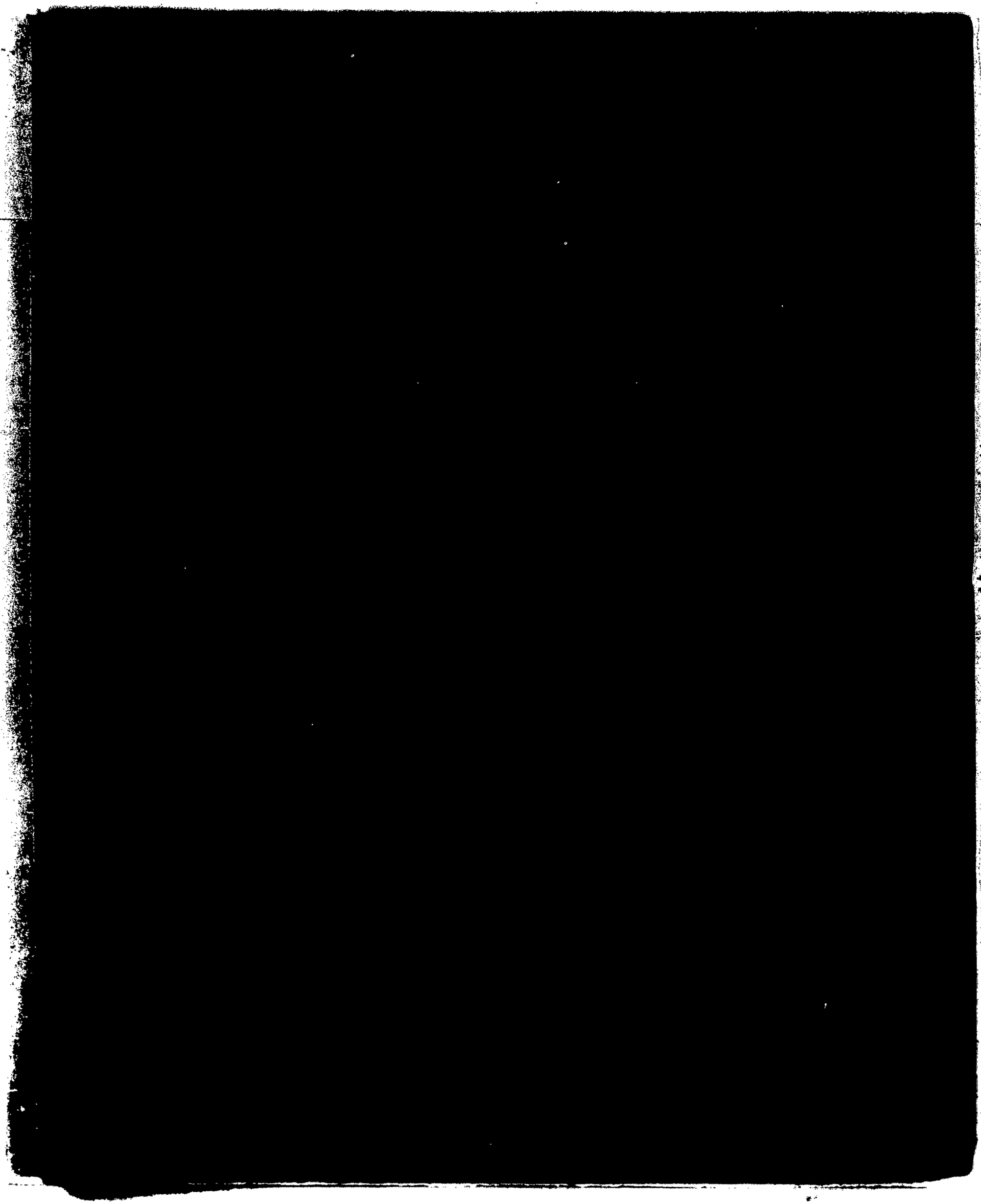

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN - MILWAUKEE

Three Papers Concerning the Harvard-Hawthorne Research in Personnel Relations

System Personnel Conference

Southern Pines, Oct. 29 - Nov. 2

1940

A. T. & T. Co.

Personnel Relations

Department

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN - MILWAUKEE

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From the beginning of these studies, the identities of the persons under study have been kept confidential. We look to you to carry on this trust. Please guard the privacy of the persons involved by substituting fictitious names, or code symbols for real names.

Note: The content of these papers is related to the research which has been done since 1927. A summary of this was presented prior to the conference in the binder -- "Possibilities of Applying Scientific Method to Personnel Relations in a Business Organization."

[redacted]

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Evolution of A Concept of Personnel Relations

M. L. Putnam

It is interesting to think of the two great domains of business organization. In one there is the organization of all the materials and mechanisms necessary to the operation of the enterprise. In the other there is the organization of all the people whose efforts are required in achieving the objectives of the concern. It goes without saying that an effective management must be skilful in the arrangement and control of both. Given a worthwhile objective, the precise way in which these two organizations are arranged and related to each other will in large part determine the effectiveness of the business.

Modern managements have continuously sought out the best ways of operation. They have utilized trial and error from experience which is a fairly reliable but a time consuming process. They have employed men who were thought to have high native capacities. They have sometimes gained by accidental improvements and by random and unorganized thinking. But in the main, the most reliable and important advances have been by way of research - a systematic and orderly process for seeking new knowledge.

The products of research, however, have for the most part been concerned with the technical phases of business. In this area the scientific method has been brought to bear on almost every front. Concurrently with this, and for good reasons, there has been an obvious lack of the same scientific progress in the social phases of business. Not nearly so much has been attempted and not nearly so much has been accomplished.

The reasons for this are fairly clear. The possibilities in this type of research have never been satisfactorily demonstrated. The need for research in this area has only in recent years become fully apparent. The research methods of the physical sciences have not appeared to be adapted to this field. And possibly more than any other, management has never been convinced that this kind of study would be sufficiently fruitful.

This lack of hope for useful results is easily understood by looking at the processes of research in the physical sciences. For instance, it has been traditional to utilize careful and exact measurements, to deal with fairly static materials, and to conduct research in laboratory situations where variables could be controlled.

Obviously in the personnel relations field the material is not similar. It seems fantastic to think of making exact measurement in this area, the natural order of personnel relations material seems exceedingly dynamic rather than static, and it has not seemed generally feasible to try to control the variables.

There is another and more hopeful way, however, in which to view this. And this view opens the way for great progress in the advancement and perfection of personnel activities. In order to perceive this view, it is necessary to consider the essential characteristics of scientific method rather than to be concerned with the mechanisms and methods of scientific procedure.

The essential characteristics of scientific method may be viewed in terms of three basic needs. A suitable theory is required in the form of basic concepts, assumptions, or a useful way of thinking about the material at hand. Second, an effective method must be employed. And third, the practitioner must be a skilful person having systematic knowledge and familiarity with the materials in his field of study. Research pursued under these essential conditions has usually been productive of useful results.

In the field of personnel relations, it has been difficult to make a beginning because of a lack in all these essentials to the application of the scientific method. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that in the field of personnel relations no suitable theory has appeared to exist, no effective methods have been available and no skilful research practitioners have been developed or are available.

About thirteen years ago, research of this kind was undertaken at Hawthorne. The beginning was somewhat accidental and it took some time to achieve results because at the start there was no adequate theory, method, or personal skill with which to undertake such a study. These had to be developed as the study progressed. There was, however, at the beginning a well founded conviction that increased knowledge in this field would contribute to industrial efficiency and morale much more than had previously been expected.

Rather continuously from the beginning, there has been a simultaneous evolution in theory, method, and skill of research personnel. Much borrowing was done in all three essentials. Theory and method from every related field were appropriated and tested if they seemed likely to fit the perplexities at hand. Modifications and additions grew out of experience and experimentation.

No effort will be made in this paper to chart the course of the gradual development and application of all the research essentials. The purpose here is to describe the evolution of one phase -- that of the theory, point of view, or basic concepts in personnel relations.

At the outset it may be helpful to say something in general about this particular product of the research because it is essential that in this type of research the theory is not only one of the means to an end, it is also in part the end in itself. This is another way of saying that in some research efforts the aim may be to find a way of application for some particular theory. The product of this may be in such form as a new process, a new chemical composition, or a new machine. The steam engine, as an example, is this type of result.

Another type of research may be seeking new enlightenment which is in the form of a useful point of view or a new basic concept which can be applied to a job to be done, but in a different way. Einstein's Theory may be thought of in this light. Usually most research yields some of both results.

The Hawthorne research produced both kinds of results but in considering the evolution of a concept of personnel relations, it is well to have in mind that this in itself is one of the principal and most useful products.

It should be understood that such a point of view is not necessarily true in the same sense that two and two equals four. It does not contain such demonstrable qualities. It is valuable because it is useful not because it is an ultimate and final reality. In fact such points of view or basic concepts are subject to change. They are oversimplifications concerning very complex matters and they give way to more useful points of view when these can be conceived.

It is important to note that a point of view such as this is communicable. This gives it certain values in the field of personnel relations because it can be transmitted explicitly. This is in contrast to the natural capacities of certain individuals who can deal skilfully with people but cannot communicate their skills to others.

In describing the evolution of a concept of personnel relations as it grew out of the Hawthorne research, it may be helpful to refer to the attached chart which shows the development of this point of view from the beginning to the present time. The general plan here, is to start at the beginning and trace the conditions and evidence which grew into a systematic concept concerning personnel relations in a business organization.

Evolution of a Concept of Personnel Relations

Transition in Basic Concept	Controlling Element	Nature of Method	Emerging Factors
Simple Cause and Effect	Physical Limitations	Change and Measurement	Employee Attitude
Change and Response plus Attitude	Psychological Factors	Introduction of Change with Study of Attitude	Employee's Personal Situation
Personal Situation the Determinant of Attitude	Personal History	Interviewing	Employee's Social Situation
Personal and Social Situation as Determinates of Attitude and Effectiveness	Personal History and Social Situation	Interviewing and Observation	Problems Inherent in the Total Business Structure
Business Organization as a Social and Economic System	Knowledge of and Capacity to Maintain Equilibrium	Study of Business Situations Through Acquired Concepts and Methods	A Useful Concept of Personnel Relations

In viewing this chart and considering the evolution of a more useful view of personnel relations, it is well to keep in mind a concept which is at the heart of all research effort. This is the concept of uniformities. It is useful because wherever uniformities can be identified and defined advances in science have been made.

When the scientist studies his material he will see many differences because differences are usually in abundance and are most easily observed. But in his search for the most useful view he will be looking intently for the elements of uniformity which exist among these differences. When the elemental uniformities can be identified they have wide applications and scientific advance has been composed in large part of the exploitation and adaptation of such "laws". The law of gravitation, the laws of thermo dynamics, Gresham's law concerning money, are all expressions of certain uniformities which exist under given conditions. The physical sciences generally are made up of certain demonstrable uniformities and ways in which they can be rather exactly applied to the problems in their respective fields.

The personnel relations or social sphere in business is obviously more complex; the uniformities are more difficult to identify; and when they can be seen and expressed they are of greater generality and do not allow such exact and systematic handling. Nevertheless, they form a basis for explicit and more

scientific understanding of employee response in business organizations. In this regard they are more comparable to the field of medicine in which many of the basic uniformities are of high generality but at the same time they contribute much to the practitioner's capacity to effectively diagnose and treat the maladies of people.

The story of the evolution of a concept of personnel relations in the Hawthorne study is very largely the story of the pursuit and identification of those uniformities in personnel relations which have utility in more effectively diagnosing and treating employee relations situations.

In tracing the thread of this development through the various experiments much descriptive material will be passed by since it is assumed that everyone here is familiar with the arrangements and methods of the particular studies.

The beginning experiment, in which the need for further research was clearly demonstrated, was the study of illumination and its effect upon output. This began in 1924 and was carried on for three winters. The basic concepts of the investigators cannot be stated with assurance of complete accuracy because they were never made explicit. It seems clear, however, from the character of the studies and the character of the conclusions reached that output was conceived to be in something of a direct relation to illumination. Apparently it was believed, at least as a working theory, that employees given a reasonable incentive

would work to the limits of certain factors in their physical environment. One of these was illumination. Therefore, if other physical factors remained constant and illumination were varied the changes in illumination would be reflected in output and the best level of illumination could thereby be determined. In other words, their basic concept was that of a simple cause and effect relationship with physical limitations as the controlling element. Through a method of single change and measurement they could determine upon the result of the change.

It will be recalled that the data collected was very confusing. Production fluctuated without reference to illumination. More and more rigid controls were used but this only made it more difficult to relate production to light.

The experimenters expected to discover a uniformity -- a very useful one if it had been found to exist. Instead they actually uncovered other uniformities which at the time were not recognized as having much applicability or significance.

They revealed, for instance, a similarity of production between control groups and experimental groups. The production variations in both tended to be the same although illumination was being varied only in one. They revealed also something of a uniformity of individual response although there must have been different individual physical limitations. And they revealed something of a uniformity between the response of individuals and the response those individuals thought was expected.

These were important discoveries but at the time they were almost overlooked. The basic concept of the study -- the controlling theory of simple cause and effect made it difficult to see these important findings. Fortunately, the last uniformity was finally perceived and was in large measure the stimulus to search out more knowledge concerning the other factors in employee effectiveness.

As the illumination study was terminated it was clear that production had varied considerably and that not much was known about the factors in this variation. It was obvious that the "attitude" of employees had affected the results. To some this was considered as an obstacle to finding out more about the real elements concerned with output. To others this was considered in itself as one of the chief factors.

It was in this situation the Relay Assembly Test Room was set up. This was in April 1927. The study was continued until 1932 when it had to be discontinued because of lack of work. It is sufficient to point out, here, that the investigators undertaking this study deviated from the procedures of the illumination study in two significant respects.

First, they did not rely on a simple cause and effect point of view. The working hypothesis permitted a larger vision because they knew full well that what appeared to be a single change made other alterations which could not be fully anticipated or measured. Their working theory included the cause and

effect idea but it was visualized as a more complex matter -- it was cause and effect in a situation where there were many "causes" and many "effects" all operating simultaneously to produce composite results. If they could have expressed it as such at the time they might have said they expected to change, measure, and observe with the object of identifying whatever uniformities might develop.

Second, their method, while it appeared to be the same, was considerably different. They began this experiment by instituting change -- in fact a series of changes -- some of which they could observe and some of which they could not. Concurrently, with these changes, they were observing and measuring on as many fronts as they could conceive and they were looking for complex as well as simple results.

It is important to note the lack of restriction in this point of view and method. It permits of broader perception and makes it easier to see the general uniformities as they reveal themselves while in the study of illumination the basic concept restricted the field of view.

In the Relay Assembly Study a great many general observations, all having the element of uniformity, were noted. Only a few of these will be stated here. Those expressed are taken verbatim from a report made in 1929.

1. "There was a gradual yet steady increase in production regardless, to a certain extent, of test conditions imposed."

2. "The amount of sleep has a slight but significant effect upon individual performances."

3. "A distinct relationship is apparent between the emotional status or home conditions of the girls and their performance."

4. "Total daily productivity is increased by rest periods, and not decreased."

5. "Outside influences tend to create either a buoyant or a depressed spirit which is reflected in production."

6. "The mental attitude of the operator toward the supervisor and working and home conditions is probably the biggest single factor governing the employee's efficiency."

Such observations and conclusions as these were based upon a considerable body of data. Much of the data contained wide differences and these were of undoubted importance. To look at differences, however, as such, is to see a dispersed and indeterminate knowledge. It is the thread of uniformity running through the differences which crystallizes and consolidates useful and applicable knowledge. It is the uniformity which holds throughout the differences in any field that yields a basic concept or understanding in terms of which the differences can be understood, evaluated, and dealt with.

The Relay Assembly Test Room phase of the Hawthorne Study was of high importance because it yielded conclusive concepts of this type. The conclusions were unexpected when the experiment was started but it was a situation in which the

unexpected could be seen without the limitations of a narrow starting concept. To some extent it set the pattern for the remaining studies. Expressed in the most general way, the Relay Assembly Experiment showed the importance of factors "within the employee" as compared to the factors in his physical environment of work. It gave emphasis to employee attitude and to the employee's personal situation. The next study, that of employee interviewing, was to clarify and specify the nature and significance of these concepts.

The interviewing of large groups of employees was begun the latter part of 1928 and continued until 1932. During this period some 21,000 individuals were consulted. The expressed purpose of this study was to find out from employees what they liked and what they disliked in their work situation, to improve the conditions which they viewed as unfavorable, and to find a more realistic basis for the training of supervisors in the employee relations aspects of their jobs.

During this interviewing program, it was natural that the interviewers found a great array of differences. There were differences of attitude, of expression, of individual preoccupation, of personal interests and problems, of expressed hopes and ambitions, of recommendations for improvement and change, and of many other sorts.

They found many groupings of employees and these groups could be classified in different ways. There were those who

could be called extroverts and those who could be called intraverts. There were those who were satisfied and those who were dissatisfied. There were those who were critical and those who commended the company with heartfelt outbursts of praise. At first glance these classifications, in themselves, might appear to be uniformities but along with these rather definite types and kinds of employees there were many others filling in the range between such extremes.

But in the study of differences it was possible in this program as it had been in the Relay Assembly Experiment to identify and trace the threads of persistent and definite similarities and uniformities. And it was out of these distinct uniformities that it was possible to improve a basic concept of personnel relations and to chart the next experimental program.

The study of the differences and individualities of the data and the experiences of the interviewers indicated a number of common denominators. Some of these most important uniformities are expressed as follows:

1. Employees liked the opportunity of expressing their thoughts. They felt pleased at the implied recognition which the program gave them.

2. It was difficult to hold their comments to topics selected by the interviewer. Employees tended to talk about whatever preoccupied them the most.

3. For the most part employees talked about their affairs which were external to the work situation.

4. Their comments could be better understood when studied in relation to their personal history. Whatever the individual's attitude might be there were many clues and reasons in his background to explain why he felt or behaved as he did in any situation.

5. Employees felt much better after being interviewed. The interviewing method had a definite theraupeutic value. It helped the employee resolve personal difficulties or conflicts in his thinking. In explaining something to the interviewer the employee explained it better to himself.

6. Comments of employees about "things" had greater objectivity than comments about "persons", "conditions" or "company policies."

7. It was not usually true that complaints of employees could be satisfied by "correcting" the object of the complaint. Employee complaints in many instances had other referents than the objects about which dissatisfactions were expressed.

8. The manifest content of employee expressions were usually related to something of a latent content. In many instances the employee's comments were conditioned by feelings and experiences which he did not express as related matters.

9. The individual employee's desires, sentiments and expectations were brought to the job, i.e. he was making certain demands of his situation. His situation at the same time was making certain demands of him. Somewhere between these demands he found a measure of satisfaction or complaint.

10. The comments of the employee were in relation not only to the basis of values derived from his personal history but also were in relation to certain patterns of response within his work group.

These last uniformities were largely responsible for the experimental study which grew out of the interviewing program. This was the Bank Wiring Observation Room, which was started in November 1931, and was terminated in May 1932. The purpose of this study was to observe in greater detail the employee's social situation at work, particularly the behavior of employees which was an expression of their interpersonal relationships.

The general method of this study was relatively simple. A group of fourteen men, whose work required a collaborative interrelationship, were moved from their regular work place into an enclosed space. The equipment with which they worked, their supervision, and their basis of pay were unchanged. In fact, an effort was made to make as little change as possible. The plan was to study this group in two ways. An observer was stationed in the room to observe and record behavior and remarks which indicated the nature and function of the personal interrelationships between individuals. An interviewer stationed outside the room interviewed each member of the group at intervals in order to learn of their subjective attitude, beliefs and feelings.

Although this study was in existence for a period of only seven months, much was learned concerning the intimate nature of group or social processes and their effects upon individual morale and effectiveness. As in other experiments there were many differences in evidence. There were differences

in individual personality, behavior, and attitude. There were differences in the same individual at different times. There were differences in individual relationship and there were differences in the ways these relationships were manifested.

Nevertheless through all these differences there was a connecting tissue of uniformity; there were consistent and persistent basic foundations with which to understand, appraise and even predict the general behavior and productivity of the individuals involved.

A great many detailed uniformities in this experiment could be cited, so many in fact that time will not allow their statement. Fortunately most of these can be grouped into broader generalizations and several of these will be expressed. In selecting these they have been chosen because of their relevance to the basic theme of this paper -- a concept of personnel relations.

1. The actual behavior and attitude of employees was contrary to the basic assumptions inherent in the wage incentive under which they worked. They did not behave as it was logically assumed they would. In fact they worked in ways which did not promote their economic interests. They rather uniformly behaved in ways which were more closely related to their interpersonal relationships and to group sentiments than anything else. Their collaboration was an expression of their informal organization rather than the logical conditions set up in the system of group piece work.

2. Although each of these employees brought to the group his own individuality, there was a persistent and continuous growth of a socially ordered group. The relationships between

individuals became rather uniformly expressed. The establishment of cliques developed a uniform pattern. Norms of conduct were more and more manifested -- norms for individuals, norms for cliques, and norms for the group as a whole. Attitudes and beliefs established similar patterns. While means of expression contained many differences, that which was expressed contained uniformity.

3. Output of individuals and of the groups was uniformly controlled although the actual production varied considerably. There was a uniform concept of a day's work and this was adhered to although some individuals at times worked at almost twice the standard rate. While production was high and the group was effective in relation to the output of similar groups in other concerns, there was a restriction in terms of what could have been done. The individual quality record reflected not only the quality of the work. It uniformly reflected the interpersonal relation between an inspector and an operator. Differences in individual outputs were not in accordance with the apparent differences in individual capacity to produce.

4. In certain respects the control of the supervisors over the group was uniformly restricted by the group itself. Certain authorities over them were accepted without question. In other matters there was a considerable and consistent restriction in the latitude of the supervisor. Not only did this kind of control affect the supervisor. The same kind of control of individual behavior was extended by the group to every member in it.

5. Such generalizations as those above may be expressed as a broader uniformity. There developed among the employees certain uniformities of relationships, beliefs, and attitude which served to control their behavior. This behavior in many ways was not what the logics of management assumed it to be. There was in effect an informal organization of employees over and above and different from the formal organization precepts. The

> functions of the informal organization were to regulate and prevent imprudent acts among its members, and to prevent interference and disruption from outside sources.

Taking the studies as a whole, and this includes a number of experiments which have not been specifically mentioned in this account, there were several more general uniformities which it is important to note.

1. One of these concerns the general question of control. In the traditional view management controls the situations in which employees work. Rules, standards, and norms of conduct are prescribed and enforced. In actual situations this is not entirely true. Informally organized employee groups also set rules, standards, and norms of conduct -- and enforce them. These controls are sometimes in opposition to or different from those imposed by management.

2. Another of these uniformities concerns morale. In a number of studies it was clear that "esprit de corps", enthusiam in cooperative effort, general satisfaction, etc. were in large part conditioned by the employee group. In some groups the morale was high and in some it was low but no matter what character it assumed, it was far more complex than the traditional view -- that morale is the result of the application of logically explicit personnel policies.

3. A third general uniformity concerns communication. Considering the matters of sentiment, information, logics, interests, etc., there was a wide gap, (with the exception of the Relay Assembly Test Room) almost a completely negative communication, between these groups and the general management. It is not a great overstatement to say that only on one point -- the matter of work to be done -- was there substantial mutuality of agreement. With immediate supervisors there was a closer understanding although for the most part supervisors were unable to act as agents of communication.

4. A fourth uniformity concerns change. Obviously management must make changes of various kinds. This is essential to the success of any enterprise and therefore to the advantage of employees as well as others concerned in the business. Informal employee organizations, however, resisted change. This was an implied function of high uniformity among such groups although it must be said the Relay Assembly group was again an exception.

From the identification of such uniformities as have been outlined up to this point, the investigators began to visualize the whole of business organization as a social and an economic system. It is within this broad concept that the concept of personnel relations finds its place.

The plan here is to merge the whole of these uniformities, which have been outlined, and the implications of the general problems expressed, into a concept of business organization as a social system. It will be observed that many of the uniformities were with respect, primarily, to individuals and their adjustment in a business organization. Others were principally concerned with groups and the social organization of individuals in business.

The concepts of these two spheres will be expressed separately but as a whole they constitute a concept of personnel relations -- a concept of such basic uniformities in all employee situations that it may be used as an effective device for appraising and considering any personnel relations problem no matter what differences in detail may exist.

A Concept Concerning the Behavior and Adjustment of Individuals In A Business Concern

1. No individual exists in isolation. He has always been in relation to other persons. Every individual in his relations with other persons is conditioned. He is conditioned to a way of life, a way of believing, of behaving, and a way of feeling and thinking.

2. Out of this conditioning he derives certain demands which he is bringing to his situation or is going to make of his situation -- i.e., he acquires and develops certain sentiments, desires, expectations, and interests against which he judges his experiences and in terms of which he is motivated.

3. He is also always in a situation which is making certain demands of him. He is pressed to believe, behave and generally respond in certain ways.

4. His behavior is the resultant of the demands he is making of his situation and the demands his situation is making of him.

5. A difference between -- or a threat of a difference between -- the demands he is making of his situation and the demands his situation is making of him, results in personal interferences, conflicts and preoccupations.

6. When he is able to resolve his demands of his situation and the demands his situation makes of him, then he is in a state of adjustment.

7. He is able to resolve conflicting demands when (a) the demands of the situation upon him or his interpretation of these demands can be appropriately altered or (b) when the demands he is making of his situation can be adjusted or (c) some of both.

A Concept Concerning Business Organization as a Social System

1. It is useful to consider management's function as embracing two major problems:

   (a) that of producing and selling the product or service of the enterprise, and,

   (b) that of producing and distributing satisfactions to its members.

   In the long run, the success of the business depends upon the fulfillment of both of these functions.

2. A business enterprise can be viewed as being composed of:

   (a) the technical organization, comprising physical equipment such as tools, machines, buildings, etc., and

   (b) the human organization.

3. The human organization can be viewed as being composed of:

   (a) individuals, and

   (b) the social organization which is more than simply a collection of separate individuals. It may be briefly described as the total pattern of relationships between individuals and groups, the total human framework in which each person has a particular social place and function.

4. The social organization can be viewed as being composed of:

   (a) the formal organization which is set up by management in the form of systems, rules, regulations, instructions and organization charts. These define what the pattern of relationships between individuals and groups should be, and,

   (b) the informal organization which is composed of the spontaneous and natural

patterns of relationships between individuals and groups over and above those established by management.

(c) Systems of ideas, beliefs, logics and sentiments. Those of the formal organization and the informal organization do not necessarily coincide. In fact, some very great differences may and usually do exist between them.

5. The informal organization is natural and inevitable. In many cases it serves a healthy and normal function. Much effective collaboration is dependent upon it. The informal routines and codes of behavior are important because without them any organization can only be maintained by force. They function for the individual, by giving him a feeling of security and social satisfaction, by conditioning his behavior, and by preventing indiscretions.

6. It is useful to view these parts of a business organization as a social system -- that is, as parts which are mutually interdependent such that changes in any part are accompanied by changes in other parts. Some parts may change more rapidly than others; for instance -- the technical may change more rapidly than the social; the formal more rapidly than the informal.

7. The management job of maintaining the total equilibrium of a business requires the introduction of change. At the same time informal organizations tend to resist change. This does not mean that change cannot be introduced. It means that if management is to be most effective it must understand the total social organization of employee groups together with the ruling attitudes or sentiments which motivate them and then introduce change without disrupting in the process the social foundations on which collaboration is based. This can be done through:

(a) preparation of employee groups in terms of the changes to be made, and

(b) the preparation of the changes to be made in terms of employee group codes.

The above outline of the concept is exceedingly brief. Fuller details and consideration will be given this point of view in the two papers which follow. One will consider the question of individual complaints and grievances, showing how this concept can be useful in dealing with these personnel relations matters. The other will consider the nature of morale in terms of this concept and outline some of the problems inherent in applying this general point of view in business organizations.

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UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN - MILWAUKEE

Diagnosis and Treatment of Employee Complaints and Grievances

M. L. Putnam

I think I have seldom seen a person who had no complaint. In rapid review I can recall many people, many situations, and many expressions. They could be roughly grouped into several classes.

There were those whose life was hectic -- at least to them. They were dissatisfied and complaining at every turn. Their minds were filled with constant streams of conflict and rejection. Complaint was the order of the day and seemed the very basis of their existence. They were the "chronic kickers" and, it can be noted with some satisfaction, they were a fairly small minority.

There were others who seldom expressed disapproval. Their lives were serene and apparently full of satisfaction and acceptance. They lived the good life and they saw no evil -- at least not much. They expressed themselves in measured manner. They bore no malice and it was a pleasure to know them. But sometimes they were not very interesting.

Then there was that great body of apparently "normal" individuals. They saw much they liked and could commend. They saw much they could not accept. They expressed their views in appropriate degrees of logic or emotion. Their scope of response was broad and fluctuating. They seemed to live in a wide range of approval and disapproval.

But in all my memory, I think I have never seen an individual who was immune to complaint.

To some complaint was a means of maintaining a personal adjustment. To some it was a great motivation to create change. To some it seemed merely the stuff of which conversations were made. It is not accident alone that could account for the rich words in every language in which one can communicate his disapproval. In comparison, the words of commendation are soon used up.

But complaint is not alone expressed in words. It can be signified in many ways. In mood and manner, in physical actions and physical symptoms, in worry and brooding, in sorrow and grief, in weeping and lamentation, the conflicts within the individual can find expression. For complaint has a wide and general connotation with fine distinctions in its manifestation. Almost all human expression may be thought of in terms of approval and disapproval.

It is interesting to view complaint as one of the great uniformities in human existence. In all history, at all ages of the individual, in all stations of life, it has existed. And it cannot be viewed as entirely bad. Much progress and development must be laid at its door. If necessity is the mother of invention, some form of complaint is implied in the feeling of necessity.

And there is another interesting point about complaint. This concerns its causes. Everyone knows from his own experience

that his capacity to fix upon an appropriate object of complaint is often times inadequate. The basic factors which converge at the incidence of complaint are complex. He cannot always articulate his grievance in an accurate way. Many of his words are generalizations and abstract terms. The relative weights and measures of his trouble may easily be inexpressible in words. He simply feels "blue" or "depressed" or "full up" or "dissatisfied." He may seize upon some convenient object and in most instances will overstate and exaggerate. The real causes -- the composite grievances -- are exceedingly difficult to identify. It is seldom true that the complaint bears a simple relationship to the object about which the complaint is made. In such simple instances one does not usually describe the expression as a complaint. It is more nearly just a request or a suggestion.

It is another common experience, that the expression of complaint gives some relief. Whether this be in words or in other forms it usually yields some satisfaction. The child cries, Johnny makes a face at his neighbor, mother gives somebody a piece of her mind, father throws down his club after a disgusting shot. And peace is to some extent restored.

Sometimes the individual does not express his dissatisfaction in an external way -- or at least he tries not to. He simply represses any expression. He may be a bit difficult to live with, or he may be preoccupied, or he may store up his

complaint until he "blows up" at some unexpected time, or he may be a person who has the capacity to resolve his own conflict without external expression.

Complaints in business are usually thought of as expressions which flow upward in the organization. The employee complains to his boss. The supervisor complains to his superior. And the department head complains to the vice president. But this is not the only way in which complaints are moving. The boss also complains to the employee, about his work, his deportment, his views, etc. and the boss complains to others of comparable rank. Complaint moves all through a business and in all directions.

Obviously no simple classifications concerning complaint can be made. Individuals vary, the same individual is different at different times, the contexts in which complaint is felt are widely different, the urgency of complaint ranges from high to low, the forms of expressions are many, the causative factors are complex, and except in very simple instances, complaints cannot be adequately dealt with by changing the object of dissatisfaction.

How, then, is the administrative person to deal with complaints in a business organization? Given these various complexities and the relatively high incidence of employee dissatisfactions how can he effectively proceed? He cannot give his whole time to this problem. Many other matters occupy his attention.

1. He can learn to distinguish between those complaints which are more serious and those which are less serious.

2. He can learn to more efficiently handle those which need some action.

3. And, he can learn how to reduce the incidence of complaint by reducing causative factors.

These in effect are about the same objectives as those of the medical doctor in the field of physical ailments. He works toward these ends through an effective way of looking at and thinking about his field of study and through the application of an effective method.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest an effective point of view and a method for diagnosing and treating employee complaints and grievances. It is a way of accomplishment closely related to that of the medical practitioner. The "anatomy" and "physiology" and theory in the field of complaints is different but the way of going about a remedy is very similar.

First of all the administrator must have an effective point of view concerning complaints. He must have a framework in which his thought is set, such that his attention will be directed toward appropriate data, such that his evaluation of the data will be systematic and effective, and such that his conclusions will suggest an appropriate treatment.

Secondly, he must have a method which will be useful in securing the data, interpreting it, and in treatment.

We will take up the first requirement by returning to our brief statement about a concept concerning the behavior and adjustment of individuals in a business concern.[1] I would like to expand the statement of this concept because it is basic to our discussion. It is, in fact, the starting point and the guide for one who wants to be effective in the handling of complaints.

It should be emphasized that this concept also has a wider reference than just that related to the usual concept of complaints. It relates as well and is useful with respect to other forms of personal maladjustment, dissatisfaction and disapproval, i.e. to all similar forms of personal disability in business.

You will recall that in this concept we look beyond all the differences which exist and select out the uniformities obtaining for all individuals. These uniformities hold for all persons no matter what their place in life may be, no matter how their individual natures may be constituted, and no matter, even, whether they be natives of Australia, Alaska, or North Carolina.

The value in these uniformities is that they give a common basis for study, appraisal, understanding and treatment in any individual situation. This basic concept is equally applicable in the home, church, community, or for that matter,

1. In the paper "Evolution of a Concept of Personnel Relations."

wherever individuals are found. Personally, I think it is particularly applicable to the diagnosis and treatment of complaints and grievances and I shall state it with this usage in mind.

1. Every individual is conditioned.

> The individual is not a random product. His make-up is ordered in particular ways. He inherits certain social conditions and he is influenced by them. He is a member of and related to society at large. He belongs to a family, a community, and other overlapping groups. By all of these he has been influenced and conditioned. Norms of conduct, norms of belief, norms of expression and even norms of personal adjustment have been impressed upon him. Pressures of many sorts have been applied to gain his conformance to a customary way of life. Convention is a hard taskmaster and his deportment, dress, conversation, and convictions have been urged into a band which is considered acceptable. Much of his behavior becomes automatic. Habits take the place of his need to give conscious consideration to many matters. He conducts himself in certain ways "because everybody does." He acquires standards, values and ideals. He acquires status in relation to others according to the "measuring sticks" of his group. His freedom of choice is bounded by legal and social limitations. Many things are expected of him and many pressures are applied to enlist his conformance. He has been conditioned by "all that he has met" and he is in part the product of his experience. At the same time he may in part be different from and make different choices than his associates. With all of his conditioning he is a unique individual -- identical to no other.
>
> To understand him, for the person he is, one must know something of his particular conditioning.

2. Out of this conditioning he derives certain demands which he makes of his situation.

From his conditioning he acquires and develops certain sentiments, interests, desires and expectations. Represented in these are the kinds of "demands" which he is making of his existence. These may be recognized consciously by him or they may not. Many of his "demands" may not be in an explicit state, nevertheless they are reflected in his general response and are strong elements in the determination of it. His standards, values, and ideals are something of a basis on which he judges his experience and charts his course. His hopes and fears find their basis in his background. His likes and dislikes, his satisfactions and dissatisfactions, his ideas of right and wrong are related in some measure to his conditioning. He has certain expectations and specifications for his existence. These may be so much a part of him that they are only implicit in his behavior, his judgment, his attitude, and his response generally, nevertheless, these are in large part his "determinates." In short, his conditioning determines the kind of demands which he brings to his situation or is going to make of his situation.

To understand him and to see the significance of his response one must know something of these demands he makes of his existence.

3. He is also always in a situation which is making certain demands of him.

Not only is every individual making certain demands of his situation. He is also always in a situation which is making certain demands of him. Every employee in a work group, every father, mother, son, or daughter, every member of a community is expected to live up to certain standards. Pressure is put upon the individual and upon his group to behave in

certain ways; to have certain views, loyalties, antagonisms, etc. Some of these pressures are in the form of law, some in the form of generally accepted morals, some are rules and instructions from his boss, admonitions from his wife, requests from his child, suggestions from a neighbor. Some are simply traditional and customary ways of life for men in his position, his personal situation, at his age, with his means, ad infinitum whatever the conditions may be. Some of these pressures are general for the society, some are more individual and some are in between. Some of the demands upon the individual are of high pressure and some of low insistence. The amount of pressure for conformance varies between circumstances and at different times. All of this does not mean that everything for the individual is ordered, but it does mean that pressures are brought to bear on him to behave, believe, and feel in certain ways. The employee has to be at work on time, he has to behave in certain ways, he is supposed to wear certain clothes, he is queer if he doesn't eat lunch in conformance with the standards of his group. Son Willie wants a new pair of skates -- all the other fellows have them. Mother wants him to go to church. Now that he has an executive's job he will have to live in a better neighborhood. He will have to help his brother who is in trouble -- the whole family expects it.

In all such demands, there are great differences but to understand the individual's response, one must know something of the demands of his situation of him and how he interprets and responds to them.

4. His response reflects his efforts to resolve the demands he is making of his situation and the demands his situation is making of him.

There are, then, two general pressures upon the individual -- the demands he is making of his existence and the demands his situation is making of him. In

relative degrees he is in a fairly constant state of resolving these to the end that he may maintain a state of adjustment and to the end that he may act in appropriate ways. In many instances his response is habitual -- it has been determined and fixed at some previous time. In many instances he has little choice because the law, company rules, or the rigid custom of the society fix his response. In many instances his own demands and those upon him are in harmony. But in many more instances some determination must be made by him. He must resolve and establish his course in relation to these general pressures in his situation.

This is another way of saying that with respect to the behavior of an individual, any complaint he may express, or any element of his total response, it is convenient to regard his behavior as the resultant, or something of an expression on his part, between the demands he is making of his situation and the demands the situation is making of him.

5. <u>A real or expected conflict in these two sets of demands results in personal interferences, complaints, and preoccupations.</u>

A real complication exists for the individual when there is a conflict between -- or a threat of a conflict between -- his demands of his existence and the demands of his situation of him. This is usually complex because the demands and their relative weights are complex. His own demands may be in conflict. The demands of his situation may be in conflict. What he wants may be exceedingly far from what his situation urges upon him. In many ways he may be confronted with conditions of conflict which he feels incapable of surmounting. At the same time there may be considerable pressure upon him to resolve his problem. In some instances the conflicts may be minor but insofar as he considers them important they occupy his attention. In any event an individual in need of

resolving conflicting demands tends to be preoccupied about it and often becomes obsessive. These states naturally interfere with his normal capacity to attend and may leave him in real distress.

It is interesting to note that the individual in attempting to resolve conflicting demands will sometimes try to alter the demands of his situation of him. This might be expressed as a complaint. He might also be trying to alter his own demands and this could also be expressed as a complaint. In the presence of a complaint it is useful to regard the expression as related to the effort of the individual to resolve conflicting demands in maintaining his own personal adjustment. At least, a difference between -- or a threat of a difference between -- the demands an individual is making of his existence and the demands his situation is making of him results in personal interferences, conflicts, and preoccupations. This is a disturbed state and it is natural that out of it should emerge some kind of expressed complaint.

6. <u>Personal adjustment is reached when demands can be resolved.</u>

The state of being preoccupied is a state of maladjustment. It is a personal disability. It disrupts the individual's capacity. It draws upon his attention. It is only when he is able to resolve these matters that he may be said to be in a state of adjustment. The state of adjustment is obviously not a static condition. It is dynamic and constantly relative. A mixture of conflict is ever present and shifting. Certainly the picture of absolute and complete harmony within the individual -- a complete satisfaction -- is not a realistic one or even one to be desired. The motivation of each person is dependent upon a somewhat continuous unbalance -- an unbalance which

urges him to achievement. But some conflicts of demand are disruptive leaving him preoccupied, upset, and obsessive. When he can resolve these disturbances, and it is only these unbalances with which we are concerned here, then he is in a state of effective adjustment.

In the consideration of complaints and grievances, it is useful to observe that in many instances the individual will consider the demands of the situation upon him as grievances and for this reason it is convenient to regard the expression of complaint as a symptom of a disturbed personal equilibrium.

7. <u>He is able to resolve demands when they can be changed or when his interpretation of them can be altered.</u>

The possibilities of adjusting conflicts in the demands of individuals and the demands of their situations of them depends upon two kinds of changes. Either the individual must alter his demands or the demands of the situation of him must be changed, or possibly both must be rearranged. Sometimes very little is required to do this. It may be that the person has made some faulty interpretation of the demands upon him. A brief explanation may fix this, providing the situation is sufficiently understood and the right point is explained. It may be the individual has only to see clearly and make a choice between two of his own demands which are conflicting. And this may be easily done if he can identify the conflict clearly and be satisfied in his choice. As a whole, it might be said, that personal problems and conflicts in demands are not difficult to resolve. The difficulty lies in getting the real nature of the disturbance clearly revealed. The difficulty clearly revealed is usually resolved with fair satisfaction.

> It is out of the complexities of personal adjustment that complaints arise. And it is because of the complexity that they must be accepted as symptoms rather than statements of fact or statements of the real causes of dissatisfaction.

All of the above must be viewed as a skeleton outline of a basic concept concerning individual adjustment. It has been stated with the matter of complaints and grievances in mind but several points need to be noted.

1. An employee is rather constantly experiencing a difference between his demands of his situation and the situation's demands of him. The elements and arrangements of this are fairly complex. But in most instances he resolves them.

2. Complaints are sometimes very simple matters and can be taken at their face values. For the most part they are suggestive of very complex matters and cannot be taken at their face values. It is convenient to regard and treat a complaint, therefore, as a symptom of a total situation.

3. In most instances complaints are not things in themselves which can be understood or treated apart from the people who are complaining. It is convenient, therefore, to treat every complaint as having a complainant who has a personal history and who is facing a situation to which he is trying to adjust.

4. Not every employee who complains is expressing a real grievance. The situation is usually too complex for him to make an accurate diagnosis without assistance.

5. Some employees with real grievances do not express their dissatisfactions in

words, i.e., open complaints. Their reaction may be expressed in less effective work, queer or unusual behavior of other kinds, or in worry and brooding.

6. Complaints expressed on the job may arise out of conditions in the business, conditions outside of the business, or within the individual himself. They may not only arise in one of these but in a combination of all three. It is for this reason, therefore, that complaints should be treated as symptoms of a total situation and not as a simple cause and effect relationship between the complaint and the object complained about.

7. Whenever an employee's efficiency drops off, whenever he begins to behave queerly or begins to make complaints, it is convenient and useful to regard these as symptoms of a disturbed personal adjustment.

In all of the above we have been considering the theory or the basic concepts related to complaints and grievances. Now we want to take up the question of method. How does the practitioner go about dealing with complaints? How does he diagnose and treat?

Obviously his method is going to be closely related to his basic concept. And his basic concept holds that complaints, in most instances, are complex affairs which are interwoven and have referents in the individual's personal situation. His method, therefore, is one which will enable him to know enough about the employee's personal situation to make an adequate diagnosis and effect a suitable treatment. This method is a form of interviewing. There is much to be said about it but we can only cover briefly its principal features.

Two problems confront the practitioner who wants to know about and understand personal situations.

1. How to get people to talk about matters which are important to them, and
2. How to interpret what they say.

Let us see how he goes about getting people to talk. First of all he must listen. People cannot communicate to him unless he does. He will not interrupt because he wants a full expression. Second, he will give his full attention to the other person and he will be really interested because this will encourage confidence and expression. Third, he will never argue or give advice because this inhibits the kind of expression he wants and develops an ineffective relationship. Fourth, he will not pay exclusive attention to the manifest content of the other person's expression. He will be looking for other referents as well. This will aid him in understanding and may suggest other important matters about which the speaker should talk. Fifth, he will listen to what the speaker wants to say, what he does not want to say and what he cannot say without help. In other words, he will listen to what he says, and he will be noting significant gaps and omissions because these may indicate important areas of emotional significance or areas in which certain assumptions are so implicit within the speaker that he is not aware of their existence. There may be items which the speaker should face squarely or items which he should lift to his conscious attention.

Sixth, he will plot out tentatively and for subsequent correction the pattern that is being set before him. He will be considering everything the speaker says in relation to his total situation and his total expression. The interviewer is listening to a particular personal situation and he is considering its individual pattern -- the parts which compose the whole and the way in which they are interrelated. And he will be looking for any uniformities which may help him to understand or may help him to get a more adequate expression.

All of this may be expressed in simple rules for getting people to talk and for listening to what they say.

1. Listen -- don't talk.
2. Give full interest and attention.
3. Never argue -- never give advice.
4. Do not listen exclusively to the manifest content of the expression.
5. Listen to --

   What the speaker wants to say,

   What he does not want to say,

   What he cannot make explicit without help.

6. As you listen, plot out tentatively and for subsequent correction the pattern that is being set before you. To test, summarize what he has said and present for comment. Always do this with caution -- that is, clarify but do not add or twist.

The matter of interpreting what people say is more difficult than that of getting them to talk. One reason for this

is that what they have to report is complex. Another is that their medium of expression -- the language by which they communicate to the interviewer -- is inexact, subject to wide misinterpretation and does not convey clear and definite meaning.

We have already considered some of the complexities which are inherent in personal situations and personal views. We need however to consider in more detail the difficulties in interpreting which are due to words and their usages.

If the speaker uses a word and we wish to know its meaning, we may look in the dictionary. This gives us a general idea but not a very exact one. In fact we may find the word means several things or it is defined in terms of other words -- other inexact words. This leaves us rather high and dry. But we know if we look at the word in a particular context we can judge its meaning. The difficulty in this is that its context is composed largely of other words.

This is a real problem in interviewing. We want to understand the other person's sentiments, his beliefs, his demands upon his existence etc. We are interested in his personal history since this sheds much light on his present responses. And yet we must search out this data through words -- words which are abstract when we want concreteness, words which are intangible or variable when we want definiteness. Through this maze of inexactness we must achieve a real understanding or our diagnosis contains large elements of supposition and guesswork.

The interviewer overcomes some of this difficulty in a practical way. He looks beyond the words to find out their real referents. He cannot rely upon generally accepted definitions for much of the terminology used. For some words he can but for many of those used to express personal matters he cannot. He knows if he does he will refer words and meanings to wrong contexts, he will misinterpret rather than understand, he will run the risk of giving expressions his own meaning rather than that of the speaker. And it is of primary importance that he understand the other person in the other person's terms, not in his own. So he recognizes the limitations of words and he looks beyond them to see, in fact, to what they refer. They may describe an event, they may express a sentiment, they may even approximate a statement of clear fact, but the interviewer must know their real significance -- not in terms of the other words but in terms of the events, objects and feelings to which they refer.

The interviewer is also alert for the contexts and the differences in contexts in which feelings and beliefs occur. He is alert for relationships between these and items of personal history. He is alert for uniformities throughout the expression. He is alert to all of those items which suggest the demands the individual is bringing to his situation and all those items which suggest the individual's interpretation of the situation's demands of him. He is alert to the relationships between the

speaker and other persons, both in his personal history and in his present social situation.

The interviewer has other ideas in mind as well as these we have mentioned but enough have been stated to show the general nature of the method. How from all this does he make a diagnosis? How, for instance, would he diagnose a complaint?

Let us assume the interviewer is a supervisor and one of his employees is complaining -- and this is a complaint expressed in words -- because there is not more opportunity for advancement. Now the supervisor might point out the advancements which have been made in his work group during recent months. He might explain the company's policy on promotion. He might further explain that the employee's qualifications have been considered on a number of occasions but it was felt other individuals had more merit. And in closing the supervisor might say he was glad to know how he felt, that he would surely bear his thought in mind, that he shouldn't take anything unfavorable out of their frank discussion, that he appreciated the work the employee had been doing, and that he had a good capacity and some time he was sure to have the opportunity he sought.

While this is the kind of thing a supervisor might say and the kind of thing many of them do say, it is not the method we are considering here. How would he handle such a situation using the concept and method we have been discussing.

First of all the supervisor would be thinking of such a complaint, as this, as a symptom of a total situation. He would

be asking himself about the nature of the situation to which the complaint is related and in which the complaint is only one of the manifest elements. He would be expecting this situation to embrace some combination of conditions within and without the business and within the individual. In a brief statement we could sum this up and say the supervisor would be aware that he needed to deal with more than the complaint as expressed. He would need to know about and to deal with the referents of the complaint. Therefore, he would search out these referents and he would use the interviewing method in doing it.

It must be said that most good supervisors would take something of this approach. They would have the broader situation in mind and would not jump too quickly into logical statements, defenses, and explanations. It is true, however, that very few of them would deal with such a concept explicitly. They would look at such situations in an unorganized way.

We cannot take up, here, all the data secured by the supervisor in this case, using the concept and method we are considering, but we can sum up his more important findings. This employee was the oldest child in a family of three sons. His father had started at the bottom and worked his way up to a high executive job in a respected concern. He expected his sons to follow the same route. He had raised his children in one of the better neighborhoods of the community. All of his sons had married daughters from the neighboring families. Their social

life followed the pattern set in the group with which they grew up. The two brothers worked in other concerns but they had overtaken the oldest in matters of position and salary.

This is a brief statement but it shows the general nature of the situation as the supervisor found it. It shows at least enough to indicate the futility of dealing with the complaint in isolation, or as a thing in itself removed from its context. As an oversimplified diagnosis we might say it shows a situation in which the demands of the individual upon his existence, as they have been derived from his conditioning, are not being met. Another way of looking at this is that he is unable to respond to the demands of his outside situation. He is in a spot. He is expected to live up to certain standards of advancement, income, position, etc. The demands of his work situation do not permit this. His younger brothers are forging ahead of him. As he attempts to resolve his situation he sets it in terms of a complaint against his work situation which does not yield sufficient opportunity.

Now what does the supervisor do with this kind of diagnosis? How does he treat this situation? Before considering treatment in this particular case we ought to consider the question of treatment more generally. In doing this we may refer to our basic concept, the theory in accordance with which we are proceeding.

Our basic concept holds that a difference between -- or a threat of a difference between -- the demands he is making

of his situation and the demands his situation is making of him results in personal interferences, conflicts and preoccupations. It also holds that when he is able to resolve his demands of his situation and the demands his situation makes of him, he is in a state of adjustment. And it holds that he can resolve conflicting demands, through altering the demands he is making, through some alteration of the situation's demands of him or his interpretation of these demands, or through some combination of these operations.

In general, this is a proposition holding that something has to be changed, and it indicates the kind of thing which has to be changed. The practitioner has made his diagnosis when he has identified that which needs change. When he is trying to effect the change he is in the area of treatment. Actually these are not two distinct steps in most situations. They are to some extent simultaneous under this method. It is even true in some cases that an appropriate and effective change is made before a diagnosis is reached. The reason for this interesting connection between diagnosis and treatment is inherent in the interviewing method.

The interviewer, in the application of his method, is essentially listening. The speaker is essentially trying to explain his situation. In this situation there is a very practical and common sense development. The speaker is trying to be clear, he is trying to make the listener understand. What he

says must make sense. Appropriate evaluations and statements of his views must be formulated and expressed. And in this situation the speaker experiences what every individual has experienced. In trying to explain the situation to another person he explains it better to himself. This simple fact is at the heart of the interviewing method and it is through its operation that much of the treatment is accomplished.

Every interviewer using this method has seen change taking place in the speaker's views, change in his demands upon his existence and change in his interpretation of the demands the situation makes of him. The speaker is making new discriminations, he is relating items which he did not relate before, he is seeing new significances, and in general he is making something of the gain which every person makes -- particularly in the presence of a skilled listener -- in getting something "off his chest."

This is treatment and it is treatment of a fundamental and an effective kind. It is no mere superficial alteration or artful twist of logics or words. It is a deep-seated reorientation which does away with conflicts and preoccupations rather than the too frequent kind of admonition which increases these kinds of disability.

There is another area of treatment, sometimes of equal importance. This is the change which can be made in the situation/external to the employee. The working environment can be

changed. This may be a shift in objects, working conditions, supervision, or anything in the situation. Sometimes this is easily effected, sometimes it cannot be altered. Occasionally some seemingly inconsequential matter can be changed which makes enormous differences in the capacity of the employee to adjust himself.

Now suppose we take up again the case of the employee who complained about the lack of opportunity. What about treatment in his case? Actually in this case it was clear that a full expression brought many ideas and views to a more realistic level. Nearly all of the values in a free expression emerged. Silent and preoccupied consideration had not yielded the clearer picture that came out of his efforts to explain and describe to another person. His estimate of his situation changed, he saw it in a different light, he saw new elements which he had not considered, he actually saw something of a different situation which may be summed up as follows.

He saw that he was more concerned about the future than the present. At his age he was doing better than his father had at the same age. He was not too concerned about the rapid advance of his brothers because their ceiling was lower than his. Their concerns rather generally offered a more rapid advancement but did not offer the ultimate opportunity which his did. But he had seen other men promoted. He was disturbed because possibly he didn't "have the stuff." Maybe he would

never get much farther than his present job. On the other hand he could see that some of the more difficult work was given to him. And actually as he talked about particular instances he could see that he did it well and it was accepted. He could see too that there was a considerable opportunity. Particular instances of promotion could not be overlooked. In fact he could not make a case on the point of lack of opportunity. His whole point shifted. He only wanted to know, really, how he stood.

This the supervisor was able to tell him and it blasted the disturbance completely out of his mind. His interpretation of the demands of his situation of him was considerably altered -- altered to a point where his own demands of his existence were in harmony with it.

It is interesting to consider what the result might have been if in response to his complaint he had received only the various logics, admonitions, and a friendly slap on the back by a congenial boss.

Now, to some of you this case may seem too simple and it may be felt it came out too easily and too well. With this view I must in some respects agree. But there are a number of significant points which ought to be considered.

First, this complaint was caught at the incipient stage. It was not complicated by a long build up. There was a minimum rather than a desperate pressure back of it.

Second, no change was needed in the situation or in the demands of the employee of his situation. The change

required was relatively simple. The employee's interpretation of his situation only needed to be set in a more realistic way. A complaint which required combinations of change in all three areas would naturally be more complex. A group complaint or a complaint with factors of personal health involved in it would probably be more difficult.

Third, this case seems simple and easy partly because it did come out so well. I am reminded of the last time I took my badly behaving car to a skilled mechanic. The car was a mess -- so I thought. I remember considering the proposition that it ought to be traded in for a new one. But the mechanic didn't seem puzzled or distressed. He lifted the hood and made a minor adjustment. It was all over in a minute and I felt ashamed for bothering him. It seemed to me a reflection on my common sense. And this complaint has similar elements. In a situation where there was considerable opportunity, one of the best employees was complaining because opportunity did not exist. This simply didn't make sense and he should have been set straight. In doing this the handling of the complaint could easily have been bungled, the employee could have become increasingly preoccupied and increasingly ineffective and opportunity for him, at least, could actually have ceased to exist. The cumulative effects could have resulted in a real problem case. What I am saying is that a simple problem in chemistry is not difficult for a chemist. A problem in

engineering is not difficult to a trained and qualified engineer. And this complaint, or for that matter more complex complaints, are not difficult for the supervisor who has an effective basic concept, an appropriate method, and a personal skill in dealing with his data. This case seems simple and came out well partly because it was handled in a scientific manner.

And to me there is a fourth point of possibly greater significance than the others. Almost any good supervisor might have handled this case with approximately the same results. He would have had a talk with the employee and the real source of the complaint might have been tapped. In the end the supervisor might have said, "We talked it over and he seemed satisfied." Now contrast this with the case as we have discussed it. We had an explicit point of view. We had an explicit method. We made an explicit diagnosis. We applied an explicit treatment. And we got a result which we can express explicitly. Such an approach is more objective and more scientific. Furthermore, it can be communicated. It can be taught by the usual teaching methods. It should make the average supervisor or administrative person more effective in the whole of this area of his personnel relations work. To me this suggests the beginning of one of the most important advances in business management.

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The Analysis and Appraisal of Morale in a Business Organization

F. J. Roethlisberger

It shall not be my purpose here to define the meaning of the word "morale." It is a word incapable of precise definition; it has different meanings for different people. If we think in terms of the phenomena to which the word "morale" can be referred, and try to understand such phenomena instead of the word, however, we shall not go too far astray.

For any person who has held a position of responsibility in any business organization - or any organization for that matter - the word comes to have a real meaning, that is, it refers to something which is felt as being of real importance, even if that something to which it refers remains vague and illusive. It is a quality which pertains to a group and the relationship of individuals to a group rather than to an individual alone. Like many such words, it jumps into prominence when that to which it refers is conspicuously absent or conspicuously present (for example, France in May and England now). Like the state of our health, it becomes most important when we lose it. But "morale" in its every-day manifestation is likely to be ignored and disregarded. Many aspects of our every-day existence have this character, that is, include factors which we take for granted, and whose important functions we, therefore, fail to recognize until they are drastically changed or disappear.

I should like to continue with this analogy between "health" and "morale" because it will provide me with several

points I want to make. In medicine, for example, the physician is not interested in "health" or "sickness" in general. He is interested in diagnosing and treating particular organic situations. He has no treatment for diseases in general; his treatment follows rather than precedes diagnosis; it is specific to the diagnosis of the particular organic ailment and the personal situation of the patient.

However, although the physician has no specific remedies for sickness in general regardless of the individual patient for whom he is prescribing, he does have a simple and useful way of thinking about the physical organism. He conceives of the organism as being made up of parts which are mutually interrelated and interdependent. That is, he conceives of the physical organism in relation to its physical environment as a physico-chemical system - something which must be considered as a whole because each part bears a relation of interdependence to every other part. These parts are in a relation of equilibrium such that a slight change in any one part produces changes in other parts of the system tending toward restoring or maintaining the state of equilibrium. In this sense, he does conceive of ill health or sickness as an organic unbalance of some kind, but the nature of the particular unbalance and the particular interferences making for unbalance and, hence, the particular treatment required to restore the balance, these questions can only be settled by a study of the concrete case of the particular patient.

Although this way of looking at and thinking about a physical organism does apply to all organisms, the interesting thing to note is that it does not prescribe the same treatment for all cases of unbalance. The physician does not suppose that because there is a word "health" there is one thing to which it refers. He realizes that the lack of health frequently cannot be reduced to some one simple, single cause but is often the general effect of a complex situation. And this is where the skill and experience of the physician come in. He presupposes different kinds of organic unbalance and different kinds of interferences. Therefore, he has to specify in the particular case the particular nature of the unbalance and the particular interferences producing it. As a result the treatment, far from being the same, is different for different patients. In the case of Patient A, the point of view leads to a diagnosis which prescribes treatment A; in the case of Patient B, it leads to a diagnosis which prescribes treatment B - even though the symptoms may be very similar. Far from prescribing the same treatment for similar symptoms, the physician may do quite the opposite in one case from another which, superficially, in terms of symptoms, may resemble it.

For example, I know a physician who was brought in to treat a woman lying in bed in her home in a state of coma. The doctor had never seen the patient or her family before. The patient presented symptoms which were quite familiar to him. He

was about to make his diagnosis when a man entered the room. This man was wearing a hat which he did not remove when he entered the room. He was also smoking a cigar which he did not take out of his mouth when he bent over the bed to address some gruff words to the patient. When the doctor learned from the nurse in charge that this man was the patient's husband, he quickly altered his original diagnosis. He did not change his notion about the condition of unbalance but he had become alert to a new possible source of interference of which his original diagnosis had not taken account. In the treatment of the patient and her cure, as the case turned out, the patient's relation to her husband became the most important variable. To have ignored this factor in his diagnosis, and hence treatment, would have been to miss the most important factor making for disequilibrium.

What I am saying is clearly recognized both in the theory and practice of medicine. It is intuitively recognized in the practice of the skillful administrator; it is far from being explicitly recognized in the theory of business administration with respect to the problem of "morale." Far too often, morale is reduced to some one simple, single cause. One particular person in a business organization is likely to be held responsible for its presence or absence. It is conceived as being composed of fixed ingredients and capable of being secured by certain standardized procedures. Sometimes as a result treatment is started before an adequate diagnosis of the human situation is made.

A Business Organization as a Social System

Now it is my simple thesis that morale is to a group what health is to the individual organism. Lack of morale, like lack of health, cannot be frequently reduced to some one single cause. Just as problems relating to health require a simple and useful way of thinking about the physical organism as a physico-chemical system, so an understanding of problems relating to morale require a way of thinking about a business organization as a social system. Likewise in both cases skills in diagnosing concrete situations are involved. (As Mr. Putnam has already said, I shall only be stating explicitly what every skillful executive intuitively knows and practices.)

In a sense, all of the early experiments at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company lead to this conclusion. As the experimenters took up different problems of fatigue, rest pauses, physical conditions of work, repetitive work, monotony and other employee attitudes, as they tried to understand the complaints and grievances of workers and some of the "logics of management" under which they worked - wage incentives and wage incentive systems - they were driven more and more to the realization that these problems could not be treated in and by themselves. These problems could not be treated apart from the social setting in which they occurred. Many of the human problems as traditionally stated were defective because they failed to take into account the social realities of the

situation. As Mr. Putnam showed you, this was the essential lesson that was learned from the Relay Assembly Test Room and the early interviewing program. The understanding of many human problems including the problem of morale at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company required that the investigators view the work group, the department, the division, or the company-as-a-whole as a social system. By "social system" is meant something which must be considered as a whole because each part bears a relation of interdependence to every other part.

Much has already been said about this point of view. A rather detailed description of it is contained in the binder "Possibilities of Applying Scientific Method to Personnel Relations in a Business Organization." I do not expect to repeat this statement in what follows. Rather I would prefer to express some of my personal experiences in trying to apply this point of view to "morale" or to personnel relations problems in business organizations. Much of what I say will be in the first person and I hope that this will not be misunderstood. It is the most direct and simple way in which to describe my experience and my thoughts in trying to apply and in trying to learn how to apply this way of looking at and thinking about personnel relations problems in concrete business situations.

Research in Personnel Relations

The research department to which I belong at the Harvard Business School has been interested in this problem of

"morale" as it related to the general business problem of getting people to work together effectively. We have been trying to develop the skill of diagnosing human situations and we have been trying to apply this skill to the understanding of personnel relations in a business organization. As I see it, these two things go hand-in-hand. A skill cannot be developed without practice and at the same time a skill needs to be practiced in order to be developed. Some knowledge may be acquired by reading books, or some understanding may be achieved by hard thinking, but "knowledge" without the application of a skill begins to resemble "word-juggling." Theory without practice or practice without theory usually results in something not very useful, at least something which does not improve understanding. For the most part, real achievements have been made, such achievements as the telephone, the steam engine, and others, where theory and practice have been applied together.

Sometimes a skill can be developed in one area and applied in another. An example of this can be cited from my own experience. I developed something of an interviewing skill while interviewing students in the Business School. Much of what I learned I was able to apply when studying business situations. In the case of students, I found I could assume that most of them had enough intellectual capacity to do their work. At least, the lack of intellectual capacity did not seem to be a suitable reason for their failures and difficulties, so I looked for other

interferences - emotional and social - which were making for poor work. This was a rather simple working hypothesis, but it was an effective one. At least it was useful in aiding the student in reestablishing his equilibrium. While it was not 100% successful, I got something of a reputation in handling student problems and learned a great deal about myself in the process. For the first time I had to learn from handling a situation - not from books. In fact, there was little material in books with regard to the skill I was practicing. I could find a great deal of literature on how people should behave or were supposed to be. I could find, for instance, that man is a gregarious animal and that self-preservation is the first law of nature, but in a real situation such knowledge was of little help in assisting a lonely student who was homesick or depressed, or a student who said he wanted to commit suicide. Actually, I had to learn by practice, by making mistakes and by developing useful generalizations (theories) about what I was doing and observing. In this way I developed a confidence and a way of relating myself to a particular problem which was superior to anything I had ever obtained from books. I was experiencing something similar to that which the doctor experiences in going through his interneship.

While doing this work with students, I began to see the possible application of this skill to a business organization. It seemed to me likely that some employees in business might be

ineffective and depressed for reasons other than a lack of technical ability. Most of the personnel people to whom I talked, however, seemed more interested in the administration of plans and policies than in the problems with which I was concerned and in the simple diagnostic skills which seemed applicable to personnel relations problems. Then one of the biggest strokes of good fortune occurred - I learned about the interviewing program at Hawthorne. Here I found a group of people immersed in the same problems I had been considering. They were muddling along, trying to learn what people were like and why they behaved as they did. I felt a real kinship for this group, and I think they felt the same way toward me. This experience had a tremendous effect as far as I was concerned. I learned how to work with other people and this, I must say, is an experience one does not enjoy very often - excluding my own department - in academic circles. I experienced "morale" as a personal and stimulating matter and learned really for the first time what it was to be an effective member of a team.

At Hawthorne I was in a group with a high morale. We were pioneers and we were learning. We were <u>not</u> trying to "change the world;" we were trying to find out what the world was like. This was "purer" research than anything I had experienced. However it was no "ivory-tower stuff;" it was simply a way of looking harder and harder at the simple business of people at work and the simple business of trying to think effectively about what we were observing.

For that experience I shall be eternally indebted. I was taken out of my egocentric skin and catapulted into a great adventure - not a solitary adventure but one in which I was going to have social companionship. During the Hawthorne experiments, I began to think more and more of the possibilities for applying what had been learned to other business organizations. All of us who were intimately associated in this work saw that it had important implications for personnel theory and practice, as well as for the theory and practice of business administration generally. I saw clearly that what was essentially transferable, communicable, and applicable to other situations was the point of view and diagnostic skills that had been developed. I want to emphasize this because to me this is an important distinction. It is the point of view and the skills which have general application. These are the important contributions from the Hawthorne experiments, rather than the particular form in which they are being applied at Hawthorne. I wanted to apply these skills in order to learn more about other business organizations. I was interested in essentially different kinds of business organizations, such as banks and department stores as well as factories. Also I wanted to apply these skills at different levels in a business organization which would include executives, supervisors, and staff people as well as first line workers.

Since I was at the Business School, I had an excellent opportunity to try two kinds of developmental work. One was that

of trying to state as explicitly as I could the point of view and the skills which have general applications. The other was to do more research in other organizations by applying these skills which I had learned thus far from my work with students and in collaboration with the Hawthorne group. I should like to enumerate some of my experiences in this regard. During the past five years I have been concerned with:

1. Trying to state as explicitly as possible the point of view and the related skills which have general applicability. This I would classify as an academic job.

2. Trying to communicate to others the point of view and some appreciation of the skill at a verbal level. This has been done in terms of two courses, one given in the Business School and one given at Radcliffe College. This, too, is an "academic" job and by its very nature is somewhat comparable to a course in musical appreciation, that is, by this means alone I cannot produce qualified practitioners.

3. Trying to train younger men who want to specialize in this general area of work and trying to supply them with opportunity for practicing the skill. This, I think, can be classified as an educational job.

4. Trying to apply these skills in business organizations in order to try to learn what their human problems are, how they can be more adequately assessed and better dealt with, i.e., doing research.

5. Trying to communicate and introduce these skills and my findings to members of business organizations.

I think it may be helpful if I try to state what my experience has been in some of the more recent jobs during the past five years, that is, the job of trying to apply these

skills in order to learn something myself and the job of trying to introduce these skills in a business organization so that the organization may by itself learn something about itself. I have never tried to make this kind of statement before and I find it difficult to generalize about things which are still in process and not very clear. I find I have not yet had enough experience along this line to make the most appropriate remarks, but I want to try to comment upon this experience for whatever it may be worth to you.

You men are not interested in how the first contacts have been made with the organizations I have studied, but I need to make a few comments about this because it affects what I have to say later. None of these contacts has been initiated by me or by the School. They have been initiated by the business concerns. Sometimes the advance has been made by a person at the top and sometimes in the middle of the organization. Obviously, there is considerable negotiation before an agreement to do some work is reached. On my part I am interested to know how the person making the original advance sees his problems. There is a period of becoming acquainted, being introduced to various persons in the business, and of my asking myself two general questions, "What are the problems of this concern as the men in it see them?" and "Will the kind of research I am interested in and capable of doing help them?" In trying to understand their views I ask a lot of questions. If I have anything to say, it is

generally in the form of a question or in the form of talking about the work I do, In part I am in an interviewing frame of mind, but much of our interaction and discussion is at a social level.

During this early period I try to move slowly because I want to be sure, in establishing a relationship of this kind, that it will be helpful to me, to the School, and to the organization itself. I do not want to agree to work in an organization where they are not ready to do the kind of work in which I am interested, where they want miracles produced, where they are too interested in getting results overnight, where they want a trouble-shooter in some emergency situation, or where they want to focus too particularly on one problem as they define it and are not interested in its ramifications. I avoid these situations because they are not good learning situations and a great deal of work can be done without much benefit to any one. The above is stated not categorically but from experience and from some of the mistakes which have been a part of it.

Now let us assume that we have reached the stage where the organization feels that their problem can be tackled by the approach I am suggesting - some approach involving the interviewing and observation of people and groups of people. If I also feel the same way, then and only then do we start making plans for a study. Generally I like to start experimentally and in a small way. This usually involves taking a small segment of the

organization in which we can do some interviewing of people in order to find out what is important to them. The objective of the research is stated broadly in terms of an aim to try to define better what the human problems in this organization are. This is a rather broad statement of objectives, but if an aim is too specifically limited it may shut out the real problems of most importance.

In working out the plans of the research I follow the leads given me by the men of the organization. I do not demand too much but rather try to take things as I find them and go along. I realize there is a lot of informal organization and a lot of formal organization. I know that the organization has traditions and habits, and all that. Obviously I do not want to make a nuisance of myself or "put a monkey-wrench in the machinery." I want to do research in which I am acting as a responsible person, and in the last analysis I want the organization to decide when, where, and how they want to begin. At the same time, however, my experience tells me I must be firm in certain respects. The confidence of the people interviewed must be protected. The first-line data is my property and will be destroyed or will be coded in such a way that the anonymity of the interview will be protected. Top management must have some understanding of and sanction the work as it develops. There must be some person at about the middle of the organization assigned to the research with whom I can have daily contact. I

must have at least about six months for a trial period. In terms of my past experience I think I am going to add a new requirement to the above. This requirement would be that some people from the organization itself participate in the research and learn something about its point of view and its skills. In choosing such people I would like those who have had at least two or three years experience with the organization, but who have not become too identified in their intimate thinking and verbal behavior with the "logics" of management. However it should be a person whose integrity is above question, who although desirous of improving his understanding and treatment of human situations, is not a reformer at heart. I shall say more of this later.

Assuming that we are ready to begin and that we want to choose a small segment for study, how do we make a selection? In one business we started out to look for a typical department, but we rather soon learned that no typical department was in existence. We then decided to choose two departments which were somewhat dissimilar, but at the same time were suitable organizations. We did not, for instance, want to study a department where there was too much change going on, a department such as a toy department at Christmas time. During the process of selection we naturally discussed various ideas with management people, getting their suggestions and thoughts with relation to the department selected. The idea of management with respect to

any given department is obviously an important part of the situation affecting that department.

Having made a selection of a segment of an organization, we must get the cooperation of the head of that segment. The department chief, or whoever he may be, must understand our purposes and our ways of going about the study. At the same time all of his thoughts and feelings about the department must be considered because that also is an important part of the situation. All of the employees in the organization must know of the study to be made, and I have always felt that it was best for the supervisory people in the organization to notify the employees of this. As we begin the study, of course, I see that each person is again told of the purpose of the study preceding each interview. The employees involved need assurance - an explanation to them of what we are about gives this assurance in verbal form. I think it is important to consider also that this assurance in words is not enough. Our integrity must be manifested in everything we do as well as in what we say.

My attitude is not that of a visionary reformer or a "crack-pot" in any sense of the word. I am just a simple academic person who wants to learn. This is not a make-believe attitude; this is my real attitude because there is really much that I do not understand, much that I have to learn about the organization from the people who are a part of it. In talking with individuals I try to avoid academic jargon. I would not,

for instance, talk to them about abstract theory or such generalized terms as I might use in talking to another practitioner.

In starting out to study the morale of an organization I do not try to do the whole job myself. It would take too long and besides I would lose the advantage of having several persons participate in the study. Moreover, I am looking for opportunities for young men associated with me to practice the skills which I am trying to teach them. In several studies I have also used new individuals who were not previously experienced. In selecting these new people I look for some one who has had some business experience, the kind of experience that has put him in contact with people. I think he needs to be willing and desirous of learning and of improving his understanding. He needs to be flexible and adaptable to the job to be done and he needs to know, from personal experience, what it is like to work in an organization. It helps if he is a person who has interacted in different segments of the society. I do not think it is necessary for him to have had personnel experience. He needs to be curious, the opposite of a "stuffed shirt," (not necessarily extrovert) and interested and sympathetic with a way of life different from his own. He should not be too eager to make value judgments of human situations. He should not have a "black and white" or "either-or" frame of mind. That is what I meant when I said before he should not be a "reformer" at heart. The need to do something right away should not be his dominant sentiment.

Having selected these new people, I am faced with training them in the work they are to do. There are several books I like to have them read. These are not books which tell what a person is like. They are books which tell how to find out what a person is like. Then, of course, I have to give them practice in interviewing.

On any job I like to have one or two men who have worked with me before. In one job I had two men who had had some previous experience with me; two men who had not. In another job I had two experienced men and two girls who had had some experience in social work. I find it easier to absorb a new person when some experienced people are on the job, because the largest portion of the training is done on the job.

As we interview people these interviews are recorded for purposes of research and for purposes of training the interviewers. I go over these interviews frequently with the individuals who take them. I have possibly two informal conferences each week and a great deal of informal discussion.

In beginning to interview, there is first a period in which I am emphasizing the technique of interviewing more than anything else. We are discussing the problems and trying out means of getting people to talk about matters important to them. It is essential that we achieve this because it is these data in terms of which we are going to generalize. Rather soon after we begin to interview we start to put the material together in

tentative ways. This is a process of breaking down and building up what we are collecting. In doing this, we are looking for simple and obvious things. We are looking for that which is usually hard to see but, once seen, it is exceedingly apparent and leads to a better understanding of the situation. You will recall that in the Relay Assembly Test Room the inadvertent change in supervision which had accompanied changes in working conditions was related more directly and continuously to the increase in production than any of the other successive changes. In looking at our material we are treating everything as a symptom and, in looking for the simple and obvious, we are looking for that which, when once it is seen, the reaction of everybody to it is "Why, of course."

During this period I am trying to transmit the skill of interpreting what people say. I am also encouraging the interviewer to look at the situation back of the words and not to take the words used in expressing it too seriously. I am trying to get the interviewer to discriminate between two general kinds of "noises." One general noise can be described as cries of anguish, pain, frustration, or mental "stomachache" on the part of an individual who is not well-related to his work-group. Another kind of noise is made by the cries of the group. These are expressions of the individual, but they are expressions concerning what is important to the group of which the individual is a member.

Another way in which I am trying to transmit the skill of interpreting what people say is in urging the interviewers to look for uniformities. We study the formal and the informal organization with this in mind. We make a collection of written documents relating to the organization. We identify and distinguish between symbols of status in the group. We study the norms and codes of behavior in both the formal and the informal organization. In addition, of course, we are collecting whatever records we can which are generally related to efficiency. These are, for the main part, collected as they become relative and important to some of our other material.

We are also observing as well as interviewing. We are observing in order to see how people behave with respect to each other, and to see whatever is bringing people together or differentiating between them. Sometimes I have used a questionnaire when there has been something I wanted to have everyone answer.

One of the most difficult jobs I have had is that of communicating results. So far I feel that this is the job I have done least well. This is apparently due to my inexperience and also due to the nature of the material. As you can see, the material I have collected is filled with "dynamite." Obviously it cannot be communicated to the organization in the form in which I get it. If this were done, I would violate the confidence of the people. Also, if I left it in its raw state

without interpretation, it would be meaningless or, what is worse, it would be misunderstood. I have conceived my function to be that of presenting facts. I do not think I have the function of deciding upon action. This is what I feel management is for. The meaning or interpretation of the data collected, however, I take as my responsibility. I try to say "Here is your situation as I see it," in general statements. Many times, however, the way I see it does not coincide with the way management conceives the situation should be. Therefore, the action management may take is in the direction of instituting changes to make the situation coincide with the way management thinks it should be. This is one-way action and generally the kind of action I want to avoid, because in some instances that which needs to be changed is the error in the way management thinks, rather than in the situation they are thinking about. Generally, I try to avoid management taking immediate and direct action. I try to say "Here is something interesting. Wouldn't you like to learn more about it?" This kind of statement, however, is irritating to executives who want and need to act and make decisions. I am sure I do not know the answer to this general problem.

I think one of the things I try to communicate is the hope that the organization will start a self-directing research agency within the organization itself. It seems to me only in this way can real results be continuously achieved. I am sure

you cannot fix up your human organization once and then forget about it.

In conclusion I should like to summarize briefly some of the points I have been trying to make in a rather rambling fashion.

1. At the concrete level, things are never as neat and orderly as they seem to be at the abstract level. The abstract level is in some respects fictitious. It is in a sense an attempt to simplify and generalize upon the complexities at the concrete level. If we live sufficiently long at the abstract level, we tend to become "lost" and we begin to find ourselves again only when we return to the concrete level.

2. This has been an attempt to give a picture of how, with imperfect tools in an imperfect world, one can go about getting the best imperfect knowledge of which he is capable.

3. On the basis of my limited experience, I am convinced research needs to be done in the field of human relations. It is not at all certain, however, that the best results can be obtained in an organization from employing an outside specialist to do the whole job. It seems to me, in my experience, I learned more than the organization. While I do not think I have done any harm, and in some instances I feel I have made a contribution, I do not see why the organization should let me practice on them.

4. I am sure that, by the simple technique of listening, a great deal can be learned about people and about their reactions.

5. Although a skilled interviewer cannot be trained overnight, he can learn slowly, with a little help, if he is allowed to practice.

6. This kind of research cannot be successful unless the whole organization in which it is practiced can be carried along, with some understanding and developments accruing to every individual involved. This an an educational job and I think it is something of the company's job.

7. It seems as if most people do not want to be told but want to find out for themselves.

8. Obtaining and maintaining a satisfactory "morale" in a business organization is the problem of handling the concrete, daily, human problems which arise in any organization. I think it is the problem of knowing something in particular about the human situation in your business, rather than knowing or assuming something in general. The problem of knowing in particular what is present in a particular person at a particular time and place and in a particular situation involves a clinical skill of diagnosis similar to that of the physician.

9. The securing of morale in a business organization requires (a) an intimate acquaintance with the individuals as well as the groups which go to make up a business organization (b) a knowledge of their relationships to one another (c) a skill in diagnosing disturbances in the equilibrium - both personal and social - which may arise from many different sources of interference (d) a skill in addressing oneself and handling these particular situations at the time and place when they arise. The above is facilitated by (e) a simple and useful way of thinking about a business organization as a social system.

10. By adopting the above procedure in respect to the handling of "morale", the administrator is acting like the physician in respect to handling the problem of "health" with one important difference. The "patient" for the physician is more often than not the individual physical organism; the "patient" for the administrator is the group as well as the individual. This makes the administrator's problem that much more difficult. There is very little sense in pretending otherwise.