

have produced a solution to the data-gathering problem that

is far more satisfying to the very principles that underlie our

approach than we could ourselves imagine. We, the consultants,

received clear and substantial help from them, the clients,

in our data-gathering problem. That, for me, constitutes strong

reinforcement of the idea of negotiated inquiry.

I used the phrase, 'the need for reflection,' in the

original title of this paper. The phrase attests an awareness

that has grown in the course of observations in the district

during the past year that an important function is either alto-

gether missing or is present in only a weak and sporadic form

in this, and probably other, school systems. The function

that appears to be missing is collective deliberation about

ends and about problems.

There seems to be individual deliberation about problems and about ends. Most teachers and administrators are quite articulate about what they want and, given a trusting relationship between them and an interviewer, they are also articulate about problems. Collective decision making also is clearly in evidence in this District. One can point to instances where it could be argued that more collective and less individual decision making is called for, but there is, nevertheless, unmistakable evidence of not only collective decision making but also stabilized means whereby decisions shall be, and are, forged from various points of view in the District. The Administrative Cabinet, for example, is a structu that quite naturally, because of its composition, performs this function.

But individual deliberation or collective decision making do not constitute collective deliberation. Perhaps a new term is needed to label the distinctive functions I have in mind, but I prefer not to cluttⁿr up the language further. Rather, let me describe the function that I refer to by 'collective deliberation.'

I have already noted that the term refers to functions that are different from collective decision making. It is true that a kind of deliberation goes along with the kind of collective decision making that the Administrative Cabinet, for example, engages in. But that kind of deliberation appears to be almost completely in the service of problems already

sensed or goals already identified by individuals. Collective
deliberation can be distinguished from collective decision
making by precisely these characteristics: is the function of
the group's work to solve problems or achieve given ends or is
it to identify problems or identify and set in order of priority
the ends to be strived for?

The ever-riding impression that recurs in working with
the Steering Committee is that the kind of discursive, crisis-
free deliberation that characterizes its meetings has not been
in evidence before in this District. And yet it is quite plain
to us that the problem we have identified as thematic in
the operation of the District could only have been identified
and clarified through the many hours of Steering Committee
time spent in building trust with other group members, in
struggling to defend one's own frame of reference and terms,
in accommodating both frames of reference and terms to a
common language and set of concepts, in exploring false leads
and in recognizing recurrent themes.

To what extent collective deliberation is a function that
is crucial to planned change or is useful to the smooth running
of the District is a matter for continued observation. My
hypothesis is that no collectively enhancing or collectively
satisfying changes can be undertaken without collective
deliberation.

I have explored briefly several aspects of our negotiated inquiry in the District. The meaning of the distinction between being planned and being prepared was considered in relation to interventions of the kind we are carrying out with the District. In the course of that discussion I hope what is meant by 'negotiated inquiry' was clarified. I then turned to our purpose; they are emergent both in actuality and in our awarenes To a considerable extent it is true that we come to understand our intervention purposes as we come to understand a dream: we do it first, in response to immediately impinging events and guided by conceptions beyond awareness, and later come to understand it only after retrospective analysis. Discussion of purpose was followed by a narrative describing work in the District. Various social structures and some of their functions were described as they emerged in sequence. Finally, attention was given to a function that appears to have emerged in the Steering Committee and that apparently has not been in evidence before in the District: collective deliberation. The distinction between collective decision making and collectiv deliberation was described and a hypothesis was offered regardir the necessity of collective deliberation.

Consultant	Subject Matter	Client	Date

1... **(C1)** ──── criticize narrow role of school psy-
chologists: no institutional research **(S)** early
Spring, '65

2. **(C1)** ──── **explore field training possibilities**
for school psychologists **(S)(R)** Late
Spring, '65

3. **(C1)** ──── off-site training: 2-wk education
laboratory, Bethel Summer, '65

4. **(C1)** ──── critical review of District plans for
implementing a sex education program Winter, '66

5. **(C1)** over-view of some system problems
and possible areas of consultation
Tchng.
Tm. 3/16/66

6. **(C1)** ──── explore COPED possibilities in District;
identify two training consultants (TC) 5/17/66

7. **(C1)** ──── written COPED proposal conveyed to Board;
neither approved nor rejected: tabled 6/23/66

Fig. 1. Sequence of social structures and subject matter
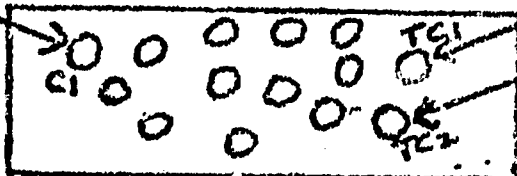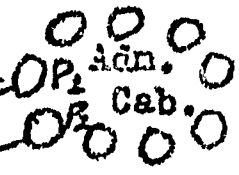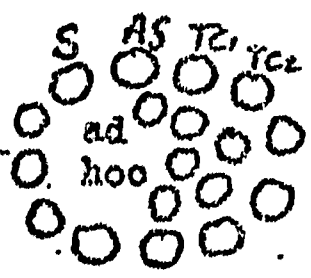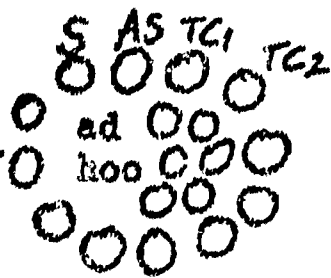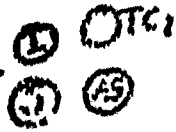of Chicago COPED transactions with District 68.

Consultant	Subject Matter	Client	Date

8. (C2) off-site training: Group Relations Conference, Mt. Holyoke; 2 weeks — 6/10-24/66

9. (C1) off-site training: Community and Training Consultants' Laboratory, Bethel — 7/1-8/7/66

5 weeks for TC's;
2 weeks with C1 as co-trainee

10. (C1) mtg.#1 of ad hoc cross-role group: respond to "Changes", reproduce and feed back responses; members read proposal — 9/21/66

(includes Adm. Cab.)

11. (C1) (C2) plan ad hoc mtg. # 2 — 9/26/66 10/3/66

12. (C1) (C2) mtg.#2 of ad hoc group: find themes in "Changes" responses; try, and fail, to move toward forming a steering committee — 10/4/66

13. (C1) (C2) post mortem of mtg.#2: why no movement toward st. comm.;why negative part.? — 10/4/66

Fig. 1. (continued)

Consultant	Subject Matter	Client	Date

14. (C1) / (C2) — plan ad hoc mtg. # 3: prepare written summary of events so far and of pmr's on #2 for ad hoc members — 10/10/66

15. (R1) / (R2) — separate interviews with each of the 5 principals: data gathering time and procedures — 10/10/66

16. (R1) — superintendent interview: interview schedule from core instrument package — (S) — 10/17/66

17. (C1) / (C2) — mtg. #3:kill ad hoc group after presenting diagnosis; get advice for next steps — S AS TC1 TC2 ... ad hoc — 10/18/66

18. (C1) (C2) (H) — first mtg. of District General Council with COPED: establish Steering Committee — S AS TC1 R1 ... DGC (includes ad. Cab.) — 10/25/66

19. (C2) — 30 interviews and observations spread over District with adm.s, tchrs, and specialists — 10/19-28/66

20. (C1) — separate interviews with each principal: where should COPED effort be concentrated? — 11/1/66

21. (C1) (R1) (H) (C2) (R2) — first staff meeting of Chicago COPED; Monday mornings thereafter — 11/2/66

22. (C1) (C2) (H) — 1st Steering Committee (SC) mtg.: membership questions and enumeration of District's problems — TC1 TC2 P3 AS Q2 T1 — 11/3/66

Fig. 1. (continued)

Consultant	Subject Matter	Client	Date
23. (R1)	arrange core package and pmr's for fifth-grade children; school SC	O O O O P3 O	11/7/66
24. (2)	interview of each Steering Committee member; observation of a tchng. tm. mtg.	OAS OTC1 OTC2 OTI O O O OT2 O O OP3	11/8/66
25. (1)(H)(11)(12)(22)	2nd COPED staff mtg.: confidentiality of logs; preparation for nat'l COPED mtg.		11/9/66
26. (R1)	arrange core package and pmr's for fifth-grade children: school JS	O O O O O OTC2 O O O O O	11/9/66
27. (R1)	arrange core package and pmr's for fifth-grade children: school H	OP4	11/9/66
28. (R1)	arrange core package and pmr's for fifth-grade children: school D	O O OP3 O O O	11/9/66
29. (C1)(C2)	discuss SC mtg. #1 and plan for #2.		11/10/66
30. (C1)(C2)	SC mtg. #2: confidentiality of SC discussions; relation of SC to DGC; role of COPED consultants in SC.	TC1 TC2 P3 O O O AS O OT2 T1	11/10/66

Fig. 1. (continued)

Glossary of Abbrebiations
Used in Figure 1

AS   - Associate Superintendent

BM   - Business Manager

C1, C2   - First and second consultants, who are concerned
             with intervantion

H   - Historian on the consultant team

I   - Administrative intern

P1,P2,P3   - Principals in the District

R   - Research Director in the District

R1, R2   - Two research persons on the consultant team

S   - Superintendent

T1, T2   - Two teachers

TC1, TC2 - Two principals (P1 and P2) who had received special
           training in consultation

Broken lines encircling consultant indicate involvement of
persons, who were later to become consultants, before they
had entered a consultant-client relationship.