

Leading organizational transformation

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LEADING ORGANIZATIONAL TRANSFORMATION

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ABSTRACT

This chapter focuses on how to identify and encourage second-order, transformational changes (changes in goals, types of strategy and structure, or changes in assumptions) in persons, groups, and organizations, rather than just first-order changes (changes intended to enhance efficiency and effectiveness within existing assumptions).

Developmental theory is introduced as an aid in identifying second-order transformations and in identifying leaders capable of generating such changes. The body of the chapter consists of two extended illustrations. One case shows the lifetime development of Pope John XXIII preparatory to his leadership of the Vatican II Ecumenical council that generated second-order change in the Catholic Church. The second case examines the transcript of a single meeting, in order to portray second-order transformation 'up close' in a group context.

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The chapter concludes with a series of questions about how graduate education can foster the development of transformational leaders, and how such leaders can come to play a central, rather than merely marginal, role in more organizations.

In the second volume of *Research in Organizational Change and Development*, Bartunek and Louis (1988) compare and contrast "organization development" with "organizational transformation." They argue that the former has focused more on planned changes introduced by outside interventionists, while the latter has focused more on unplanned changes from within the organization in response to crises and life cycle considerations. Often the unplanned changes are of a second-order nature—in other words, they transform the very framework and assumptions of the organization; whereas the planned changes, whatever their original intent, are often of a first-order nature—in other words, they facilitate achievement of goals already formulated by management.

Bartunek and Louis raise the question how consultants and managers intent on generating second-order change might learn from the "natural histories" of second-order transformations in organizations. One approach to answering this question is to study leaders who have in fact generated second-order transformations in organizations, and to ask what their experience tells us about effective intervention. This chapter represents such a study. Once we have gathered some examples of leaders generating organizational transformation, along with some theoretical understanding of this phenomenon, we can begin to ask how to teach other managers and consultants how to lead organizational transformation.

The first question that arises is how, validly, to identify: (1) second-order transformations in organizations; and (2) leaders who are intentionally cultivating such transformations. Many organizational changes appear transformational at first, but then turn out not to be. For example, the change from U.S. Steel, the largest steel company in the U.S. for most of this century, to USX in 1986 certainly appeared like a second-order change initially. Previously, the company had diversified, and the name change seemed to prepare the company for exiting from the steel industry altogether. In August of 1986, the steel workers went on strike. The next steps, however, were huge labor cutbacks and a profit by the second quarter of 1987, *paced by revenues from steel*. Hence, the company did not change its spots.

A close study of David Roderick, who has served as chairman of U.S. Steel and then USX from 1979 through the time of this writing (1987), shows that, although the content of his goals differs from his predecessors (downsizing, diversification), the overall strategy (relying on revenues from steel, use of unilateral power, alternation between paternalistic and antagonistic labor relations, solving economic problems through legislation) remains the same (Nader & Taylor, 1986). Hence, as of late 1987, neither the leadership nor the organiza-

tional structure of the company has exhibited a second-order transformation. Instead, the change from U.S. Steel to USX represents a first-order change.

Even if we could identify with some certainty that an organization had undergone a second-order transformation, we are still faced with the equally difficult task of determining who, if anyone, is responsible for it. In many cases, such second-order organizational changes are accompanied by a change in the leadership and/or a change in technology. For example, when IBM entered the computing industry from the tabulating industry in the late 1940s and early 1950s—developing a much stronger R&D orientation than previously, changing from centralization to divisionalization, relying on deficit financing for the first time in three decades, and doubling in revenues in three years—it was also transferring leadership from Tom Watson Sr. to Tom Watson Jr. (Torbert 1987a). Who was the transforming leader? Or were both? Or was it neither, but rather the interaction between the two? Or does the change in technology from tabulators to computers explain all the other changes? Or is a still wider and more complex interaction among situational and leadership variables responsible for the successful change?

These questions are not easy to resolve. They point, however, to two indispensable prerequisites for the study of how to lead organizational transformation. The first prerequisite is a theory that plausibly defines what constitutes a genuine second-order organizational transformation and what qualities of leadership action cultivate such transformations. The second prerequisite is a methodology that locates these, possibly quite rare, events (Torbert, 1987b).

THEORY AND METHOD

Two bodies of work to date address these two prerequisites. The first and more mature body of work is that of Argyris and Schon. Starting as early as Argyris' *Intervention Theory and Method* (1970), Argyris and Schon have elaborated a distinction between 'single loop learning' (first-order change) and 'double loop learning' (second-order transformation) in persons and organizations (Argyris & Schon, 1974, 1978). They have shown in empirical detail some qualities of managerial, consultative, and professional behavior that are conducive to second-order transformation in oneself and in others with whom one is working directly (Argyris, 1976, 1982; Schon, 1983). And Argyris has presented an alternative methodology—different from both quantitative and qualitative approaches as these are ordinarily conceived and practiced—for finding and studying transformational phenomena (Argyris, 1980; Argyris, Putnam, & Smith, 1985).

The second, less mature body of work addressing the two prerequisites of a theory and a method appropriate for studying second-order transformations is this author's (Torbert, 1973, 1976a, 1976b, 1978, 1981a, 1981b, 1983a, 1983b,

1987a, 1987b; Fisher, Merron & Torbert 1987; Merron, Fisher & Torbert, 1987). This second body of work was originally inspired by Argyris' distinctions and attempts to build on the foundation of his work. This second body of work also builds on two other resources—constructive-developmental theory and the tradition of search for an integrative quality of awareness.

Constructive-Developmental Theory

Constructive-developmental psychology identifies an ordered series of developmental stages, each of which is governed by a unique logic, set of assumptions, and overall framework. Developmental change from each stage to the next involves second-order transformation. The initial limiting framework is dethroned and becomes a strategic option, or variable, within a more inclusive assumptive framework (Kegan, 1982; Kohlberg, 1969; Loevinger, 1976; Torbert, 1987a; Trevino, 1986; Wilber, 1980). At the late stages of development, the person becomes increasingly aware that there are alternative frames, that perceptions (including one's own) are always framed by assumptions, and that such assumptions can be tested and transformed.

Table 1 shows the "ruling" and "variable" features of each personal stage, along with organizational parallels (the Kegan model is included because he formulated the transformational logic of stage change; the Loevinger model is included because her empirical measure is used in the studies summarized in Table 2).

As previously stated, each of the personal and organizational stage changes indicated in Table 1 (from Stage 1 through Stage 8) represents a second-order, transformational change for the person or organization. Only persons and organizations operating at Stages 6, 7, or 8, however, are in a position to recognize and intentionally encourage such transformations in themselves and in 'younger' persons and organizations. At Stage 6, the person or organization is ultimately committed, not to one particular structure, but rather to a principle or dream of self-amendment that permits it (or others under its guidance) to change an existing structure. The principle itself may, however, be held quite "tightly" and intellectually—may not yet 'dance' fluidly and flexibly with the infinite complexities of oneself and of other persons, organizations, and environments. At Stage 7, the person or organization becomes fully attuned to the process of interplay between timeless principle and the arts of timely, effectual action. Principle need no longer be explicitly (and perhaps woodenly or otherwise inopportunistically) asserted because it is being enacted from moment to moment. Finally at Stage 8, the person or organization becomes attuned to a still wider history of intersystemic development that reduces the requirement that one act one-sidedly on behalf of transformational change from moment to moment. Instead, the primary focus becomes a quieter, less visible work of creating the institutional conditions for a stable, long-term cultural commitment to human and organizational devel-

Table 1. Developmental Stages

<i>Stage</i>	<i>Kegan</i>	<i>Lovinger</i>	<i>Torbert managerial stages</i>	<i>Torbert organizational stages</i>
1	Impulsive <i>Impulses rule reflexes</i>	Impulsive	Impulsive	Conception <i>Dream about creating something new</i>
2	Imperial <i>Needs, interests rule impulses</i>	Opportunistic	Opportunist	Investments <i>Spiritual, network, and financial commitments</i>
3	Interpersonal <i>Meeting expectations rules interests</i>	Conformist	Diplomat	Incorporation <i>Products or services satisfy market or political constituency</i>
4	(transition)	(transition)	Technician <i>Internal craft logic rules expectations</i>	Experiments <i>Alternative structures and strategies tested</i>
5	Institutional <i>Identity rules craft and expectations</i>	Conscientious	Achiever	Systematic Productivity <i>Single structure/strategy institutionalized</i>
6	(transition)	Autonomous	Strategist <i>Principle rules identity</i>	Collaborative Inquiry <i>Self-amending structure to match dream</i>
7	(transition)	(transition)	Magician <i>Process (interplay of principle/ action) rules principle</i>	Foundational Community <i>Structure fails, spirit sustains through interplay of opposites</i>
8	Interindividual <i>Intersystemic development rules process, etc.</i>	Integrated	Ironist	Liberating Disciplines (Torbert 1978)

opment. As we will see later, very few persons or organizations are currently found at any of these late stages.

The reasons for seeking to complement Argyris' work with developmental theory are: (1) Argyris' theory is dualistic in nature (single loop/double loop; Model 1/Model 2); this property of the theory makes it conducive to good/bad polarization; this property also renders the theory relatively opaque to the transformational journey whereby a system that is initially capable only of accepting and generating first-order changes (and for which second-order transformation is experienced as an external disruption of the total system) eventually becomes a system capable of accepting and generating second-order transformations; by contrast, the multiple, sequential stages of developmental theory seem a likely map of what's right at each stage and how the journey occurs; (2) put differently, different persons seem more open or resistant to the possibility of second-order transformations, and their stage of development seems a likely explanation for this difference; (3) Argyris' theory is opaque to the issue of timing, which is often thought to be of the essence to effective action; by contrast, developmental theory provides a map that can help to define when persons and organizations require what type of interventions, when they require more dissonance and change, when they require more confirmation and stability.

Existential Inquiry Toward Integrative Awareness

The third source for this author's approach is the tradition of search for an integrative quality of awareness that unites intuition and logic, thought and action, passion and detachment, the inner world and the outer world, the personal and the political, the present and other times (Torbert, 1973; 1983a). Although this search is often today associated with Eastern thought (e.g., Ouspensky, 1949; Trungpa, 1969), certain strands of Western political philosophy (Torbert, 1974) and epistemology (Needleman, 1982; Torbert, 1976b) also point toward this quality of awareness—as do the latest stages of developmental theory (Kegan, 1980; Wilber, 1980). This quality of awareness, if present, provides the 'ultrastability' (Cadwallader, 1968) necessary for a system to welcome transformation when it is called for—the ultrastability which permits a system to detach from any particular way of structuring its inner and outer world and to function non-violently as it seeks a more merciful (inclusive) and just (effectual) way of structuring. This quality of awareness, if present, permits the system to act with a timing that is appropriate not merely to its own goals, but also to the goals and the developmental needs of the interacting set of persons and organizations. Leading organizational transformation would seem to require this quality of awareness, and persons capable of leading organizational transformation should show a special interest in, and ability to throw light on, this quality. As suggested by the brief descriptions of Stages 6-8 above, this quality of awareness should be

associated with late stage development. This suggestion is amplified in the following section.

The Interplay of the Three Bodies of Work

The three sources for this approach to organizational transformation complement one another. Argyris and Schon's theory of action highlights the distinction between first-order change and second-order transformation; it also partially describes behavioral interventions that cultivate second-order transformations. Developmental theory describes different stages from which and to which managers and organizations transform. The integrative quality of awareness that is the objective of both Eastern and Western philosophy gives a leader undistorted access to the developmental timing of self, others, and social systems that permits intervention in a transformative manner; put differently, it gives the leader a unitive, dynamic perspective that reconciles rather than further polarizes and rigidifies dichotomies such as first-order/second-order, change/stability, and so forth. Both the Argyris and Schon intervention skills and integrative awareness should be associated with persons at late stages of development, and only leaders at such late stages, with such skills and awareness, should be capable of generating organizational transformations. This study begins to test these strong claims in an initial, illustrative fashion.

What is initially most striking about the entire theoretical edifice is that all three bodies of work suggest that intentional transformational action leading to second-order change is very rare. While this perspective is congruent with the Bartunek and Louis (1988) review, which holds that most planned change is of a first-order nature, it is in radical contrast to the plethora of consultants and writers in the early 1980s who have claimed to promote and to document transformational changes (Adams, 1984; Bass, 1985; Maccoby, 1981; Peters & Waterman, 1981; Tichy & Devanna, 1986; Waldman, 1987). Without a strong theory about what constitutes personal and organizational transformation, the question arises whether these studies and change efforts effect or even document the real thing. For example, it has by now been frequently noted that a third of Peters and Waterman's "excellent" companies no longer met their own criteria for excellence a mere two years later.

The three bodies of work represented here indicate very clearly just how rare the process of leading organizational transformation is. Argyris and Schon report that virtually none of the executives and other professionals they have studied exhibit the types of behavior that encourage double loop learning and second-order, transformational change (Argyris, 1982). Five different studies of managers' ego development found only 6% at the Strategist stage of development (Stage 6), where transformational change becomes perceivable and potentially desirable for the first time, and *not one single case* (among 484 subjects) of a

manager at the late Magician (Stage 7) or Ironist (Stage 8) stages of development, where a person becomes fully capable of exercising transformational power (see Table 2, from Torbert 1987b). Torbert (1987a) offers short portraits of a few internationally renowned leaders (Jean Riboud, CEO of Schlumberger; Dag Hamarskjold, Secretary General of the UN; Gandhi) who *may* have evolved to these late stages. The stage names themselves—Magician and Ironist—are meant to convey the unfamiliar quality of the stages. In addition, the term *Magician* is meant to convey the unfamiliar, charismatic, transforming power exercised at that stage; and the term *Ironist* is meant to convey an intentional masking of that transforming power characteristic of Stage 8. These qualities will receive further discussion and illustration in the cases below.

To continue the documentation of the rarity of these late stages, there is as yet not one well documented case of an organization operating regularly at the Foundational Community or Liberating Disciplines stages of development, which parallel the Magician and Ironist stages of personal development (Torbert, 1987a, offers the Beatles in the late 1960s as a possible example of a Foundational Community stage organization, and the Jesuit Order as a possible example of a Liberating Disciplines stage organization). The lack of such documented cases is in some part attributable to the fact that the theory itself is new. A question can also justifiably be raised whether such late stage organizations are in fact possible, given the current developmental distribution of individuals. Certainly, if such late stage organizing is possible, it represents a future step in the evolution of the human species, rather than a stage widely operative in the present or the past.

Finally, both Eastern and Western traditions hold that integrative awareness is not bought easily, but is at best the occasional fruit of adult spiritual search and discipline over a lifetime.

Method

This particular study presents two cases of leaders who generate significant organizational changes. The first case begins by identifying a historically agreed upon second-order change in the largest organization in the world—namely, the transformation of the Catholic Church inaugurated by the Vatican II Ecumenical Council (Bartunek, 1984; Kim, 1980; McBrien, 1973). The case studies the personal development of the chief executive officer of that time—namely, Pope John XXIII—to see whether his actions and reflections suggest movement toward later stage development and integrative awareness, as this theory predicts they should.

The second case begins by identifying a leader of a small, early-stage organization, who is measured at the late Magician stage of development by Loevinger's (1987) Sentence Completion Test (the measure used in all five studies summarized in Table 2). The case presents the context and transcript of a

Table 2. Distribution of Managers by Developmental Position in Five Studies¹

<i>Samples and n</i>	<i>Study 1: First-Line Supervisors (37)</i>	<i>Study 2: Nurses (100)</i>	<i>Study 3: Jr. & Middle Managers (177)</i>	<i>Study 4: Senior Managers (66)</i>	<i>Study 5: Sr. Mgrs. & Top Executives (104)</i>
Developmental positions:					
Impulsive	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Opportunist	0	2	5	0	0
Diplomat	24	9	9	6	3
Technician	68	54	43.5	47	43.5
Achiever	8	31	40	33	39.5
Strategist	0	4	2.5	14	14
Magician	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

¹Scoring in all five studies done by professionally trained raters on Jane Loevinger's (1978) Sentence Completion Test of Ego Development measure. Study 1 reported in Smith (1980). Study 2 reported in Davidson (1984). Study 3 reported in Torbert (1983). Study 4 reported in Gratch (1985). Study 5 done by Quinn and Torbert (1987). Stage names are derived from Torbert (1987a).

particular organizational meeting to see whether the leader creates a setting that welcomes organizational transformation, as this theory predicts he should.

The purpose in both cases is to illustrate and ground the theory, rather than to support it statistically. Also, if the cases in fact display late stage development, integrative awareness, and action conducive to second-order transformations, then the concrete illustrations themselves should be more informative for the reader than the abstract theory alone.

At the same time, each case represents more than a single instance, a single illustration. Each case is a kind of theory-based, predictive study. The theory predicts that a late stage leader, exhibiting integrative awareness, will be found at the source of the transformational change in the Catholic Church occasioned by Vatican II. The theory predicts that a late stage leader will create a setting conducive to second-order changes. If either or both of these predictions is *not* borne out, the validity and usefulness of the theory is cast into severe doubt. If the substance of the cases supports both predictions, the theory is shown to be capable of predicting, not just in aggregate, statistical terms, but in particular instances.

Obviously, these particular instances are not randomly chosen, but rather chosen by this author. This fact will diminish our confidence in the generalizability of the results even if they do support the prediction. However, as already pointed out, larger, more nearly random studies have found *no* cases of the sort necessary to test this theory. Of the two cases reported here, the first represents the most obvious, large scale case of organizational transformation in the past thirty years, where good evidence of the leader's state of mind is available (Pope John kept a daily journal); and the second case represents the first instance with which this researcher has come into contact of a subject who scored at the Magician stage of development and for whom behavioral evidence (tape recordings of group meetings) regarding organizational leadership is available.

The strengths of the first case are that it concerns a leader and an organizational transformation of obvious social significance and that the events have therefore been documented from many points of view. In particular, the lifelong daily journal of the pope provides material for interpreting what his experiences meant to him—how, developmentally, he made meaning at different times in his life. The weakness of the case is that the excerpts of the pope's journal presented here are so brief and so selective that the reader cannot be sure how much confidence to put in this author's interpretations. The reader can compensate for this weakness by asking what the developmental significance of the vignettes are *even if they are not generalizable to the rest of the pope's life at that time*; and by reading the author's primary source (Hebblethwaite, 1985) or other sources to explore the viability of other explanations for the vignettes.

The strengths of the second case are that the leader has been measured by an established developmental measure and that actual tape recorded dialogue is presented, allowing the reader to determine for himself or herself whether the

leader's actions are unusual, creative, and conducive to transformational learning by the individuals and the organization involved. The weaknesses of the second case are that only one event in the organization's history comes into focus and that the organization is neither large nor well-known, so the social significance of the action is not pre-established. As a result, this second case, even if intrinsically a valid demonstration of the theory, will have no more significance than each reader chooses to give it. (It should perhaps be noted that, although the foregoing sentence may carry an apologetic tone, developmental theory suggests that *no* argument or illustration has more significance than each reader chooses to give it.)

CASE 1: POPE JOHN XXIII

Pope John XXIII was born Angelo Roncalli in the northern Italian village of Sotto il Monte on November 25, 1881 (these and all the following facts and quotations are drawn from the biography by Hebblethwaite (1985)). At the age of 11, he entered the seminary at Bergamo, 10 miles away. At 19, Roncalli graduated to a seminary in Rome, spent a year in the military at 20, then returned to a seminary in Rome until 1905, when he returned to Bergamo he was secretary to the new bishop and a professor of church history. During World War I, he re-joined the army as Sergeant Roncalli. In 1920, at the age of 39, he became national director of the church's mission movement, called the Propagation of the Faith ("Propaganda Fide").

In 1925, Roncalli was ordained archbishop and sent to Bulgaria as an apostolic visitor, a diplomatic role. After 10 years there, he was sent to Constantinople in the same role for another 10 years, through World War II. Thereafter, his diplomatic career continued with 8 years in France until 1953, when, at the age of 71, he was finally recalled to his native Italy to become a cardinal and the patriarch of Venice.

Pope Pius XII died in 1958, and Roncalli attended the conclave to choose the successor, along with his 50 fellow cardinals. Not among the 5 cardinals generally viewed as the leading contenders for the succession, Roncalli nevertheless became Pope John XXIII on the eleventh ballot, at the age of 76. In 1959, Pope John called for an ecumenical council—the first in 4 centuries and the first initiated by a pope—and was met by responses like: "This holy old boy doesn't seem to realize what a hornet's nest he's stirring up" (p. 324). The council, after much struggle and preparation, began on October 11, 1962, and the first session lasted 60 days. Pope John died of stomach cancer 6 months later, on June 3, 1963, his pontificate less than 5 years long, the shortest of the twentieth century until then.

This skeletal biography already suggests several interesting aspects of Roncalli's life, the meaning of which will become clearer as we add flesh to the story. First and foremost, we see that Roncalli became Pope at the age of 76,

long after most men have retired. Second, we see that throughout his mature years, from 44 to 71, he was at a great distance from the center of power of the Catholic Church—from Rome and the Vatican. Third, we see that his childhood was rural, not urban.

Roncalli's Childhood

In tracing Roncalli's development, we are helped immeasurably by the availability of a (virtually) daily journal which he kept from the age of 14 until his death, with many passages harking back to his earlier childhood. One of the strongest impressions that these journal entries make is of Roncalli's predisposition to think in analogies rather than linearly and deductively, and to knit his life together by means of these analogies. For example, one of his earliest memories is of being lifted on his father's shoulders to witness a religious parade. He recalled this on the occasion of first appearing in the portable papal chair after his investment, "Once again I am being carried, carried aloft by my sons. More than 70 years ago I was carried on the shoulders of my father at Ponte San Pietro. . . . The secret of everything is to let oneself be carried by God, and so to carry Him [to others]" (p. 12). Here, in the most economical way possible, a man's personal life, executive role, and spiritual mission are drawn together by analogy into one image of uplifting.

Roncalli's very first memory is from the age of 4 when his mother, Marianna, took him and his brothers and sisters to a shrine of the Madonna. The chapel was packed, so she lifted each of her children in turn to the window grille outside, saying to him, "Look, Angelino, look how beautiful the Madonna is. I have consecrated you wholly to her." *From this moment forth, Roncalli could not later remember a time when he did not want to be a priest.* His lifelong veneration of the Virgin Mary was a source of perplexity and even embarrassment to more 'sophisticated' colleagues later.

In this post-Freudian era, we may wish to smile knowingly and say, "Here is a child in love with his mother, at the age where he must sublimate his Oedipal urge; his mother, Maria, offers him another Mother Mary in whom he can safely sublimate his love." This analysis may be true, as far as it goes, but it is probably offered in a reductionistic tone of voice that trivializes sublimation. Sublimation, however, means, precisely, to elevate (not reduce), to make sublime (hardly trivial, if in fact possible). In short, the analysis does not penetrate the heart, much less destroy, the mystery of this first memory. Why was the analogy between the earthly and the heavenly Mary so powerful for Angelo? How rare to find, and become true to, a vocation at all; how much rarer to find a truly sublime vocation; how much rarer yet to find it at the age of four!

Angelo came to venerate the village priest, Fr. Rebuzzini, and it was the latter who guided his early education and tutored him one summer, preparing for the seminary at Bergamo; but so clear was Angelo's sense of vocation that when

Rebuzzini, in a striking analogy of his own, one day said: "Don't be a priest, Angelino. You see how high and sharp this collar is. It digs into the neck and sometimes really hurts," (p. 13) the effect on Angelo was not at all to deflect him from the priesthood, but rather to increase his admiration for Rebuzzini's unspoken suffering.

These stories about Roncalli's childhood and about his own recollections of his childhood show an early sense of vocation forming, along with an early sense of the disciplines and costs of that vocation. Is an early sense of costly vocation an attribute common to transformational leaders? The proposition seems plausible, and we know it to be true in the case of other major transformational leaders of the twentieth century, such as Gandhi (Erikson, 1969) and De Gaulle (Cook, 1983).

Roncalli's journal begins at the seminary at Bergamo when he is 14 years old. What voice do we hear from it? In his first journal entry at the Bergamo seminary, he transcribes the dictum about the model priest from the Council of Trent: "clergy . . . should so order their lives and habits that in their dress, gestures, gait, and conversation and all other matters they show nothing that is not grave, controlled and full of religious feeling" (p. 16). Here the typical teenager is seeking to conform outwardly to a model of "in"—"correct"—behavior, so much so that he does not speak to us in his own voice at all, but as the Council of Trent (or, more precisely, he makes the Council of Trent's voice his own). Table 1 shows this stage as the "Interpersonal" or "Conformist" stage where the person develops a self capable of meeting others' expectations.

His second journal entry again makes another voice his own, this time quoting Ecclesiasticus: "It is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth," (p. 17) an image to which he returned 62 years later upon being asked by the Dean of the College of Cardinals whether he would accept his election to the papacy: "Listening to your voice," Roncalli said as he became Pope John, "I tremble and am seized by fear. What I know of my poverty and smallness is enough to cover me with confusion. But seeing the sign of God's will in the votes of my brother cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, I accept the decision they have made; I bow my head before the cup of bitterness and my shoulders before the yoke of the cross" (p. 285). The image of the yoke, and the sense of continuous spiritual work, is another analogy that knits Roncalli's life together.

This story illustrates, as do the earlier ones, the strong strain of analogical (in contrast to deductive) thinking in Roncalli. In previous work, this author has proposed that analogical thinking is a prerequisite for successful double-loop learning, for intentional self-transformation (Torbert, 1987a). According to developmental theory, transformations are not pre-meditated and deliberate in the early stages of development, but are increasingly sought out at the later stages. Analogical thinking can discover incongruities (lack of analogy) between ideal and actual or between past and present, indicating a need to act differently (single loop learning) or to reframe one's overall approach (double loop learning). For

example, difficulties in life are ordinarily approached as something to avoid, or get over as soon as possible; to treat them as a yoke that it is one's duty to bear is immediately to reframe one's entire approach to them. Did Roncalli's rural childhood surround him with more analogical thinking than an urban, 'modern' setting would have? Is an early taste for analogical thinking of this kind conducive to transformational leadership? Again, the propositions seem plausible and open toward further research.

Finally, the stories told reveal a tendency in the young boy toward some kind of spiritual effort, and in the elderly man toward an integrative awareness embracing his life as a whole. As we examine his later life, we can explore whether or not this kind of integrative awareness was the fruit of Roncalli's spiritual work, and whether or not it characterized his approach to all sets of polar opposites.

Roncalli's Youth and Young Adulthood

By the age of 16, Angelo's position when at home was becoming a source of irritation, as with most teenagers. Some in the family felt his vocation served him as an escape from working the land. To his own dismay, there was much bickering when he was home.

At the seminary, Angelo took a set of 'Little Rules' devised to regulate one's conduct and extended them with rules of his own making until they covered every aspect of his waking time, with daily, weekly, monthly, and annual categories. On a monthly basis, for example, he saw his spiritual director, set aside a day for "more profound recollection," and invited an 'exemplary youth' to tell him "with frankness and charity any faults he had noticed" (p. 22). To avoid the danger of particular friendships, with their secrets, exclusions, and jealousies, he forbade himself to touch, push, or chase after others, or to use the pronoun 'tu,' using the formal 'voi' instead. Women he avoided altogether.

At this age of conformity to group norms and of sexual turbulence, Roncalli conformed instead to an ego ideal and distanced himself from all particular relationships. The apparent exception was his village priest, Fr. Rebuzzini; but Rebuzzini, as we have already seen, himself served as a paternal ego ideal. One Sunday morning at Mass, when Angelo was 17, he found Rebuzzini, whom he had visited the evening before, dead, having fallen when he tried to kneel. Even though his biological father was still alive, Angelo felt orphaned, heart-broken, turned to stone. In the following days, he would write in his journal "I am left an orphan to my immense loss" and "if my Father has gone, Jesus is still here and opens his arms to me" (p. 25).

However difficult it may be for the reader to accept the specifics of Roncalli's disciplines and of his internal monologue in his journal, it is important to appreciate how unambivalent, natural, lively, and conversational they were for him. Again, also, we see the power of his analogical thinking, which first replaces his

biological father with a clerical father, and then, when the latter dies (and, by analogy, God too), replaces all these paternal images with a direct fraternal relationship to Jesus. As Rebuzzini's effects were being cleared up, Roncalli sequestered his well-thumbed copy of the *Imitation of Christ*, which he would have read to him on his own death bed 65 years later. He would live in analogy to Jesus, and his ultimate personal relationship through the years would be to Jesus.

But, how to relate to the wider world of the institutional church, the wider world of diverse faiths and increasing faithlessness, the wider world of war and peace? Were not Roncalli's 'Little Rules' too parochial and too rigid for such challenges? Was there not a danger that Roncalli's imitation of Christ would stop at external conformity, retarding rather than fulfilling his own development? Would his development stop at the 'Interpersonal' or 'Conformist' stage, or would he evolve to the more inclusive 'Institutional' or 'Conscientious' stage (again, see Table 1)?

All these questions were tested in short order when he won a scholarship at nineteen to attend a Roman seminary and then spent a year in the army. At the seminary, along with much that was edifying, lay the temptation of treating the role of priest, in the words of one of his classmates, as "the authorized administrator, in due bureaucratic form, of a number of magical gestures which would bring consolation to human suffering" (p. 38). Roncalli's own 'Little Rules' made him the authorized administrator, in due bureaucratic form, of his own set of rituals, so the temptation was very real, however sardonic and superior his friend may have been contriving to sound. Moreover, this "temptation" was in some ways a developmental step forward to treating a functioning organizational system (an institution) as primary and the static norms of the "Conformist" stage as secondary.

In the army, an experience he hated, Roncalli faced barrack-room boasting about brothel exploits ["The army is a running fountain of pollution. . . . Who can hope to escape from this flood of slime, unless God comes to his aid . . . (p. 34)"]. Here certainly Roncalli was faced with the world in its most profane sense. He spoke of it as "the year of conflicts" and as "a real purgatory," but scored high marks on the rifle range, was twice promoted, reported being treated with "respect and affection," and re-emerged from the army "unpolluted." Unprotected by an external institution, he found his internal institution vigorous enough to weather the (social) elements.

His subsequent studies in theology and church history, as well as retreats based on the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius (founder of the Jesuit Order), brought him to a new understanding of his vocation, free from external imitation, or bureaucratic implementation, of any pre-conceived notion:

I used to call to mind the image of some saint who I set myself to imitate down to the smallest detail, as a painter makes an exact copy of a Raphael picture. I used to say to myself: in this case St. Aloysius would have done so and so; he would not have done this or that. It turned

out, however, that I was never able to achieve what I thought I could do, and this worried me. The method was wrong. From the saints, one must take the substance, not the accidents, of their virtues. . . . I must not be the dry, bloodless reproduction of a model, however perfect. . . . The enjoyment of God's love, the sweet and total abandonment to his will, must absorb all else in me or, rather, transform and sublimate all the desires of my lower nature (p. 40).

During his youth and early adulthood, we see Roncalli taking seriously, first personal, local models and then historical, institutional models in forming his own conduct. Yet ultimately, at the end of each stage of development, he pierced beyond the models to a direct, internal relationship with Jesus. Both the initial models and the explicit, unambiguous movement beyond them are developmentally unusual. Most people at the corresponding 'Interpersonal' and 'Institutional' stages of development make first other people's expectations and then institutional standards their ultimate reference points. Only later (or perhaps never) do they see beyond the local, temporal, contingent reference points to more profound principles or to historical events of universal significance. Roncalli, by contrast, transformed beyond his immediate relationships and institutional habits in the very process of first learning how to manage them—becoming truer to his commitments by second-order learnings that took him beyond his initial interpretations of what was required. Perhaps because of this, each succeeding stage of his development appears less like a contradiction of the previous stage than as a continuation. Here we begin to sense how second-order learning, developmental transformation, and integrative awareness are mutually conducive to one another, as suggested by the theory at the outset of this paper.

Adulthood and Exile

In 1905, when Roncalli returned to Bergamo as the new bishop's secretary, it was a time of fierce controversy within the Church between "Modernists" who sought to reconcile religion and the empirical sciences and "Dogmatists" who rejected such efforts. In 1907, Pope Pius X, in the encyclical *Pascendi*, defined *Modernism*, condemned it, and threatened excommunication for any who opposed the encyclical.

Just at this time, Roncalli gave a brave speech on "Faith and Scientific Research." While distancing himself from a recent "strange movement of ideas" (presumably Modernism), he claimed that a churchman, Baronius, the founding father of modern church history, had been the first to open the field of scientific historical criticism.

Roncalli thus found his own way, strategically, through the eye of the needle, attracting public attention, defending a possible meeting ground between science and faith, yet escaping papal censure. Here was the bud of his reconciling ministry, the first fruits of an integrative awareness that found ways to say "yes" to both extremes of poles others experienced as hostile. He had found his unique

voice, achieving at the age of 26 the Strategist stage of development, where only 14% of the senior executives in our samples of American managers (who are typically some 20 years older than Roncalli was then) are measured (see Tables 1 and 2). From the time of the "Modernist" controversy through World War I and his first office in Rome as director of Propaganda Fide in the early 1920s, Roncalli continued the work of the Strategist stage, discovering the structures and processes that linked the substance of intellectual arguments and the goals of the Catholic Church with the wider social fabric of politics and culture.

In 1924, after a landslide electoral victory for Mussolini's Fascists, Roncalli preached a sermon at Bergamo, in memory of his first bishop there, in favor of a patriotism which focused on "justice embodied in law" rather than on "military enterprises, diplomatic agreements, or economic successes." The speech was (properly) interpreted as anti-Fascist, and Pope Pius XI was intent on good relations with the new government, so Roncalli shortly found himself promoted to archbishop and assigned as apostolic visitor to Bulgaria—in short, exiled.

His timing was off from the point of view of the prevailing powers of the day. To have accepted this as his lesson would have been a form of single-loop feedback that could have led to some first-order changes in behavior, appropriately propitiative of the higher authorities, and these in turn might very well have resulted in an early recall from exile. This, however, does not describe his response.

Starting at the time when he had first heard of his earlier assignment to the Propaganda Fide, Roncalli exhibited a pattern that would hold for the remainder of his life, whether the move appeared externally as a promotion or as an exile. Each time he would feel initial distaste for the career change. ["This sudden change in my life has left me astonished and terrified," (p. 102) he wrote in his journal at the time of the assignment to Propaganda Fide.]

Next, he would work his way toward obedience. At his retreat prior to being ordained as archbishop and going to Bulgaria, he borrowed from Baronius and took as his own the motto: "Obedientia et Pax," "Obedience and Peace." Obedience was a basis for accepting the assignment to Bulgaria, which was supposed to be brief. But it could not, alone, sustain the ten long years that he in fact languished there. His mission remained unclear throughout; in Rome, he seemed forgotten; in Bulgaria, his movement was restricted; and he had no direct ministry. He learned Bulgarian, translated many prayers into Bulgarian, and traveled by train, car, and horseback, when possible, to visit the country's small and dispersed Catholic flock. Angered by the insularity and unresponsiveness of the Curia's officials, he wrote directly to the Pope about conditions in Bulgaria and thereby earned a recall to Rome where Curia officials reprimanded him.

After obedience, or inner acceptance of external conformity, Roncalli would struggle for uniformity, or inner peace, and the inner struggle would lead to analogical insights and developmental transformation. In his 1930 annual retreat, Roncalli found a new perspective on the inner discontent that had ensued his obe-

dience. Now, he found special, additional meaning in the motto "Under the guidance of obedience, always on the cross." To obey is to say "Thy will, not mine" like Jesus on the cross. To feel and renounce one's own will is to suffer a wound; to be wounded is to draw closer to the condition of Jesus on the cross. ("I . . . choose poverty with Christ, rather than riches; insults with Christ . . . rather than honours; I desire to be accounted worthless and a fool for Christ, rather than to be esteemed wise and prudent in this world" (p. 130), he wrote in his journal at that time.)

These formulations are, of course, easy enough to say. To live them is another matter. How fully Roncalli lived them is suggested by his unwavering practice of never so much as conversing about, let alone intruding to get, another position. This was not merely an outer, ethical stance, but rather an inner spiritual discipline against the idle, egotistical imagination. "I let others waste their time dreaming about what might happen to me," he wrote a friend. "The idea that one would be better off somewhere else is an illusion" (p. 131).

Here, Roncalli has reached the Magician stage of development, when the person appreciates that all constructive and productive spiritual and material work begins, no matter how great the suffering, with acceptance of one's present position in time and space. Such acceptance in turn motivates a renewed search for uplifting, transforming power ("Thy will, not mine"). This 'search for the Holy Grail' is itself, as the Grail legend tells us, what transforms a barren kingdom into a fruitful one.

At the Magician stage, one experiences continuous transformation. "The transformation from the Strategist stage (to the Magician stage) is from being *in the right frame of mind to having a reframing mind*. . . . A reframing mind continually overcomes itself, divesting itself of its own presuppositions . . . (engaging in) an ongoing jousting, at one and the same time, with one's own attention and with the outside world" (Torbert, 1987a; pp. 211, 213).

To reach this stage at all is in itself extraordinarily rare. The fact that Roncalli reached it in "exile," where there was little in the way of outward arena to influence—no earthly kingdom to fructify—may actually have supported his own further development toward the Ironist stage. [During World War II, General De Gaulle was in exile from France, at the same age as Roncalli was when he wrote the foregoing words and at a parallel period in his development (Torbert, 1987a).]

If Roncalli's decade in Bulgaria was outwardly monotonous, his next decade in Constantinople, renamed Istanbul, was filled with the foreboding and then the actuality of World War II; but little more latitude for action on his part. In a fiercely partisan world, he continued his efforts to refine his manner of positive respect for all: "Holy Church, which I represent, is the mother of nations, of all nations. Everyone with whom I come into contact must admire in the Pope's representative that respect for the nationality of others, expressed with graciousness and mild judgments, which inspires universal trust. Great caution then,

respectful silence, and courtesy all the time" (p. 183). In short, Roncalli was completing the subordination or sublimation or masking, not just of his ordinary personal preferences and moods, but also of the transforming power—the charisma—he now embodied. So completely did he accomplish this task that, ironically, his foremost impression on others was not of a mannered stiffness, but on the contrary of simplicity and spontaneity. This sublimation of one's entire personality *and charisma* to a higher truth, through daily and moment-to-moment transformations of one's inclinations and heartfelt responses, is the core of the developmental movement from the Magician stage to the Ironist stage (Torbert, 1987a).

This attitude did invite one significant symbolic occasion in 1939 when Pius XII succeeded to the papacy. After a service for the new Pope in Istanbul, Roncalli met with the Orthodox Patriarch, Benjamin I, and the two embraced and exchanged the "kiss of peace," ending centuries of enmity and presaging Pope John's Ecumenical Council.

This attitude also masked some wonderfully humanitarian actions that, appropriately, came to light only later. For example, he signed stacks of Catholic baptismal certificates to be smuggled into Axis-controlled countries and made out there to Jews, in order to protect them from concentration camps and gas chambers.

After 20 years of obscurity in Sofia and Istanbul, Roncalli was suddenly called to France, the most visible and important of all the Vatican's diplomatic posts. This was, however, no reward. He was chosen in haste as a temporary stopgap, after the first choice for the position declined on grounds of health. One reporter asking about Roncalli at the Vatican was told: "He's an old fogey" (p. 201). Nevertheless, he spent 8 years in the post and left only when he finally received a pastoral appointment in Italy—as patriarch of Venice—along with elevation to the purple cap of cardinal.

Although outwardly more challenging, the story of these years is not retold here because the future pope's inward developmental formation was already complete.

The Fruit of Exile

Doing little and speaking of that little still less, Roncalli *became* what Cardinal Bacci later called for at the opening of the 1958 papal conclave:

We need a pope gifted with great spiritual strength and ardent charity. . . . He will embrace the Eastern and Western Church. He will belong to all peoples, and his heart must beat especially for those oppressed by totalitarian persecution and those in great poverty. . . . Rather than someone who has explored and experienced the subtle principles belonging to the art and discipline of diplomacy, we need a pope who is above all holy, so that he may obtain from God what lies beyond natural gifts . . . (p. 281).

Ironically, Roncalli had spent 28 years as a Vatican diplomat, yet no one mistook him for a professional diplomat. He was clearly "a fool for Christ," a sublime category that, as we have already seen, some persons could not easily distinguish from mere foolishness. Although his election to the papacy was accompanied by a wave of good feeling, the 'smart money' had it that he would play merely a temporary caretaker role.

But Roncalli began surprising people from the moment he announced his chosen name, Pope John XXIII. Despite its many positive associations (John the Baptist, the Apostle John), it was a dishonored name—though no one present (other than he) recalled the fact as John named himself. John XXIII had been used by an Avignon anti-Pope, a pirate who had massacred, cheated, and perjured his way to the papacy at the time of the split in the Catholic Church prior to the Reformation (p. 286). Thus, Roncalli's very choice of name had a reconciling, healing, transforming, resurrecting function across the long history of the institution.

His next public act, before sleeping his first night as pope, similarly proclaimed his reconciling ministry. He asked Monseigneur Tardini—the conservative power in the Curia and the very epitome of the institutional perspective that had 'exiled' Roncalli for most of his career, Monseigneur Tardini who could have expected nothing better than to be exiled in turn—to become his Secretary of State. He thus signalled his welcome of any who might consider themselves enemies into an intimate, continuing conversation.

As both these moves suggest, a profound transformation of an institution with millenia of history is not accomplished by fighting or denigrating or obscuring that history, but rather by marrying one's present actions to that history in a creative way. Rather than splitting opposites, Roncalli's integrative awareness invited them together.

Pope John's proposal for the Vatican II Ecumenical Council was as surprising as the actions just described. No council had been called since the Reformation, and it was commonly assumed that, since that council had been called despite the pope, and since a council was impossible to control in a unilateral fashion, no pope—least of all an old, caretaker pope—would call one. John's own, trusted confessor, Capovilla, argued against its many hazards and urged him to build on his strengths instead, in particular "the talent or charism of paternity that you undoubtedly possess" (p. 308). John prayed on this advice for several days, then replied: "The trouble is, Don Loris, that you're still not detached enough from self—you're still concerned with having a good reputation. Only when the ego is trampled underfoot can one be fully and truly free. You're not yet free, Don Loris" (p. 308). Thus, most pointedly, did Roncalli refuse to rely on his charisma, or treat it as his security, but rather threw it straightway back onto the larger, impersonal fire that became the ecumenical council.

These three small but significant vignettes from the beginning of John's papacy illustrate the role of integrative, reconciling awareness—reaching out

across the centuries and across institutional divisions—and a late stage sensibility—subordinating ego to higher spiritual and wider social truths—in preparing the ground for a reframing of the Catholic Church such as it had not experienced since the Counter-Reformation.

The foregoing story of Pope John's earlier life, along with the analysis of his unusual way of resolving earlier stages of development and his unusualness in reaching the latest, Ironist stage, suggests the subtle quality and lifetime scale of the existential inquiry required to attain the rare degree of personal evolution and integrative awareness that generates organizational transformation.

This case illustrates, and becomes a single confirmation of, the theoretical claim that only a leader or interventionist at such a late stage of personal development is likely to help an organization successfully engage in a second-order transformation.

CASE 2: AN EVENING AT THE THEATRE OF INQUIRY

The second case is virtually the mirror-image opposite of the first case. The leader is anonymous, the organization small and unknown; the case spans an hour and a half of one evening rather than a lifetime; the primary evidence is the tape transcript of one meeting—the action itself—rather than documents that offer different perceptions and changing interpretations of actions.

In this case, we start with a person who is measured at stage 5/6 on the Loevinger (1978) Sentence Completion Test, corresponding to what this author calls the Magician stage (Loevinger's stage 5—Autonomous—corresponds to this author's Strategist stage; her stage 6—Integrated—corresponds to this author's Ironist stage; her 5/6 transition [as recently redefined by Cook-Greuter (1987)] corresponds to this author's Magician stage). In this case, then, we begin with a leader scored as a Magician by a measure that has been shown to discriminate among different managerial decision-making and action-taking styles in a statistically significant manner (Merron, Fisher, & Torbert, 1987). As already noted, however, the earlier studies found no one at the Magician or Ironist stages of development. Hence, the question here is whether someone measured at the Magician stage creates organizational events that: (1) encourage participants to become aware of, test, and possibly reframe their ways of working—that generate double-loop, transformative learning and development toward integrative awareness; and also (2) generate organizational transformation.

This particular leader had started a not-for-profit educational organization called The Theatre of Inquiry. The purpose of The Theatre of Inquiry was to illustrate and teach what kinds of action create a continuing inquiry about the legitimacy and effectiveness of the fundamental assumptions governing: (a) personal patterns of daily activity; (b) organizational patterns of work; and (c) public

settings. The organization sponsored three types of activities, Action Workshops, Business/Schools, and Public Performances.

Action Workshops, which brought 8-10 persons together for an hour and a half each week at \$10/person/session, focused primarily on what qualities of personal thought, feeling, and movement facilitated inquiry in the midst of daily activities.

Business/Schools, which brought together 15 people one evening a week at \$10/person/session, focused primarily on learning how to start one's own business, asking what one really wished to do and whether one was accomplishing it, by actually starting a business together and studying the process of doing so.

A monthly Public Performance, each time new, brought together audiences of 20-150 at \$2/person for three-act plays that began in a traditional fashion, opened into a (noncoercive) invitation to the audience to join in the action, and ended with a conversation among all present questioning the significance of what was occurring.

In short, the very purpose of *The Theatre of Inquiry* was to create settings in which questioning of assumptions and double loop learning could occur in the midst of action—settings in which second-order transformational change could occur.

So far, so good. The leader was espousing an organizing process that sounds consistent with what a Magician stage person may be supposed in theory to value. As in the case of Pope John, however, we can say that it is easy enough to espouse such values. The interesting question is whether this leader in fact enacted a transforming process. We test this by examining substantial portions of the tape transcript of one Action Workshop, the fourth in a series for this particular group of participants.

One Action Workshop Session

The leader had asked the group at the end of the previous session to enact an ad agency during this session, treating him and *The Theatre of Inquiry* as a client. This frame, he explained, could legitimize their learning about The Theatre of Inquiry as actively as possible, while potentially helping the leader resolve some basic dilemmas about advertising the organization. He told the group he would tape record the session and offer them an analysis two weeks later, focusing on the degree to which their actions appeared to encourage or discourage timely, fundamental inquiry within the group [the data presented below were originally collected in this way (*The Theatre of Inquiry*, 1978)].

Upon entering the workshop the following week (a large studio with exercise mats and cushions), the leader/client found the room arranged with table, name cards, and flip chart, the group having become the ACE Ad Agency (Abstract Construction Enterprises). The conversation began as follows:

ACE 1: Well, here we are. Now, what is it that you would like to talk to us about?

TOI: Well, I have this organization—The Theatre of Inquiry—that I've tried to give you some slight introductions to already by the literature that I gave you and really all the experiences you've had related to it until this moment, which admittedly isn't very much. I'm trying to find a way of making this organization accessible to other people. The way we usually do this in this culture is advertising. So I thought I'd go to an ad agency and ask about it. Now, I've already made some efforts to advertise, and this is an ad that appeared in *The Real Paper*. They reduced the top piece so that, as you can see, "The Theatre of Inquiry" can hardly be seen. The next week they fixed that. They also ran the wrong phone number on that ad. Consequently, everybody called an old lady with a foreign accent who had her phone disconnected the second day of the week in question. The next ad fixed that up, but it only drew six or eight phone calls—and it had cost \$160 to run. This week we've run two smaller ads.

ACE 1: These were in another newspaper?

TOI: No, these are also ads in *The Real Paper*. . . . You can give me your own opinions about them. There is something fundamentally problematic about whether one can advertise The Theatre of Inquiry. So much depends on the persons themselves determining to create the space in which The Theatre of Inquiry operates that as soon as one moves into a flat advertising medium which just gives an external package, one loses the essence of it. In a certain sense, my view would be that you have to actually—a person would have to have an experience of being in The Theatre of Inquiry to have any chance of sensing what it was and being attracted to it.

ACE 1: I think we all have a lot of questions that we'd like to ask you. It's usually our practice to have a fairly open conversation. One of the questions we'd like to put to you is whether or not we might be on some kind of a first name basis?

TOI: I already feel as if I am on a first name basis. (ACE members turn cards to show first names.)

. . . .

ACE 1: I think it would be helpful for us to hear how you see a concise way of expressing what audiences would be desirable, whether you would consider anybody at all as appropriate.

TOI: No, I'd say that I'd only consider adults appropriate.

ACE 1: But beyond that, are there any more specific characteristics of the potential clientele that you have in mind. And if so, I think that will have a great bearing on how the message is presented and in a sense how the product ought to be defined in that . . .

ACE 2: Yeah, I think that's a good point.

TOI: Well, I think if we were able to be clear about what an adult is that we would have limited it immensely right there. Because . . .

ACE 1: We're talking about the customers now?

TOI: Umhm.

ACE 1: What is an adult? A college student and older?

TOI: Well, I really doubt that a college student, unless it's somebody who's already been out in the world . . . a college student is almost surely not an adult. If you eliminate them, I think adults will be found within the group over 22, but my sense is that they would be a very, very small number of that group.

ACE 1: I wonder if that might not be a policy mistake from the marketing point of view in that it's well known that people who are, let's say, in their late adolescence who might not consider themselves to be adults really have a greater percentage of discretionary capital to invest in self-realization than people who are somewhat older and somewhat more committed financially.

ACE 2: Excellent point.

ACE 3: The other question is whether we want to talk about adults as being something related to biological years, or whether maybe an adult has another meaning?

ACE 4: In other words, this could be hot on the campus if we play our cards right!

The reader will note several characteristics of the foregoing dialogue. First, it quickly becomes evident that, unlike the leader/client, the members of the group, in enacting the ad agency, have chosen to play roles dissociated from their personal experiences, pretending that they do not already know the leader/client and the organization ("One of the questions we'd like to put to you is whether or not we might be on some sort of first name basis?")

Second, only in the final comments do the members of ACE address one another. Of the first 81 comments during the meeting, the first 26 consist of exchanges between one member of ACE and the leader/client, and altogether the leader/client makes 38 of the 81 comments. The dominant mode of the group, in other words, is that of seeking information from the leader/client as though he alone has relevant experience and information. When the group breaks this mode to speak to one another, the effect is to avoid a personal, qualitative question (who is an adult?) in order to make assertions about quantity (the number of adolescents with 'discretionary capital'). This sort of thinking and action could conceivably lead the group to redefine the whole enterprise so that it could be "hot on campus," irrespective of whether such a redefinition betrayed the original purpose of the organization or led to unethical effects.

The group's fundamental assumptions underlying this early part of the meeting seem to be: (a) that there is a known pre-defined product; (b) that the purpose of advertising it is to sell it to the widest possible market; (c) that the advertising problem has a determinate solution deducible through close analysis; (d) that this analysis is best kept impersonal, externalized; and (e) that none of the above assumptions need to be questioned.

This set of assumptions constitute a framework that corresponds very closely to the stage of organizational development called *Systematic Productivity* (see Table 3).

Transforming the Quality of Inquiry at the Meeting

In the second half of the meeting, these assumptions are questioned, and the pattern of the group's action qualitatively changes. Let us return to the transcript, numbering the comments to aid later analysis:

Table 3. Characteristics of Three Late Stages of Organizing*

The Systematic Productivity Stage

- (a) attention is legitimately focused only on the systematic procedures for accomplishing the pre-defined task;
- (b) marketability or political viability of the product or service, as measured in quantitative terms, is the overriding criterion of success;
- (c) standards, structures, and roles are taken for granted as given and formalized, usually in deductive, pyramidal terms;
- (d) reality is usually and most easily conceived of in deductive terms as dichotomous and competitive: win-lose, rational-emotional, leader-follower, personal-professional, practical-theoretical;
- (e) critical issue: whether earlier development has provided a strong and appropriate analogical system that frames, and is not distorted by, the deductive systems developed during this stage.

The Collaborative Inquiry Stage

- (a) explicit shared reflection about the corporate dream/mission and actuality/history in the wider social content;
- (b) open rather than masked interpersonal relations, with disclosure, support, and confrontation of apparent value differences;
- (c) systematic evaluation and feedback of corporate and individual performance on multiple indices;
- (d) direct facing and creative resolution of paradoxes (which otherwise become polarized conflicts): inquiry-productivity, freedom-control, quantity-quality, etc.
- (e) interactive development of, and commitment to, unique, self-amending strategies and structures appropriate to this particular organization at this particular historical moment.

The Foundational Community Stage

- (a) political friction within organization and with different norms of behavior in wider environments;
- (b) regular, personal, shared research on relations among spiritual, theoretical, and behavioral qualities of experience;
- (c) structure fails ('dies'), phoenix rises from the ashes, shared purpose (spirit) revealed as sustaining;
- (d) transcendence of pre-existing cultural categories, appreciation of continuous interplay of opposites: action/research, sex/politics, past/future, symbolic/diabolic, etc.;
- (e) new experiences of time: his-story becomes my-story; interplay of creative timeliness, timeless archetypes, and timebound needs.

*These characteristics are drawn from Torbert, *Managing the Corporate Dream* (Dow Jones-Irwin, Homewood IL, 1987) and *Creating a Community of Inquiry* (Wiley, London, 1976).

ACE 1 (#82): We've been brainstorming in effect as to what is the best way to get the product across. We're all assuming that we know what the product is, and my sense is that we're here to get as well understood as we possibly can—what is it? What is this product? What are we trying to advertise? Then we can talk about methods, and brainstorm media and all the rest, but I would suggest and I'd like to see how other people feel about it, that we spend this last half really trying to zero in on what is this product that we're talking about.

TOI (#83): I guess my feeling is increasingly that we're not going to move any closer to it unless we see it not as a task of your questioning me about the product, but of our asking ourselves together since, in fact, you do have a certain acquaintance of it—more in fact than almost anyone else in the world, however little that may be. . . .

ACE 2 (#84): I agree, and I think we should try to help each other as we move along. But I think it's critical that you do take the primary role here in terms of—you're coming to us with a product.

TOI (#85): Well, the metaphor of a product may be a terrible mistake. It is closer to a bit of information, and yet it really isn't a bit of information either because a bit of information is the sort of thing you can assimilate within your existing view of the world. And what I am experiencing is that quality which throws my view of the world into question, which makes the world feel fundamentally unknown. That's what I hope to sell people—that they would want to be able to see the world as more unknown than they do from moment to moment.

ACE 4 (#86): Why?

TOI (#87): Huh?

ACE 4 (#88): Why?

TOI (#89): Because the assumption that I know the world right now is a mistake. For example, top executives need to learn how to create a climate around a table, as we are trying now, where they admit to themselves that they don't know what they're doing—that as they acquire, merge, and divest they don't know what the identity and primary purpose of their company is anymore, also that they don't know what their company's human and environmental effects are. Social scientists and therapists need to write and talk in ways that make people realize that there is something much more unknown about human process than any current models acknowledge. Otherwise, people use knowledge to create boring, repetitive relationships that fit their categories of knowledge and snuff out any real, living exchange.

ACE 3 (#90): Yeah, this puts an ad agency in a difficult position. You're in a sense asking the ad agency to define your product, which is something that we're not accustomed to doing. If you know your product and can stand behind it and give us some clues, we can probably sell it for you.

TOI (#91): But I can't understand how you can talk like that. I've just told you three completely different lines of approach to The Theatre of Inquiry, and you're telling me I'm not telling you anything.

ACE 3 (#92): Your statement was that we, like other top executives, are a gathering which is fumbling to determine what the product is, having admitted that we cannot define the product.

TOI (#93): And I used that as a positive illustration of what The Theatre of Inquiry is, what kind of conditions it strives to create.

ACE 4 (#94): The question for me is, first of all, why am I here? What am I coming here for? And you know, why would anybody else come? What motivates somebody to come into the unknown? In other words, am I here to become conscious, or to become conscious of interpersonal relationships, or maybe none of us really know why we're here. You know, what about that situation? I mean, we don't know why we're here, and yet we're still here, you know, in a search for why we're here.

ACE 3 (#95): You're asking me?

ACE 4 (#96): I'm asking everybody—why are we here?

ACE 3 (#97): I would like to step outside the situation we are in right now, and pose a dilemma I have which is . . .

ACE 5 (#98): You can't step out of the situation. I mean, how can you step out of what we are?

ACE 3 (#99): I can't step out of it—I won't say I'm stepping out of it. Let's just leave it at the fact that I'm having a dilemma here . . .

ACE 6 (the wife of 3) (#100): Be brave, 3.

ACE 3 (#101): . . . which is that we had envisioned—or at least I had, and that was probably my mistake initially—a role playing situation where, which was initially created by TOI, where we would be an ad agency and we would be playing the role of ad men grilling TOI. We have gotten thrown off this track and we're not . . .

ACE 5 (#101): I don't agree with that . . .

ACE 3 (#103): You don't?

ACE 5 (#104): . . . I mean, precisely, what *you're* doing . . .

ACE 7 (#105): Is taking us off the track . . .

ACE 4 (#106): I don't want to be moved from where I am, which is part of an ad agency dealing with a potential client.

ACE 3 (#107): I'm confused by TOI's unwillingness or inability to recognize us as what he defined us as, which is an ad agency. We have become conspiritors in defining this nebulous product.

ACE 4 (#108): That's our problem, that's our problem. TOI is here to talk to us about advertising his product. A product may not be the right metaphor—we've got some of his reasons why that's not the right metaphor. We're moving along in the process of operating, of trying to understand the product and the parameters which will lead us to brainstorm better . . .

ACE 3 (#109): Okay.

ACE 4 (#110): I think it's our problem as much as it is TOI's.

TOI (#111): And it's also part of the truth of the situation that I chose you as the most useful ad agency because of the fact that we're in this room at this time on Sunday in an Action Workshop, participating right now somehow in the very thing that we're trying to discuss. . . . I hope that you're still interested in playing the roles, but one has to bring everything to it, so to speak.

In this excerpt, the very assumptions that at least some members of the group have been making about the role playing situation come into question. "ACE 3" expresses the belief that in bringing these assumptions into question and in acknowledging multiple simultaneous frameworks, the group is violating the framework of the situation. His struggle to determine "what goes" indicates how unfamiliar is this kind of social game, where inquiry is no longer impersonal and externalized.

At the same time, something about this very process of questioning frameworks seems to draw participants into conversation with one another rather than just with the leader/client. Group members confront one another and at one point address 17 consecutive comments to one another (#94-#110) without the leader/client speaking. Indeed, the key transforming comment, after ACE 3 and the leader/client become polarized (#90-#93), is made by one of the group mem-

bers, ACE 4 (#94). This should not be surprising: the leader/client cannot *unilaterally force* the group to engage in a *collaborative inquiry*; at most, he can prevent the group from persisting in the original pattern and then recognize and allow room for a new pattern that is qualitatively different precisely because he is not treated as the only one capable of leading.

This portion of the meeting represents the Collaborative Inquiry stage of organizational development, as shown in Table 3 above. Members engage in explicit reflection about the purpose of the meeting, confront one another openly, and face the paradox that they are operating within several frames simultaneously.

The quality of thought necessary to decipher this situation (any situation?) is shown to be analogical and paradoxical, not deductive and linear. *The Theatre of Inquiry* cannot be described as a product apart from oneself, but rather must be experienced from within as "a gathering which is fumbling." One may be closest to The Theatre of Inquiry just when one's analytic thought despairs about one's distance from it. As in the first case on Pope John XXIII, we see the central role of analogical thinking in inviting second-order transformations.

This situation illustrates also that questioning frameworks does not necessarily lead in the direction of establishing a single correct frame. The very title "The Theatre of Inquiry" (is it drama, science, education, politics, or business?) suggests multiple frames. The possibility that there are multiple, valid frames for a given situation prompts questions more than recognition. What The Theatre of Inquiry is may, at best, remain precisely ambiguous, thereby truly encouraging inquiry rather than conclusions.

The ad agency/Action Workshop situation (like all other situations in life?) is not a simple one, adequately describable within a single framework. Each person in fact brings multiple frameworks to bear on each situation, though not all are well-focused or conscious at the time. Indeed, it is a characteristic of the early stages of development, up through the Institutional or Systematic Productivity stage, that they *assume* that *all* situations are framed in a *single* way, whereas it is a characteristic of the later stages of development, beginning with the Strategist or Collaborative Inquiry stage, to *inquire into* the *multiple* ways in which *each* situation is framed.

In this meeting there were two relatively well focused frames in which everyone was participating simultaneously, namely the meeting of the ad agency and the meeting of the Action Workshop (in addition, of course, members had their own ways of framing the relationship between this situation and the rest of their lives). As we have seen, even though the leader had described the ad agency framework as in the service of the Action Workshop framework beforehand, the group members tended initially to treat the ad agency framework as primary—indeed, as the only frame. But to do so made the ad agency framework arbitrary, since they had neither intrinsic nor extrinsic motivation to serve as an ad agency. Indeed, to do so made the leader appear exploitative, since he was in effect asking *them* to pay *him* for helping him.

That at least some of the members had initially constructed this version of the situation is not speculation, as the following excerpt indicates. We will want to evaluate the leader's response to a direct attack. Will he simply become defensive? Or will he be able to transform even a direct attack into a developmental opportunity?

A Second Transformation of the Meeting

This part of the conversation begins when one of the members checks the time and announces "It's over." Evidently liberated by the 'death' of the ad agency frame, the conversation takes on yet a different quality:

ACE 1 (#156): What happened here, you know, what is going to happen?

ACE 3 (#157): I think there was a confusion we all had before the gathering and also throughout. As I called people this week, there was feedback about who was receiving what here, who's paying who, and are we doing this for our benefit or for yours (TOI), and how will this unfold. Now, we had gotten together as a group and predicted an exchange completely different from the one that occurred. . . . We had roles and certain formats and so on, and immediately, which I guess is inevitable, we took a different track . . .

TOI (#158): Well, that's your version of tonight and ACE 4's version (see #108) was that you were moving sort of in a straight line toward the objective.

ACE 4 (#159): Yeah, I think the reason I finally came in after an hour when I was saying, we're playing around here and not—we know what we're here for, we know what we're about—let's do it and . . .

ACE 3 (#160): But at the point you came in, you certainly had not up to that point acted out what you had said you were going to.

ACE 4 (#161): That's true, and I still haven't.

ACE 3 (#162): And is there not a question in your mind about the value of what happened? Are you satisfied that you got your money's worth? That may or may not be an issue. I definitely had feedback during the week as I called about the money and so forth.

Pause (#163)

TOI (#164): Yeah, absolutely crucial. I mean, you must, you know, see why the experience is arranged this way. I mean, I want to create a situation where you try to discover—you participate in discovering how to get your money's worth. I mean, if I give you your money's worth, I will not be giving you The Theatre of Inquiry.

General laughter (#165)

TOI (#166): I've done as much as I possibly can tonight. But I certainly will stand by that promise.

Again, laughter (#167)

TOI (#168): Maybe that will be the advertising campaign right there.

ACE 3 (#169) (singing): "If I give you your money's worth . . ."

Laughter (#170)

Laughter at a new and unexpected framing of the situation. One would expect the person "selling the good" to claim that s/he was giving people their money's

worth. To do so successfully is the very essence of the art known as huckstering or hustling or advertising. But in seeking to represent *The Theatre of Inquiry*, one dedicates oneself to institutionalizing the questioning of fundamentals. This segment of the meeting represents the Foundational Community stage of organizational development (see Table 3).

The laughter itself, the singing, and the challenge to the justness of the economic exchange exemplify qualitatively more penetrating inquiry and qualitatively more timely action. In this segment we see, not just a paradoxical relation among opposites, but the conjunction of opposites; the session is over, yet for the first time an advertising jingle is created; dark suspicions are revealed, yet they generate light laughter; the leader champions the accusation that he is not giving his clients their money's worth instead of defending against it, but turns it into a Zen koan that demonstrates more succinctly than anything else what he is doing; ACE 3 offers his strongest challenge to TOI, yet a moment later is parroting TOI's words in song. Of the 15 distinguishable events in this portion of the tape recording, five are not comments by individuals at all. Four are collective phenomena (laughter or pauses) and one is singing.

If the Action Workshop session itself exhibits second-order transformation (indeed, two second-order transformations), the question naturally arises whether these developments influenced the organization's later functioning. In fact, this session led to the creation of a "Theatre of Inquiry" song that was used in later radio advertisements:

You are an actor
 You put on your mask
 You ready yourself for your task
 You'll be playing a stranger again
 And as long as you've asked—
 You're in—The Theatre of Inquiry

In front of the footlights
 And behind
 In and out of the dialogue going on in your mind
 Where is that listener you've been trying to find?
 In The Theatre of Inquiry

Is there a present—
 To pull out of the past?
 Is there a feeling—
 To make it last?
 Just what is this role into which you've been cast?
 In The Theatre of Inquiry

You're playing the fool
 You're playing the sage
 You're acting just like a child
 You're acting your age
 All of a sudden you're on center stage
 In The Theatre of Inquiry

The radio advertisements publicized only the Public Performances, however. Reviewing the transcript of this session together, the Action Workshop participants devised a process whereby each of them, whenever they wished (and anyone else who joined future Action Workshops), could organize an additional Action Workshop in which they would participate for free and receive between 25% and 40% of the fees. Thus, the process of attracting new participants to Action Workshops became one which widened the material ownership of the organization and intensified the action challenge to current participants—which transformed them from paying clients of the organization into paid representatives of the organization.

These, however, are second hand forms of evidence of organizational transformation. What is more directly accessible to the reader's judgment is the evidence of the transcripts about whether this leader constructed a setting, and then acted in the meeting itself, in a manner that invited individual and group transformation toward a more integrative quality of awareness. As the commentary already indicates, it is this author's judgment that the leader did so. If we look more closely at the quality of his comments in the two final segments of the tape, which represent transformations beyond the initial pattern of interaction, we find that in seven of his eleven comments (i.e., #83, 85, 91, 93, 111, 158, and 164) the leader is contesting or clarifying a frame, contrasting two different frames, or somehow reframing an event. Thus, as initially hypothesized, the leader appears to have acted in ways that encouraged testing of frames and reframing, both for individuals and for the group meeting as a whole.

CONCLUSION

The two cases concerning Pope John XXIII and The Theatre of Inquiry illustrate, respectively, the developmental path and action process of leaders who generate second-order transformations. In doing so, they raise questions and offer new directions for the field of organizational development:

1. As originally predicted, both leaders in these two cases appear to be centrally dedicated to creating for themselves and in their environment the conditions for second-order transformations, development, and integrative awareness. This fact, along with the fact that both leaders represent one of the rare late stages of development, raise the question: What kind of graduate education and organizational training can encourage development for future leaders toward these late stages? The Action Workshop described in the second case is suggestive (see also Torbert, 1973b, 1981c, 1987c).
2. Both cases, but especially the first case, highlight the role of analogical thinking in supporting intentional second-order transformation. Since

this type of thought is not commonly emphasized in scientific and professional training, the question arises, what kinds of education cultivate it?

3. If late stage development to the Magician and Ironist stages is necessary for a person to lead second-order transformations, such persons will be organizationally marginal in the sense that few, if any, other members of the organization share their developmental perspective. Given this source of marginality, as well as the level of commitment and presence required to support second-order transformations, can external consultants, whose very role is marginal and whose commitment to the organization is by definition temporary and contingent, possibly generate such transformations? These two cases strongly suggest to this author that the answer will almost invariably be "No," unless the external consultants align themselves with insiders at, or transforming toward, late stages of development. When consulting does make sense, a model wherein the consultant plays a long-term personal facilitation role for an organizational leader and only indirectly influences the wider organization suggests itself.
4. In general, studies of organizational transformation have claimed that a crisis is necessary to initiate transformation (Bartunek & Louis, 1988). In neither of the two cases described here was there a widely perceived crisis. In both cases, the late stage leaders appear to have generated a second-order transformation process because they felt it would be conducive to the development of individual members of the organization and would make the organization as a whole more congruent with its fundamental mission. (In some ways one could argue that the two leaders in these cases generated crises for others rather than responding to situations that were already defined as crises.) These two cases throw the previous generalization into question.
5. Bartunek and Louis (1988) have pointed to the need for ways of measuring second-order transformation that are useful to insiders of the transforming organizations. The analysis of the three different overall patterns of interaction in the meeting in the second case offers one approach to measuring second-order transformation at a group level and, in particular, begins to suggest what developmental stages [which have been described at the individual and the organizational levels (Torbert, 1987a)] look like at the group level. Although this particular study counts the various types of behavior identified, the fundamental distinctions among the stages are qualitative and could be applied intuitively in the midst of a meeting, by a leader. Hence, this is not a form of measurement accessible only to a social scientist with the time and resources to do extensive pre- and post-analyses.

More generally, these cases illustrate the immense challenge of leading organizational transformation. To this author, leading organizational transformation

appears at once as the most demanding of human arts and, in this global society, the most needed.

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