CHAPTER 1

Problem and Context

Introduction

In this chapter, the research problem is introduced and the focus of the study identified. The reader is firstly introduced to some background material on the concept of metaphor, as well as to a selection of the literature from which the problem has been derived. As will be made clear in this section, the problem addressed has its origins in the literature of administrative theory.

The present chapter also includes a statement of the purpose of the study, its delimitations, the questions which guided the collection and analysis of data, and definitions of key terms. Some leading features of the chosen methodology are discussed and an overview of the thesis is presented. The significance of the study is a further topic that is addressed.

The subjects of the study are eighteen academic administrators, all of whom are from the one institution of higher education. As social actors, the administrators are inextricable from their time and place, hence an important section of the present chapter is concerned with placing them in context. The discussion of context could be approached in various ways. It would be possible, for example, to emphasise socio-political developments in the environment of higher education at the time when the research was undertaken. Again, it would be possible to concentrate solely on the organisational characteristics of the institution to which the academic administrators belong. The writer has chosen, however, to provide a brief, descriptive sketch - in essence, a vignette, of the institutional context. This sketch is deliberately general in nature. It refers to some historical and

environmental influences, but it is also intended to convey a picture of the setting in which the administrators carry out their work. Hopefully it will have the effect of bringing the actors in the study into clearer focus and of imparting to their language and behaviour, the subject of later chapters, a sharper resonance.

Background and Presentation of Problem

In broad terms, this thesis entails an examination of the subject of metaphor in the field of educational administration. A number of factors have combined to stimulate the writer's interest in this subject. These factors have included a background of studies in the humanities and organisational sociology. She has had a long-standing interest in the metaphors of creative literature, not only in the meaning and implications of individual, powerful metaphors, but also in the way metaphor functions, in Murry's terms, as a vehicle for "the exploration of reality" (Murry, 1931, 2) or is, to use Murry's terms again, "a necessary act of the mind in exploring reality and ordering experience" (ibid). She has been interested in statements about the nature of metaphor, ranging from Aristotle's dictum (cited in Murry, 1931, 3) that "the greatest thing of all by far is to be a master of metaphor ... the one thing that cannot be learned from others ... a sign of original genius, since a good metaphor implies the intuitive perception of the similarity in the dissimilars"; to Frost's description of metaphors as attempts "to say matter in terms of spirit, or spirit in terms of matter - to make the final unity" (Cox citing Frost, 1957, 52); and including Jorge Luis Borges's explanation of metaphor as "that verbal arc" which "almost always traces the shortest line between two spiritual points" (Cohen, citing Borges, 1973, 12).

More recently her interest in metaphor has been sparked further by two theories which offer perspectives on the subject from fields other than those of literary theory and literary criticism. These two theories are helpful in explaining something of the importance being attached to the subject of metaphor across a range of disciplines.

The theories being referred to are Black's (1962a, 1993) "interaction theory" and Lakoff's (1993) "contemporary theory of metaphor" - the former providing a perspective drawn from philosophy and the latter, a perspective drawn from the cognitive sciences. Both theories attribute a significance to metaphor that goes beyond the purely decorative or ornamental.

Black's (1993, 21, 28) interest is in "vital" or "strong" metaphors, metaphors that are able to generate perspective on, and insight into, some aspect of reality. His "interaction" theory, an elaboration of the ideas of I. A. Richards, posits the notion that, in a metaphorical utterance, the primary subject (or tenor or topic) interacts with a secondary subject (the metaphorical vehicle or focus) in such a way that a new meaning emerges (both for the speaker and for the hearer) (Black, 1962a, 44-45). The emphasis, in Black's theory, thus falls on the illuminative function of metaphor. As Black (1993, 38) puts it, "some metaphors enable us to see aspects of reality that the metaphor's production helps to constitute." Far from having a purely aesthetic effect, these metaphors function as "cognitive instruments through which their users can achieve novel views of a domain of reference" (ibid).

It is worthy of note that the creative aspect of certain metaphors, so well highlighted by Black, is also emphasised by Briggs and Peat (1989) in the course of their exposition of chaos theory. For Briggs and Peat (1989, 196), a metaphor is one type of "reflectaphor"[1] - a "reflectaphor" being said to be any creative device that "relies for its effect on creating in the mind of its audience an *unresolvable tension* [emphasis in original] between the similarities and differences of its terms." The metaphor, as a type of "reflectaphor," is able to elicit a "state of intense wondering, doubt and uncertainty" - it moves the mind away from the 'known' and into a sense of "subtleties and nuance" (ibid). In other words, the metaphor can stimulate a mental climate that is conducive to a new perception or a new insight.

Black's interaction theory and for that matter, the ideas of Briggs and Peat, contrast markedly with the more traditional "substitution" and "comparison" views[2] about the nature of metaphor (Black, 1993, 27). For the purposes of this discussion, what is important about the substitution and

comparison views is that they treat metaphors as inessential or expendable (Black, 1993, 27).

The focus of Black's analysis, in his interaction theory, is on metaphors as linguistic phenomena. Lakoff (1993), in contrast, sees the locus of metaphor as residing in thought, with metaphorical language being a "surface manifestation of conceptual metaphor" (ibid, 244). For Lakoff (1993, 203), metaphor is essentially a phenomenon wherein one mental domain, say organisational life and experience, is conceived of in terms of another domain as, for example, the domain of machines or the domain of organisms. The metaphor resides in this "cross-domain mapping" (ibid) - a mental mapping, as it were.

From Lakoff's (1993, 204) perspective, metaphor is "a major and indispensable part of of our ordinary, conventional way of conceptualising the world..." and he adduces many examples to show that everyday concepts such as time, change, and causation, etc, are comprehended metaphorically. One effect of Lakoff's theory is that it assigns an important place to the metaphors of everyday discourse; indeed it repudiates the idea that metaphor exists primarily in the realm of 'poetic' or figurative language (ibid). As Lakoff puts it, "the study of literary metaphor is an extension of the study of everyday metaphor" (ibid, 203). His theory is thus one which challenges (Lakoff says that it "destroys"), the long-established distinction between literal and figurative language (ibid, 204).

Lakoff's theory can be readily related to many of the metaphors of organisational and administrative discourse - the machine, organism and political system metaphors, for example. These are precisely the kind of conceptual metaphors spoken of by Lakoff. For Black, they would probably count as being "metaphor themes" (Black, 1993, 24). They are not necessarily 'poetic', or even novel, but they are nonetheless genuinely metaphorical in that one domain of experience is conceptualised in terms of another domain.

Both Black's and Lakoff's theories are mentioned here not only because they constitute important statements about the nature of metaphor, but also

because they point to some of the reasons for the explosion of interest in the subject. From being a subject of interest mainly to students of literature and especially of poetry, metaphor has become, in Ortony's terms, one which is "truly multidisciplinary" (1979, 4) and "immensely important" (1993, 8).

This growth of interest in the subject has, however, not been without its dangers, a point which Black (1993, 20) himself has noted. Writers, for example, can be prone to take the subject "au grand sérieux" (Nowottny, cited in Black, 1993, 20), and in doing so, they can tend to produce statements which "obscure" (Black, ibid) rather than clarify its nature. Too many discussions, according to Black (ibid), can be characterised by an "ungrounded profundity," such that the reader, within the context of a particular discussion, is left puzzling over the precise nature or function of metaphors.

Especially pertinent to this study are those examinations of metaphor appearing within the field of organisation science. In his influential work, *Images of Organization* (1986)[3], Morgan combines theoretical and practical considerations relating to metaphor, describing the work as "a treatise on metaphoric thinking that contributes to both the theory and practice of organisational analysis" (1986, 16).

Morgan makes a number of strong claims for the uses of metaphor in organisational analysis. For example, he states that "by using different metaphors to understand the complex and paradoxical character of organisational life, we are able to manage and design organisations in ways that we may not have thought possible before" (Morgan, 1986, 13).

It is conceivable that critical readers, even those who would see themselves as being appreciators of metaphor, might be concerned about the lack of support or evidence for these claims. There are times, in Morgan's treatise, when a number of key statements, such as that above, tend to remain at the level of assertion and there is lacking any empirical evidence which might help substantiate their validity.

Moreover, Morgan postulates a direct relationship between metaphoric thinking about organisations and administrative behaviour and organisational design. For example, he states that "when managers think of organizations as machines they tend to manage and design them as machines made up of interlocking parts that each play a clearly defined role in the functioning of the whole" (ibid, 13). And again, he notes that:

> ... we frequently talk about organizations as if they were machines designed to achieve predetermined goals and objectives, and which should operate smoothly and efficiently. And as a result of this kind of thinking we often attempt to organize and manage them in a mechanistic way, forcing their human qualities into a background role (Morgan, 1986, 13).

That the metaphors employed by an administrator are reflected in, or indeed, are an influence on administrative behaviour, is posited throughout the work.

This postulation of a close relationship between metaphor and actual administrative behaviour can be identified also in the literature of educational administration. Take, for example, the work of Sergiovanni. Sergiovanni and his colleagues (1992, 144-45) comment that:

> Metaphors associated with particular strands of intellectual thought in educational administration reveal a great deal about the values and behaviour patterns of administrators. Indeed a metaphor is a *link* between scientific language and the real world; a means of getting from the *fact* about organisation and administration to *value* in the form of beliefs and opinions which are the basis of actual practice decisions [italics in original].

Here metaphors are seen not just as constructs that are associated with formal theories. They are also said to be indicators of both the values *and* the behaviour of administrators. In particular, metaphors are said to provide a link between the beliefs and values of administrators and their "practice decisions."

Sergiovanni and his colleagues also point to the existence of a relationship

between the metaphors of administrators and their behaviour in the following comment:

> When mindscapes are shared by administrators, they provide standards of acceptability and behavioral norms that guide professional practice. School administrators with shared mindscapes are likely to view their roles similarly, behave in common ways, and make similar decisions... Two groups of administrators with different mindscapes are likely to behave differently from each other (Sergiovanni et al., 1992, 120).

For Sergiovanni and his colleagues (1992, 120), the 'mindscapes' of administrators comprise their theories and the images and metaphors underlying those theories. Hence the above statement is a way of making the point that a strong relationship exists between the conceptual metaphors of administrators and their administrative behaviour. On the basis of Sergiovanni's comment, it could be expected, for example, that administrators who have the same metaphors would behave in the same or similar ways. Conversely, those who have different metaphors would behave in quite different ways.

Other writers who are concerned with the relationship between metaphor and administrative behaviour include Bredeson (1985, 1988). "Are there any differences in administrative behaviors and organizational priorities," asks Bredeson (1985, 29), "if a school principal views schooling and its attendant activities as well-oiled, efficient production lines, as nurtured organic systems, or as garbage cans, with loosely coupled handles?" And again, in a more recent paper, Bredeson (1988, 293-94) raises the following questions: "What effect do metaphors, whether verbalised openly, expressed symbolically, or camouflaged in organisation structures and behaviours, have on the organisation, operation and administration of schools? What differences, if any, are there if school administrators liken the activities and administration of their schools to an assembly line operation? a ticking clock? a garden?..."

As with the work of Morgan, a number of statements suggest, that for Bredeson, a key assumption is that the metaphors used by administrators

will influence administrative practice. Thus Bredeson (1988, 294) states that "the way in which principals think about schools and their role in them has everything to do with how they set their priorities, structure their activities and allocate their time and resources among various responsibilities competing for their attention." And again, he comments that "the definition of various 'suggestive comparisons' is less important to this discussion than are what metaphors mean with respect to how they affect what people do in schools" (Bredeson, 1988, 295).

The central question raised by Bredeson, that of the effects of metaphor on the organisation and administration of schools, is one which could be expected to entail some empirical investigation of the consequences of using certain metaphors. However Bredeson's own research, as reported in his earlier paper (1985), is concerned principally with the identification of the metaphorical perspectives of school principals. This research is undoubtedly a most valuable contribution to the literature of educational administration, but its *precise* focus is not the nature of the relationships between the metaphors of administrators and administrative behaviour.

Moreover, Bredeson's later paper (1988) is confined to identifying some metaphors used to describe the organisation, operation and administration of public schools, and to a general discussion of "the dimensions of schools and administrative leadership that are explicit and implicit in them" (Bredeson, 1988, 297). The metaphors discussed are those identified by graduate students in an introductory class in educational administration (Bredeson, 1988, 295). As with the treatment by Morgan and Sergiovanni, there is no empirical evidence furnished to support the view that particular metaphors do exert an influence on administrative practice.

Since the latter is a key supposition in the work of Morgan (1986) and Sergiovanni, et al. (1992), and since an interest in this same supposition is reflected in the work of other writers such as Bredeson (1985, 1988), it seems to the writer that the lack of investigation of the relationship between metaphors used and actual administrative behaviour, represents a critical gap in the studies on metaphor in the field of educational administration, and, in the field of organisation studies generally. It seems reasonable to

suggest that such propositions need, indeed require, elucidation and critical scrutiny.

The central problem then which this study addresses can be described as one of clarifying the relationship between the metaphors used by administrators in an educational institution and a selected aspect of administrative behaviour. It is contended here that the claims made by writers such as Morgan (1986) lack the empirical 'bite' which appears to be needed, if a picture of the role of metaphor in educational administration is to emerge that is grounded in something other than speculation.

There are certain questions, such as those implicit in the claim that a novel metaphor can generate a new insight or understanding, which are only, as Ortony (1979, 5) notes, partly empirical questions. However, the question of the relationship between metaphor and administrative behaviour would appear to be amenable to such investigation.

The Purpose of the Study

The problem identified above, namely, that of clarifying the relationship between metaphors used and administrative behaviour gives rise to the major purpose of the study. The purpose of the study is to extend understanding of the role or function of metaphor in organisational analysis through an examination of the relationship between the metaphors used by administrators and a selected area of administrative behaviour.

Delimitations

The present study is not primarily concerned with theoretical examinations of the nature of metaphor or the metaphorical process. It is best described as comprising two major dimensions.

One dimension involves the identification of the metaphors used by academic administrators in a specific institution of higher education. The metaphors to be identified in this part of the study are those which are expressed in statements made by academic administrators. Thus this dimension is concerned with the metaphorical language used by academic administrators and, specifically, the metaphors which these administrators use in discussing organisational and administrative tasks, functions or processes. It will include, moreover, not only the identification of specific metaphors for organisation, but also any metaphors which reveal the way in which an administrator views organisation and administration.

The study, having identified these metaphors, does not, however, address the question of *why* particular metaphors are used. It is, moreover, only partly concerned with the meaning of the metaphors identified, *its substantive area of focus being the relationship between the identified metaphors and a selected aspect of administrative behaviour.*

There is a further point here. The study should not be confused with an examination of the effects of the metaphors of administrators, as *leaders,* on the behaviour of a social system as a whole. It is not about the use of metaphors by leaders and the impact of these metaphors on the perceptions, attitudes and behaviour of organisational members. This latter topic, in the writer's view, would relate to the study of leadership. It would constitute a different study, a quite different thematic focus.

The institution which is the setting of the study is a Queensland institution of higher education, formerly a college of advanced education (The Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education), now the University of Southern Queensland. At the time when the research was undertaken, mainly across

the years 1990-1991, the institution comprised seven teaching schools - the Schools of Arts, Applied Science, Engineering, Education, Management, Information Technology, and Accounting and Finance.

The academic administrators investigated in this study are from three of these Schools, namely, those of Arts, Information Technology, and Education. These particular three were chosen to allow for a comparison of administrators who represent a variety of disciplines and professional backgrounds. They were included also because these particular Schools, at the time of the research, were at a comparable stage of development with respect to the specific decision issue examined in the study.

It may be appropriate at this point to include a comment relating to style. In the present study, the writer has chosen to use the masculine gender pronoun. This is because all of the academic administrators, whose language and behaviour are examined, are male. The masculine gender pronoun is used consistently in the interests of clarity and economy.

The second major dimension of the study is concerned with a selected aspect of administrative behaviour, namely, the administrative arrangements that are used for decision-making. One particular aspect of administrative behaviour was chosen to allow for an in-depth and strongly focused study.

The choice of administrative arrangements for decision-making, as the principal aspect of administrative behaviour to be studied, reflects the writer's belief in the importance of the decision environment for the functioning of an institution. It is contended that the arrangements used for decision-making play an important role in the functioning of any institution and that this aspect has the potential to provide a fertile ground for yielding insights into the nature of the relationship which is the principal focus of the study.

Because a study of the administrative arrangements for decision-making, in the three Schools specified above, would entail an examination of too broad an area of administrative behaviour, the scope of the study is delimited further to the arrangements used for decision-making in a particular area.

Five decision areas were considered for possible investigation - those of curriculum, resource allocation, task assignment, staff appointment, and staff development. The area of curriculum, and specifically that of academic programme development, was chosen for the following reasons.

During the period 1989-1992, the institution was undergoing a significant change in direction and mission. It was undergoing transition from college of advance education status to full university status. It was also undergoing transition from a regional college with a strong vocational training orientation to a national and international distance education provider with a comprehensive teaching and research profile.

This change in mission and direction resulted in significant changes in the type, content, and structure of academic courses. From 1987, there were a large number of actual and proposed changes to academic courses, changes which included decisions to introduce Masters' Degrees, decisions to convert Diplomas to Degrees and decisions to eliminate Associate Diplomas. Many of the proposed changes raised issues relating to changes in subject emphasis in courses, changes in the nature of the student body, and, in addition, they raised questions relating to the need for the excision of existing courses. Thus, during the period 1989-1992, academic programme development was a decision area of vital importance in the institution, one which was intimately linked to the redefinition of the institution's mission. In addition, it was the decision area which was most directly under the influence of the academic administrators investigated in this study. Within other decision areas, administrative action was more significantly influenced by externally imposed directives.

A further delimitation was necessary, however, since the area of academic programme development, is itself one of considerable size and complexity embracing a multitude of courses both in progress and proposed. Broadly speaking, the area of academic programme development might be seen as comprising two major decision issues - one relating to the introduction of new courses, the other relating to the revision of existing courses.

In this study there was a need to identify an issue that allowed for comparability across three specific Schools. For these reasons it was decided to focus on the introduction of new courses and, specifically, on the introduction of masters' degree programmes. The latter represented a decision issue of considerable significance, given that the institution was undergoing a transition to university status. Moreover, during the period 1989-1992, planning for the introduction of masters' degree programmes was taking place within the Schools of Arts, Information Technology and Education.

In the light of the previous discussion, the second major dimension of the study can be summarised as follows. This second dimension involves an examination of the administrative arrangements used to make decisions about the introduction of masters' degree programmes in the Schools of Arts, Information Technology and Education.

Research Questions

To accomplish the purpose of the study, the major question to be investigated is as follows:

What is the nature of the relationship between the metaphors for organisation and administration expressed by academic administrators, and the administrative arrangements for decision-making used by these administrators?

In order to address this question, four specific questions are proposed:

1 What are the metaphors for organisation and administration expressed in statements made by different groups of academic administrators?

2 What similarities and/or differences are there between the identified metaphors?

3 What are the administrative arrangements for decision-making used by different groups of academic administrators to introduce masters' degree programmes?

4 What are the similarities and/or differences between the identified administrative arrangements for decision-making?

Definitions

Metaphor: Whilst there are divergent views about the nature of metaphor (and the metaphorical process) there is general agreement on the basic meaning of the term. In this study, Hawkes's definition is adopted. For Hawkes (1972, 1), metaphor "refers to a particular set of linguistic processes whereby aspects of one object are 'carried over' or transferred to another object, so that the second object is spoken of as if it were the first." Hawkes notes further that whilst there are various types of metaphor, the general procedure of transference remains the same in all instances (ibid).

Administrative Arrangements: The writer has adopted as her starting point the definition of the term 'administrative arrangements' that is used by Muscio (1983) in his work on the analysis of teacher appointment systems in New South Wales and Queensland. Muscio's use of the term is based on that of Herbert Simon, the latter (1976, 21) employing the term in his

discussion of "some problems of administrative theory." The reason given by Muscio (1983, 7) for preferring the term 'arrangement' over 'organisation' is "the ambiguity of the latter." Thus, following Muscio (1983, 7), administrative arrangements are seen here as "the means by which an organisation provides for the performance of some function." They are further defined by Muscio (ibid) in terms of:

- the administrative units involved;
- the functions of each administrative unit; and
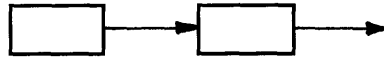- the relations between administrative units.

In what follows, the definitions given for the terms 'Administrative Unit', 'Functions' and 'Relations' are developed from those of Muscio (1983, 7-8).

Administrative Units: Administrative functions are performed by individuals acting alone or in groups. These units are often formally constituted authorities such as a Dean, a School Board or a Programme Consultative Committee. However, the term 'authority' is avoided here to allow for the possibility of discovering in actual practice any administrative unit which lacks this formal status.

Functions: The function of anything, including an administrative unit, is what it does. This study deals with those functions of administrative units which are concerned with decision-making about the development of masters' degree programmes. The term 'functions' will be further divided into six areas (composition, meeting activity, formality, focal decision issues, decisions made, and methods of making decisions) in a later section of this study (that is, on p.110).

Relations: The relations between administrative units with which this work is concerned are those that exist in respect of the functions performed by each administrative unit. There are three important types of relation that may exist between administrative units: sequential, parallel and hierarchical.

Sequential Relations: Administrative units are related sequentially when a function performed by one is a pre-requisite for the performance of a function by the other.

Parallel Relations: The relation between two, or more, administrative units is parallel where the units perform the same kind of function, as when two different Programme Heads allocate teaching assignments to different groups of teaching staff.
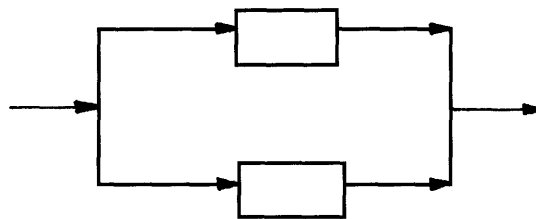
Hierarchical Relations: The relation between two administrative units is hierarchical when one unit functions to regulate the functioning of another. There are a variety of hierarchical relations which may exist between administrative units. One example of hierarchical relations relates to policy. The first level is the routine implementation of policy, the next level is the interpretation of policy, and the highest level is the development or formulation of policy.
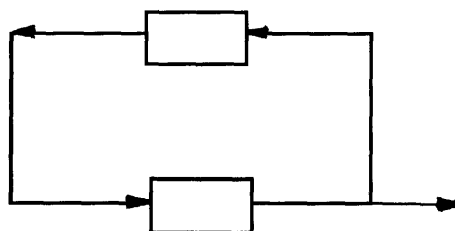
Decision Area: A decision area consists of a group of decisions that are related to a particular topic or issue. The major decision area to be addressed here is that of academic programme development, and within this, the area addressed is the development of masters' degree programmes.

<u>Academic Administrator</u>: An academic administrator is defined as one who occupies a position (within an institution of higher education) which specifies duties requiring the incumbent to make a significant contribution to the leadership and management functions of a teaching School. Thus, an academic administrator is one who occupies a position of Dean, Associate Dean, or Programme Head within a teaching School. It excludes those occupying academic staff positions or general administrative positions.

The Theoretical Scope of the Study

The problem which the present study addresses is framed within basic assumptions which relate to man's use of language. The definition of man, implicit in the study, identifies the use of language as his distinguishing feature. Whilst Hawkes (1972, 9) has spoken of man as "the talking animal," a yet more precise definition invoking the individual's language-using capacity is provided by Burke (1966, 3). Burke defines man as "the symbol-using animal" and much of his writing is designed to explicate what he calls "symbolic action," to explain, that is, man's involvement in types of action (using symbols) that are "not wholly reducible to terms of motion" (1966, viii).

Assumptions concerning the nature of man as a symbol-using animal are reflected in the major theoretical ideas informing this study. These ideas concerning the nature of social and cultural reality, and the relationship between language, thought and reality, are characteristic of a theoretical tradition which informs several fields of study and which is sometimes broadly described, somewhat awkwardly, as "constructivist" in orientation (Ortony, 1993, 2). Fundamental to this tradition is a conception of reality as symbolically mediated. Burke (1966, 5) puts it this way:

The 'symbol-using animal', yes obviously. But can we bring ourselves to realize just what that formula implies, just how overwhelmingly much of what we mean by 'reality' has been built up for us through nothing but our symbol-systems?

This notion of reality as symbolically-mediated can be found in sociology - in Berger and Luckmann's concept of "socially constructed reality" (1966), and Schutz's "unquestioned constructs" (1967). It can be found in philosophy, in Polanyi's (1958) notion of "personal knowledge" and "meaning."It is present, in anthropology, in Geertz's (1973, 5) vivid (and metaphorical) conception of man as "an animal suspended in webs of significance that he himself has spun." In the literature of organisation studies and educational administration, this same idea - that reality is symbolically mediated - informs the work of a number of writers, writers such as Silverman (1970), Pondy (1977, 1978, 1983), Pondy and Mitroff (1979), Morgan (1980, 1983a, 1986), Smircich (1983a,b,c,d), Greenfield (in Greenfield and Ribbins, 1993), and Sergiovanni (1984, 1995) - to name but a few.

There are undoubtedly differences in the positions adopted by the writers named above. However, at root they are informed by the notion of man as an active participant in the construction of reality, a reality that is woven largely through the use of symbol-systems. In the work of those within the fields of sociology, anthropology and organisation studies, such ideas are usually associated with the concept of culture and this concept forms a cornerstone of the present study's theoretical framework.

The intellectual heritage of the cultural perspective is diverse, the relevant scholarly traditions being identified by Sergiovanni (1984, 7) as phenomenology, symbolic-interactionism, anthropology, ecology, hermeneutics, and critical theory. In the present study, an interpretive, as distinct from a functionalist approach to culture is favoured, one deriving from the ideas of Geertz (1971, 1973) and Goodenough (1957, 1961), theorists who place particular emphasis on the power of symbols in mediating reality.

A summary of the theoretical framework is provided as the concluding section (pp.81-90) of Chapter Two. In identifying a theoretical framework,

the writer has attempted to explain, or at least to make theoretically meaningful, the idea that the metaphors of administrators have an effect on, or in some way, influence administrative behaviour. Here it is sufficient to note that, in the theoretical framework, two key ideas are posited. Firstly, the administrator is seen as an interpretive individual, one who uses images and metaphors to make sense of, or give meaning to, what is sometimes a complex and puzzling world. The second key idea is that the administrator acts on the basis of his ideas or interpretations of reality.

Modes of Inquiry

Methodologically, the investigation falls within the domain of the field study. It draws on naturalistic strategies of inquiry for the purpose of investigating the language and behaviour of academic administrators from three different academic sub-cultures (Arts, Information Technology and Education).

A qualitative, case study approach has been employed, the research design entailing the parallel, concurrent investigation of three particular cases. The design is parallel in the sense that the same research procedures are used in the investigation of each of the three cases. The design is concurrent in that each phase of the investigation is carried out in respect of all three cases before the next phase is undertaken.

The primary mode of data collection is the semi-structured interview. This method, however, has been triangulated, with document analysis and observations of meetings comprising complementary methods of data collection.

As the description given above of the parallel, concurrent research design implies, data collection and analysis have proceeded in phases. The first phase of the investigation involved interviews with each of the three Deans (Dean of Arts, Dean of Information Technology, Dean of Education).

Thereafter, each phase of the investigation involved the conduct of *two* interviews in each sub-culture. Thus *two* interviews were conducted in the Arts sub-culture, then *two* in the Information Technology sub-culture, *two* in the Education sub-culture, and so on, in a recurring cycle. After the interview with each Dean, and after each pair of interviews was completed, preliminary data analysis took place and this informed the following phase of data collection. Data collection and data analysis were thus interactive and cyclical.

The writer would argue that the use of a qualitative methodology is entirely appropriate to a study that is exploratory in nature, one whose major emphasis is investigation. Of course whether the study should be an exploratory one may be challenged on the grounds that a specific assumption underlies the research problem. It might be argued, for example, that the assumption that a direct relationship exists between the metaphors of administrators and administrative behaviour, constitutes a hypothesis which is being subjected to test. The writer would contend, however, that insofar as this is a hypothesis, it is a very broad one which 'opens up' an area for investigation. What is needed to examine it initially is an exploratory study, this study being a necessary forerunner to broader, comparative studies.

There are at least two further reasons why an exploratory study and the use of a qualitative methodology is justified. Firstly, the writer could identify no other research having precisely the same focus as the present study. Secondly, the conceptual geography of the area under study is not, in the writer's view, sufficiently well defined to permit quantitative studies of any kind. The nature of the major research question, and the concepts incorporated in it, especially that of metaphor, are such that an in-depth investigation is necessary. As is well known, it is a qualitative methodology that is effective in achieving such depth.

The appropriateness of the research strategy will be justified in full in Chapter Three. Suffice it to note here that the parallel, concurrent investigation of three cases is especially appropriate to an exploratory study. The parallel, concurrent characteristics of the design are such that insights

yielded by the investigation of one case can be illuminative of the remaining two cases. The findings derived from one case can expose features of the remaining cases that might otherwise escape attention. In sum, the parallel, concurrent research design has a flexibility which makes it conducive to discovery.

A final point can be made here about the decision to investigate three cases. The nature of the research problem clearly ruled out the conduct of a single case study. Three cases provided the necessary scope to explore the nature of the relationship in question. By investigating the relationships between the metaphors and the administrative behaviour of academic administrators from three very different disciplinary sub-cultures, explicit comparisons could be made between the types of relationship found. There was scope to discover whether similarities and/or differences existed between the relationships identified.

The writer fully recognises that a study involving the examination of three cases cannot justify the making of generalisations about the subject of inquiry. This said, however, such a study can nonetheless provide some insight into what may be true in general concerning the relationships between metaphors and administrative behaviour. Certainly it has a greater potential to do this than would a study involving only two cases.

The Significance of the Study

The study is considered important because it focuses directly on examining a key postulate made by writers concerning the function of metaphor in organisation and administration. That metaphors are reflected in, or, in some way, influence administrative behaviour is posited by Morgan (1986), Sergiovanni, et al. (1992), Sergiovanni (1995), and Bredeson (1988) and is of central importance in their discussions. However, despite the pivotal nature of this assumption there would appear to be no studies aimed at examining or appraising it. A review of literature and related research has

indicated a dearth of empirical data on the topic. Thus the significance of the present study lies principally in its potential to contribute information which will help fill this critical gap. Moreover, in meeting the need for such information, the study should simultaneously be able to contribute to discussions concerning the relevance of metaphor for the study of administration generally, including its relevance for organisation theory and analysis.

The tendency for proponents of metaphor to make claims which might well be considered inflationary especially by "depreciators" of metaphor, has been noted by Black (1993, 20). Whilst Black notes that "in the inconclusive debate between appreciators and depreciators of metaphor, the former nowadays score most points," he, nonetheless, points out that appreciators of metaphor are "characteristically prone to inflation" and "ready to see metaphor everywhere." This inflationary tendency may be present in, for example, Morgan's claim that "by using different metaphors to understand the complex and paradoxical character of organisational life, we are able to manage and design organisations in ways that we may not have thought possible before" (Morgan, 1986, 13). Discussions of metaphor, moreover, can easily become veiled with a mysticism which only obfuscates a subject in itself somewhat nebulous and elusive. Whilst the writer is on the side of the appreciators of metaphor, she agrees that, given the present status of knowledge about metaphor in educational administration, some of the key propositions to which writers on the subject are committed, need, indeed, require, elucidation and critical scrutiny.

There are a number of other ways in which the study may have significance. Much of the literature on metaphor in organisational science, in the writer's view, takes as its subject the metaphors of organisation theory. There is less systematic work which takes as its aim the identification and examination of "metaphors of the field" - to appropriate Manning's (1979) useful phrase. It is hoped that the material contained in Chapters Five to Eight of this study can contribute, in a small way, to correcting this imbalance. Chapters Five to Eight provide a corpus of metaphors derived directly from the language of practising academic administrators. This particular aspect of the study may also have the potential to open a window onto the everyday speech milieu

of the academic administrators, as well as providing insights into the culture of the institution which is the setting of the study.

In the previous comments the writer has drawn attention to a dearth of empirical data on the subject of the relationship between metaphors and administrative behaviour. It is noteworthy that Weick (1983, 17) has highlighted a similar kind of gap or deficit in the area of organisational communication. One of the liabilities in communication research, according to Weick, is that the effects of talk on organisational action are unclear. He observes that

> Clearly, in one sense, talk is action. In another commonsensical way, talk is one thing, and planning, budgeting, hiring, and firing are others. If talk has direct, predictable effects on these kinds of organizational actions, this is not obvious. Failure to show clearly how and when talk affects behavior makes communication researchers just as vulnerable as those social psychologists who find it tough to show when and how attitudes affect behavior (Fazio and Zanna, 1981).

Weick goes on to urge the need for research which helps to clarify the linkage between talk and organisational action. Although he is not speaking specifically of metaphors, nonetheless his comments have the effect of highlighting the significance of the present research. After all, metaphors are expressed in language, including language as talk.

The Academic Administrators in Context

From 1967 to 1989, the institution which is the field setting for the present study functioned as a Queensland college of advanced education. The Martin Report of 1964 ushered in the so-called binary system of higher education in Australia and the college commenced as the Queensland Institute of Technology (Darling Downs). It opened as a regional college, its initial purpose being to provide education, mainly in technical areas, to

country students of South East Queensland.

Whilst the college of advanced education sector in Australia was largely a Federal Government initiative, the origins of this particular institution lie within a State Department of Education. Its establishment was effected under the State Education Act of 1964 and, in its early years, a Technical Education Advisory Council was established by the State Government to advise on its operation and development. In 1970, however, as a result of amendments to the State Education Act, the Queensland government provided for the constitution of an autonomous council, that is, a body corporate responsible for the development, control and management of the college. This Council subsequently entitled the college as the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, under which title it functioned until 1990.

It has already been intimated (on p.12) that the years 1989-1992 represented a major watershed in the development of the institution. These are the years during which the recommendations of the Dawkins White Paper (1988) were being implemented. The 1st January 1989 in effect marked the demise of the binary system of higher education and its replacement by the new 'unified national system' of higher education. As part of this major restructuring of Australian higher education, the college was retitled the University College of Southern Queensland on the 1st January 1990. On the 1st January 1992, it became the University of Southern Queensland.

In 1967, the year of its inception, the college was one of three such establishments (commonly referred to then as 'institutes') in Queensland. However by 1974, the expansion of the college of advanced education sector was such that it was one of ten colleges of advanced education listed in Queensland in the States Grants (Advanced Education) Act 1974. It is interesting to note at this point the growth of the university sector in Queensland. At the time when the college commenced operation, the university sector comprised only three institutions. These included the University of Queensland and two newer foundations, Griffith University and James Cook University. A fourth, the Queensland University of Technology (formerly the Queensland Institute of Technology), was added in 1987. However, in 1992, that is, after the Dawkins 'restructuring', the

university sector in Queensland comprised six public sector universities, the two additional ones being University of Southern Queensland and Central Queensland University.

In 1990, the college (as university college) was in its twenty-second year of operation. There are many aspects of its growth and development deserving of comment. From approximately 1975, the college experienced along with other Australian institutions of higher education the effects of reduced funding. As is well documented (see, e.g. Harman and Smart 1982; Smart 1990), this climate of contraction went hand-in-hand with the development of centralising forces. From the mid nineteen-seventies, the Commonwealth government, in effect the 'paymaster', assumed an increasing degree of control over institutions of higher education. It is noteworthy, however, that amidst strong pressures for the rationalisation of the college of advanced education sector in the period 1981-1982, the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education was unaffected - at least in the sense that it was able to avoid amalgamation with another college. Again, when as a result of the Dawkins reforms of the late nineteen-eighties, another spate of mergers took place, the college was similarly successful in avoiding being amalgamated with another institution.

The discussion of complex questions associated with the institution's identity is beyond the scope of this brief descriptive sketch. A number of papers and publications have probed the question of the identity of the college of advanced education sector in general (see, e.g. Phillips, 1970; Short, 1973). Even a cursory glance at these papers suggests that most writers appear to have found it difficult in practice to distinguish the colleges from universities. No doubt the problem of identity is exacerbated by the fact that the colleges have illustrated so well the phenomenon of 'upward drift' - a process whereby non-universities aspire to become more like universities (Harman, 1977). Whatever the reasons, a preoccupation with the question of identity as it applies to institutions of higher education generally, and to the University of Southern Queensland in particular, appears to persist. In 1993, one year after the college had made the transition to university status, a professorial address was delivered by the newly appointed Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic) entitled *Some Problems of Identity: the University*

and the Nation (Goodwin, 1993). After exploring questions of national identity, the speaker refers to the implications of certain socio-cultural concepts for the identity of the University of Southern Queensland. He notes that:

> One might legitimately ask whether concepts of colonialism, convictism, or masculism, for instance, are applicable to our university. Is it still, for instance, a colony of what is now QUT? Do we still feel the ball and chain from the days of being a satellite campus of Queensland Institute of Technology? Alternatively, do we feel that we suffer from a postcolonial mentality induced by the now defunct and rarely lamented Queensland Board of Advanced Education? Or perhaps we feel that we live in the shadow of older and more prosperous universities such as the University of Queensland. Many may feel that the university is a male-dominated hegemony (Goodwin, 1993, 11).

These are purely rhetorical questions and perhaps they are unanswerable. However, they are interesting for the way in which they picture certain phases in the development of the institution in terms of colonialism, convictism, and masculism. They are especially interesting in that they also suggest that, even today, the perceptions and experience of staff members may still be coloured by the institution's past history.

There are a number of ways in which the institution, since its inception, has displayed considerable growth. This is clearly so in the important area of student enrolments. During the period 1982 to 1990, for example, student enrolments increased by 147 per cent from 4119 to 10158 enroled students (UCSQ, 1991).

In the area of curriculum provision, the growth of the college was such that by 1989, it could be described as a comprehensive, multi-level institution offering a range of awards from Associate Diploma to Bachelors' degrees and Post-Graduate Diplomas. However, the focus was still, as it had been from approximately 1974, on the provision of undergraduate courses. In 1989 only one Master's degree was in operation - this being the Master of Engineering. Thus, as has already been indicated (on p.12), the introduction of higher degrees was one of the most significant developments associated

with the move towards university status.

Two other points relevant to the area of curriculum provision are significant. By 1989, the college had developed as an important provider of courses in the distance or off-campus mode, these courses being offered not only within Australia, but also to a growing number of overseas students. Whilst certain urban universities have a predominantly full-time student enrolment, it is a feature of this particular institution that it has a much higher external, than full-time enrolment.

The second point to be made that is linked to the area of curriculum provision, concerns the courses offered. By 1989, a diverse range of courses were provided in fields such as engineering, arts, accounting, applied psychology, applied science, business, teaching, information systems and computing. The range of courses offered, as well as the size of the college in terms of enrolments, were such that the college had little trouble in meeting the Dawkins criteria for a university. These criteria applied principally to size and curriculum provision. For an institution to be a university, according to the Dawkins Green Paper (1987), it needed only to be of a certain size and to offer a range of undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in at least three major fields of study.

From a more organisational perspective, the courses provided by the institution were, across the years of 1989-1992, offered by a total of seven teaching schools (Arts, Applied Science, Engineering, Education, Management, Information Technology, and Accounting and Finance). It will also be recalled (from pp.10-11), that the academic administrators who are the subjects of this study are from three of these Schools - Arts, Education and Information Technology. So far as the staffing of these three particular schools is concerned, it is noteworthy that, in 1990, there were forty-six full-time academic staff members in the School of Arts, thirty one in the School of Education and twenty three in the School of Information Technology.

What kinds of issues preoccupied staff members during the year of 1990? A document entitled *University Planning Workshop: Statements on Key*

Issues (DDIAE, 1990) provides some answers to this question. The workshop involved staff from all areas of the institution and was intended to assist in planning the institution's transition from college to university status. Participants in the workshops were asked to identify issues that required examination and possible action. The issues identified included the following: "Research/Higher Degrees/Teaching Balance"; "Positions of Deans/Associate Deans, Professors/Associate Professors, Heads of Programme"; "People Do Not Perceive Us as a 'Proper' University"; "Training of Staff for Research and Higher Degree Supervision"; "Decentralisation of Structure". These are only a few of a broad range of topics identified. However, it is clear from the collected proceedings that there were two related issues considered to be of central importance: the development of the research function in the newly emerging university and, along with this, the development of higher degree programmes.

The college stands on a site of approximately two hundred acres, four miles south of the city of Toowoomba, near the historic settlement of Drayton. The surrounding pastoral plains form one of Queensland's richest and most distinctive agricultural regions - the Darling Downs. They are also picturesque. A visitor approaching by aircraft would sight a spreading patchwork quilt of colours - red and black soils juxtaposed with the green of pastures and yellow of grain farms. The region was named by the explorer Allan Cunningham who discovered it in 1827 and it is worthy of note that, in 1990, when a new name was sought to mark the institution's change of status, one of the proposed names was Cunningham University.

As might be expected, the institution scarcely resembles in its appearance an urban university. There is nothing which compares with the helidon sandstone Great Court cloister of the University of Queensland. The buildings of the Great Court are adorned with classical friezes featuring Greek inscriptions. Those of the University of Southern Queensland are functional in the extreme, reflecting a stark utilitarianism. They are constructions of concrete and brick, some resembling what might be best described as 'lego' buildings. Of the institution's architecture, it cannot be said that it contributes to any sense of distinctive identity.

The site was originally farmland property and sparsely treed. Gradually, however, its bareness has been transformed by a mixture of native and exotic vegetation. In 1992, in order to mark the silver jubilee of the institution, an avenue of 100 jacarandas were planted along the southern side of the institution. This is undoubtedly the university's signature tree of the future. Even at present, on various approaches to the institution, outsize advertisements picture jubilant bands of graduates waving mortar boards against the purple bloom of jacarandas.

One other feature of the campus which contributes to a certain distinctiveness is its Japanese Garden. The garden was designed with the advice of a Japanese landscape architect and officially opened in 1989. It is established on eleven acres and is complete with lake, white geese and mallards. Its significance, however, extends well beyond the horticultural sphere. Of all the physical features of the site, it stands as the most telling symbol of a regional institution's attempts to forge links with the Asian world.

Although the town of Toowoomba is in a sense the focus town of the Darling Downs, the region is characterised by a number of closely spaced settlements which are best described as small hamlets. A visitor driving south from the university would reach, within the space of fifteen minutes, the hamlet of Nobby. Here can be sighted the very holding which is the setting of Steele Rudd's classic piece of Australian folklore, *On Our Selection* (1899). This then is none other than the heartland of those icons of Australian culture - Dad and Dave. Steele Rudd was the pen name of Arthur Hoey Davis and it is no doubt fitting that one of the institution's three residential colleges, the first to be built, was named Arthur Hoey Davis College, this name being changed later to Steele Rudd College.

This reference to the region's most well known literature is not without point. It would be very useful, in a sketch such as this, to be able to refer to some research concerning the characteristics of the institution's regional community. Such as exists is scattered and does little to portray the 'human' aspect of the community. *On Our Selection,* however, contains a picture of characters who, it might be claimed, are not too different from at least some

of those who frequent the region today. Rudd's characters confront everyday farming life with a wry humour and, in the face of its many vicissitudes, they persist or endure with a kind of dogged courage. Perhaps they are not very different from their modern counterparts who have endured the economic recession of the nineteen-seventies and nineteen-eighties, as well as conditions of drought possibly worse than any which have occurred previously.

Perhaps enough has been said to convey to the reader some idea of the institution's heritage - a predominantly rural heritage. This heritage is reflected in certain fields of study that have been cultivated because of their specific relevance to the region - land care and agricultural engineering, for example.

Across the latter half of the nineteen-eighties, however, there has been evidence that a much more international orientation is developing. The symbolic significance of the Japanese Garden has been mentioned already. In 1987, a programme of exchange and cooperation was established with Hubei University, China, a university which gradually came to be referred to as 'the sister university'. Indeed evidence of ties with China have been no less visible than those with Japan. In 1989, a moving ceremony was held around the flagpole to commemorate those killed in the Tiananmen Square massacre. Of particular significance, however, has been the growth in numbers of overseas students. In 1989, there were 596 overseas student enrolments. Of these, 468 were external overseas students. In 1990, the overseas enrolments increased by 54 per cent, from 596 to 918 students (UCSQ, 1991).

The emblem of the institution is the mythical phoenix, symbol of rebirth, of new life. A case might be made that the years 1989-1992 were not only transitional years, but also years of transformation. Across those years there is some evidence that the institution was being born anew. The emerging institution, which may well be the quintessential one of the late nineteen-nineties and beyond, represents a combination of influences. It represents influences associated with the region's rural heritage. In addition, it is the product of a kind of educational dynamism. This dynamism is only partly

expressed in the institution's attempts to provide distance education to the many parts of Australia. It is perhaps most vividly conveyed by the strenuous efforts that have been made to forge links with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

Overview of Thesis

The following chapter of this thesis comprises an examination of the literature relevant to the problem. The literature is reviewed in order to distil from it theoretical ideas which shed light on the research problem. The literature is also examined for the purpose of justifying the writer's choice of methodological perspective. In addition, a section on related research is included in Chapter Two. This section, together with the remaining ones, provide a firm basis for locating the present study in relation to others in the field of organisational and administrative science. Chapter Two concludes with a summary of the study's theoretical framework - the principal ideas used to 'frame' and give perspective to the investigation.

In Chapter Three, the research strategy used is justified and described. Chapter Three has itself three main parts or sections. In the opening section, the relationship between the study's core assumptions and the research strategy is made explicit.

The second section of Chapter Three is concerned with the methods used to collect and analyse the data. This section incorporates a discussion of the data required to investigate the research problem, the sources of the required data, the sequential mode of data collection and analysis, and the use of the semi-structured interview as the primary method of data collection. There is a brief disussion also of the two supplementary methods of data collection, namely, document analysis and meeting observation.

The third and final component of Chapter Three comprises a discussion of issues concerning 'objectivity'. Here the question of whether the present

research can be considered 'scientific' is raised. In addition, issues relating to the validity and reliability of the data are examined. The discussion of these issues includes a consideration of the researcher's own status or position as 'insider', as well as a consideration of sources of possible bias.

Whilst, in Chapter Three, the methods used both to collect and analyse data are identified, Chapter Four presents a much more detailed discussion of the actual analytical methods used. The presentation in a separate chapter of the methods used to analyse the data is mainly for the purpose of convenience and economy. It should not be allowed to obscure the fact that analysis of data proceeded concurrently with the collection of data.

Chapters Five to Eleven are, in essence, an answer to the study's research questions. Of these chapters, Five to Ten are best seen as comprising a diptych. The first panel of the diptych (Chapters Five to Eight) presents a picture of the metaphors of the academic administrators. The second panel of the diptych (Chapters Nine to Ten) presents a picture of the administrative arrangements used.

The discussion of the metaphors used by the administrators follows a three-fold classification. Chapter Five presents the metaphors used in discussing the nature and purpose of the university, Chapter Six the metaphors used in discussing the role of the academic administrator, and Chapter Seven the metaphors used in discussing the academic organisation.

From Chapters Five to Seven, the reader will have gained a sense of the similarities and differences between the identified metaphors. However, these are made more explicit in Chapter Eight which is primarily concerned with the range and distribution of the metaphors used. An answer to the question of *who* used particular metaphors is also given in Chapter Eight, this information being suppressed in Chapters Five to Seven.

The administrative arrangements are the subject of Chapters Nine and Ten. In Chapter Nine, the administrative units identified in the three sub-cultures are presented. The functions of one important unit common to the three sub-cultures is also discussed in Chapter Nine, this unit being the

Course Development Committee. Chapter Ten contains a discussion of the functions of the remaining administrative units, as well as a discussion of the relations existing between the identified units.

Chapters Five to Ten pave the way for Chapter Eleven. By comparing the two panels of the diptych, the relationships between the metaphors used by the academic administrators and the administrative arrangements can be distinguished. The focus of Chapter Eleven is on nature of these relationships.

In Chapter Twelve, the conclusions of the study are presented. These conclusions are discussed in the light of the theoretical assumption which underlies the research problem. The final chapter also contains reference to the major difficulties presented by the study, its limitations, and possibilities for further research.

End Notes

1 "Reflectaphors," as explained by Briggs and Peat (1989, 196) include, in addition to metaphor, such other creative devices as irony, simile, pun, paradox and synecdoche.

2 According to the substitution theory, a metaphorical statement is simply a replacement for, a substitute for, some set of literal statements having equivalent meaning (Black, 1962a, 31). The comparison view, on the other hand, one which is frequently associated with Aristotle, takes a metaphor to be an implicit comparison based on the principle of analogy (ibid, 35-6). In Black's (1993, 27) own words, "the comparison view takes the imputed literal paraphrase to be a statement of some similarity or analogy, and so takes every metaphor to be a condensed or elliptic simile."

3 A new edition (1997) of Morgan's work, *Images of Organization*, has recently been published. Whilst this later edition includes revision of material on certain specific metaphors, the author's argument about the role of metaphor in organisational analysis remains unchanged.

CHAPTER 2

Metaphor and Administrative Behaviour:
The Relationship Examined Through
a Review of the Literature

Introduction

The Relevance of the Cultural Perspective on Organisation
        Culture and the Idea of Meaning
        Culture and Human Behaviour
        Organisations as Language-Using, Sense-Making Cultures
        Culture and Academic Organisations

The Role of Metaphor in the Development of Theory
        Assumptions Underlying Organisation Theory
        Language and World View
        Metaphors as 'Ways of Seeing'
        Image and Reality in the Work of Greenfield

*The Metaphors of Organisational and Administrative
Discourse*
        Metaphors of Organisation and Administration
        Metaphors of Educational Organisation
        Metaphors of Academic Organisation
        Metaphors for Universities

Metaphor and Administrative Behaviour
        The Assumption of a Relationship
        Explaining the Relationship

Related Research
        Empirical Studies in Educational Administration
        Other Empirical Studies
        Australian Studies
        Comparing the Present Study with Others

Methodological Perspective
        'Field Study' and 'Case Study' Defined
        Theory and Method

Theoretical Framework in Summary

Introduction

The impetus to address the study's research problem arose from the presence in the literature of a specific assumption - the assumption that the metaphors of educational administrators are directly related to administrative behaviour. This in turn appears to presuppose that the metaphors of administrators influence, or in some way affect, administrative behaviour. The review of literature is directed towards explaining, or at least making theoretically meaningful, this latter idea. It is thus a literature review which has a strong theoretical emphasis. On completion of the review, the theoretical framework of the study is stated in summary form.

The literature reviewed here goes beyond specific accounts of metaphor in the field of educational administration. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, there is the nature of the research problem. A moment's reflection on this will be sufficient to indicate its generalised nature. Secondly, there is the abstract and eclectic nature of the subject of metaphor itself. It is an eclectic subject insofar as discussions of it are frequently informed by works from a variety of disciplines. Both these factors - the nature of the research problem, as well as the nature of metaphor itself - have influenced the scope of the literature review. Whilst the review comprises a discussion of works drawn mainly from the fields of organisational science and educational administration, it also includes reference to studies in a range of disciplines.

The present chapter comprises seven main sections. In the first section, the concept of culture is introduced. The purpose of this opening section is to argue the relevance, for the present study, of the cultural perspective on organisation and administration. Some different uses of the term 'culture' are noted and the relationship between culture and behaviour is examined. The related topics of organisational culture and organisational symbolism are addressed and reference is also made to a selection of studies which

examine the cultural and symbolic aspects of academic organisation and administration.

In the next three sections of the review, attention is focused directly on the nature and functions of metaphor in organisational analysis. Firstly, an attempt is made at isolating the specific functions of metaphor in the development of theory about organisation and administration. In the writer's view, a good argument can be made that an analysis of these functions provides the necessary basis for understanding the relationship between metaphors and administrative behaviour.

In the second of the three sections on the concept of metaphor, the leading metaphors of organisational and administrative discourse are discussed. This particular section of the review was considered necessary since the research task involves, in part, the identification of the metaphors used by the academic administrators. This section includes a discussion of the leading metaphors used to conceptualise the nature of educational organisation and administration, as well as those used to conceptualise the nature of academic organisation and administration. A selection of metaphors used for universities is also included here. These last are, for the most part, metaphors which describe the nature and purposes of universities. They are drawn principally from literature on the philosophy of higher education.

In the third and final section on metaphor, a selection of works are examined which specifically link metaphors with administrative behaviour. This particular section builds on previous parts of the review, especially the section which is concerned with the role of metaphor in the development of theory. The studies discussed here are, for the most part, those which combine a theoretical with an applied emphasis. However, this section also includes works from fields such as literary criticism and sociology. These latter have been included because, in the writer's view, they are able to shed light on the relationship between metaphors and administrative behaviour.

Whereas those parts of the review described to this point draw upon theoretical accounts of topics such as culture, organisational culture, and

metaphor, the fifth section (pp. 73-77) comprises a review of related research. Recent empirical studies employing the concept of metaphor, principally within the field of educational administration, are noted here. In completing this section of the review, particular emphasis was placed on identifying whether any empirical studies have been carried out which have a similar focus to the present investigation. This is an important consideration when assessing the contribution made by the present study. In the concluding part of this section, the present study is compared with other empirical studies employing the concept of metaphor.

The sixth (and penultimate) section of the chapter comprises a discussion of methodological issues. Here the writer attempts to clarify the methodological perspective of the study. Firstly, key terms such as 'field study' and 'case study' are defined. In addition, an attempt is made at justifying, on the basis of the literature, the particular methodological approach adopted in the present study.

At the beginning of this chapter (on p.35), the point was made that the literature has been reviewed principally for the purpose of obtaining theoretical insight into the study's research problem. The concluding section of the present chapter comprises a summary of the theoretical framework of the study. This concluding section is essentially a restatement of theoretical ideas included in previous sections of the review.

One final comment is necessary before proceeding to the review. Given the range of works consulted, it goes without saying that not all the studies examined proved to have equal relevance for the research problem. There is one group of works which, whilst they are in a related area, have not been emphasised. These are studies which are concerned with the impact of symbolic forms (including metaphors) on the behaviour of a social system as a whole. The works of Peters (1978, 1987, 1992) provide a useful example of this kind of approach to organisational symbolism. On balance, such works tend to exemplify a functionalist approach to organisational culture and symbolism. In these studies, it is often the stabilising, integrating function of symbols that is emphasised (see, e.g. Pfeffer, 1981; Sackmann, 1989); less frequently, the function of symbols in the facilitation of the organisational

change process may be addressed (see, e.g. Peters, 1978; Pondy, 1983; Huff, 1983). Whichever function is emphasised, it is nonetheless the *systemic* role of symbols that is being highlighted. In the writer's view, this work is not precisely relevant to the present study. The present study is not concerned with the impact of a leader's or manager's metaphors on the behaviour of a social system as a whole. Thus, whilst these studies may be referred to in the course of the literature review, they are not treated in any detail.

The Relevance of the Cultural Perspective on Organisation

The aim of this section is to highlight the relevance of a cultural perspective on organisation. Attention is focused on the concept of culture, the relationship between culture and human behaviour, and on the idea of organisations as language-using, sense-making cultures.

The section comprises four topics: (a) Culture and the Idea of Meaning; (b) Culture and Human Behaviour; (c) Organisations as Language-Using Sense-Making Cultures; and (d) Culture and Academic Organisations.

Culture and the Idea of Meaning

Of the existing concepts in the field of organisational science, that of culture is particularly relevant to the problem examined in this study. The cultural approach to organisations emphasises the idea of meaning. Implicit in it is a view of the individual as one who interprets or makes sense of human experience (see e.g. Pondy and Mitroff, 1979; Smircich, 1983a; Greenfield, 1975; Bates, 1982). If it is accepted that the use of metaphor represents a basic human impulse to find meaning in the world (Nietzsche, 1968; Ricoeur, 1977; Bowers, 1980), then the relevance of the concept of culture to the present study must be allowed.

That the notion of meaning is integral to the concept of culture has been highlighted by a number of writers. Bolman and Deal (1991, 244), for

example, in addressing the subject of organisational culture, speak of "a symbolic frame" - that is, a symbolic perspective on organisations. Its most fundamental assumptions include the notion that "what is most important about any event is *not* what happened, but *what it means* [italics in original]" (Bolman and Deal, 1991, 244). Bolman and Deal also emphasise the relationship between the use of symbols and the experience of ambiguity and uncertainty. Thus symbols are said to be created in order "to resolve confusion, increase predictability, and provide direction" (Bolman and Deal, 1991, 244). This last point is consistent with the idea that the use of metaphor is often a way of clarifying meaning in complex or ambiguous situations (Provenzo, et al., 1989, 551).

The relationship between culture and meaning has been highlighted also by Bates. Bates (1982, 6) speaks of culture as that which "gives meaning to life." A group's cultural resources, or as Bates puts it, its "cultural baggage," comprises "beliefs, languages, rituals, knowledge, conventions, courtesies and artifacts..." (Bates, 1982, 6). It is these cultural resources which "provide the framework upon which the individual constructs his understanding of the world and of himself" (Bates, 1982, 6).

Culture and Human Behaviour

Any attempt to explain the supposition that metaphors guide and influence administrative behaviour invites reflection on a major assumption of the cultural view, namely the assumption that cultural processes influence human behaviour. This necessarily entails, firstly, some clarification of the term 'culture' itself.

The imprecision of the term 'culture' is probably at the root of many of the difficulties associated with its use in the analysis of social life, including the analysis of organisations. Any perusal of the various definitions offered by writers will note, as Keesing (1981, 68) points out, that there are different facets of culture brought to the fore in the different definitions.

That many definitions and usages of the term 'culture' blur a crucial distinction between patterns for behaviour and patterns of behaviour has

been made by Goodenough (in Keesing, 1981, 68). Thus, culture can be used in the sense of "'pattern of life within a community - the regularly recurring activities and material and social arrangements' characteristic of a particular human group" (Goodenough, in Keesing, 1981, 68). The frequent use of the term to mean 'way of life around here' or 'the way things are done around here' appears to reflect this usage. Culture in this sense is within the realm of observable phenomena, of things and events 'out there' in the world (Keesing, 1981, 68).

Alternatively, and it is the use adopted in this study, there is a sense in which culture refers to the realm of ideas, "to the organised system of knowledge and beliefs whereby a people structure their experience and perceptions, formulate acts, and choose between alternatives" (Keesing, 1981, 68). Culture in this sense constitutes a kind of "conceptual code" to be distinguished from "the overt behaviour based on that code" (Keesing, 1981, 69).

This latter use of culture has its roots in the thinking of Geertz, Levi-Strauss, and Goodenough, writers whose theoretical approach views the "realm of ideas, the force of symbols as centrally important in shaping human behaviour, not simply as secondary reflections of the material conditions of social life" (Keesing, 1981, 67). Keesing (1981, 68) further explains this meaning of culture in the following way:

> Cultures in this sense comprise systems of shared ideas,
> systems of concepts and rules and meanings that underlie,
> and are expressed in the ways that humans live. Culture,
> so defined, refers to what humans learn, not what they do
> and make.

The knowledge referred to here is also said to provide "standards for deciding what is... for deciding what can be... for deciding how one feels about it,... for deciding, what to do about it, and...for deciding how to go about it" (Goodenough, cited in Keesing, 1981, 69). Keesing also emphasises that the sharing of cultural meanings is a social process, the meanings being created and sustained as people interact with each other, a view which is essentially similar to Blumer's symbolic interactionist view. For Blumer

(1969, 2) meanings derive from social interactions, evolve and are modified by individuals through an interpretive process. Culture then, as elaborated by Keesing, is essentially a system of shared ideas and meanings created and sustained through symbol-systems such as language in a process that is fluid and dynamic.

That the codes of meaning indigenous to a particular social system serve as behaviour-shaping ideals is implicit in many definitions of culture. Keesing's discussion brings out clearly the notion that culture, as a kind of conceptual code, acts as a compass guiding and directing human behaviour. This navigational aspect of culture is evident in many explanations of the relationship between culture and behaviour which employ social interactionist concepts - concepts such as social construction, interpretation, definition of situation, and negotiation.

Louis (1983, 44-46), following Schutz (1967), Berger and Luckmann (1966) and Blumer (1969), provides a concise statement of the symbolic interactionist position. Louis (1983, 41) notes that "the idea of culture rests on the premise that the full meaning of things is not given a priori in things themselves," but results from interpretation. On such a view, meaning is not something to be "unpacked" or "read off" from the external world, but is rather a construction. Further, meaning is continuously negotiated by social system members. In one sense, negotiated meaning represents "navigation of an experiential landscape by which one controls one position" (Louis, 1983, 44). In another sense, negotiated meaning represents "bargaining among alternative meanings differentially preferred by the various parties of an interaction" (Louis, 1983, 44). The interpretive process is linked with human behaviour through Blumer's notion that "human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them..." (Blumer, cited in Louis, 1983, 44). An identical idea, namely that interpretation guides action, is implicit in Thomas's view: "If men define situations as real they are real in their consequences" (Thomas, cited in Louis, 1983, 46).

Some useful additional detail on the concept of definition of situation is provided by Foster (1981, 266). In any social situation meaning is derived

through a process of interpreting and defining what is seen. This process involves "the matching up of impressions with existing knowledge and with the typifications which have been established from past experience" (Foster, 1981, 266). The individual then organises his action in terms of his definition of the situation, the definition taking into account factors in the environment as well as physiological and psychological states (Foster,1981, 266).

The interpretive process, in summary, is one in which culturally derived meanings influence the individual's perceptions enabling him to gain his bearings or negotiate his position in a social situation. Such meanings shape the definition placed on a situation, and this definition in turn guides behaviour (Louis, 1983, 44).

The discussion to this point has drawn on theoretical ideas to explain the relationship between cultural processes and behaviour at the level of the individual, a level which is most pertinent to the problem investigated in this study. It is worthy of note that, especially within the field of educational administration, the impact of cultural processes on human behaviour is frequently discussed at the level of the social system. Culture at the social system level is most often seen as providing for the continuity of the organisation and the control of organisation members; in addition, it provides a sense of identity for members which serves to integrate them within the social system (see e.g. Louis, 1983, 45; Smircich, 1983a). The capacity of culture to provide stability and integration is reflected in the commonly used metaphor of culture as the glue which holds the organisation together.

Organisations as Language-Using, Sense-Making Cultures

Implicit in the foregoing discussion of culture is a view of man as a being constantly engaged in a process of making sense of the world, interpreting others, placing constructions on what others do and say, and acting on the basis of his understanding of situations. In this sense-making process, Geertz (cited in Keesing, 1981, 98) suggests that the individual uses symbols, "to put a construction on the events through which he lives." And Burke

(1957, 3), in speaking of symbols, describes them as "strategies in conduct" which make it possible to "size up situations, name their structure and outstanding ingredients, and name them in a way that contains an attitude toward them."

This view of man, as an interpretive being, is clearly consistent with a conception of organisations as "language-using sense-making cultures" (Pondy and Mitroff, 1979, 30). As elaborated by Pondy and Mitroff (1979), such a conception of organisation emphasises "man's higher capacities...his ability to use language, his awareness of his own awareness, and his capacity to attribute meaning to events, to make sense of things" (Pondy and Mitroff, 1979, 17).

Pondy and Mitroff (1979) highlight the centrality of language - and symbolic forms generally - in organisational life and experience. Organisations are conceived of as systems of shared meanings and beliefs, the outcome of processes of social construction. Language, rituals and symbols play a central role in the process of creating and transmitting these shared systems of meaning and belief.

Nor do Pondy and Mitroff confine their discussion to language of an instrumental kind. Rather, they emphasise the significance of expressive language, language which is described as "less conscious and less rational" (Pondy and Mitroff, 1979, 27). From this perspective, myths, stories and metaphors are said to be "powerful vehicles" for "exchanging and preserving rich sets of meaning" (Pondy and Mitroff, 1979, 26-27). For Pondy and Mitroff (1979, 28), the clues to such concepts as "organisation" and "technology," often thought of as measurable, perceivable social facts, are actually to be sought in myths and metaphors. To 'unpack' the myths and metaphors is to 'unpack' the meanings which organisational members place on such categories.

Similar points to those of Pondy and Mitroff have, of course, been made by many other writers in the field of organisational science - and especially by those who adopt an interpretive, as distinct from a functionalist, approach to the study of organisational culture. Indeed Pondy and Mitroff's explanation

of the cultural perspective on organisation itself reflects a largely interpretive approach.

The distinction being referred to here - the distinction between interpretive and functionalist approaches - has been drawn by both Smircich (1983a) and by Morgan, Frost and Pondy (1983). Put briefly, the functionalist approach implies a view of culture as "...something an organization *has* [italics in original]," whilst from the interpretive perspective, culture is "something an organization *is* [italics in original]" (Smircich, 1983a, 347). Implicit in the former approach is a view of the organisation as a largely objective entity - an adaptive organism possessing a culture; implicit in the latter approach is a view of the organisation as a largely subjective entity. The differences between the two approaches is manifested also when the subject of organisational symbolism is considered. The functionalist approach encourages a view of symbols as "carriers of information and meaning," with emphasis being placed on the functions which the symbols play "in the maintenance of social order" (Morgan, Frost and Pondy, 1983, 17). The interpretive approach, in contrast, emphasises the subjective meaning embodied in symbols and the role which this meaning plays in the shaping of "a cultural pattern" (Morgan, Frost and Pondy, 1983, 21).

Sufficient has already been said to indicate that it is the interpretive approach which is considered the most relevant to the present study. In passing, it can be noted that there is also a third approach to the subject of organisational culture - the socially critical approach (see, e.g. Angus, 1995). This last has been omitted from the present discussion since it appears to have limited relevance for the problem being investigated.

Those writers whose work reflects an interpretive approach are a varied group. Amongst those cited by Smircich (1983a, 349-50) are Manning (1979), Van Maanen (1973, 1977), Smircich (1983c), Weick (1979), Shrivastava and Mitroff (1982). Others who could be included here are Putnam (1983), Pondy (1978), as well as Pondy and Mitroff (1979). It would be misleading to suggest that there are not important differences between these writers. For one thing, the extent to which they construe the organisation as a subjective entity varies. In the work of Van Maanen (1973, 1977) and Manning (1979),

for example, the material configurations of the organisation conceived as a system of roles and inter-relationships, have all but dissolved into patterns of symbolic discourse. Others, as for example Weick (1979), are somewhat less 'subjectivist' in their approach. However, as Smircich (1983a, 353) points out, whilst these writers may manifest "different understandings of the specific nature of culture," they are fundamentally alike in that they "are all influenced to consider organization as a particular form of human expression." Like Pondy and Mitroff, they emphasise the importance of the symbolic, expressive, ideational aspects of culture and, like Pondy and Mitroff, they highlight the role of language, myths and metaphors as dynamic aspects of an organisation's culture.

In a previous section of this review (pp.39-42), the writer attempted to explain the relationship between cultural processes and behaviour, particularly at the level of the individual. The literature reviewed in the present section has focused attention on the role of language (including metaphorical language), as an integral aspect of organisational culture. Insofar as culture, broadly speaking, can be seen as guiding behaviour, it would seem reasonable to suppose that language, as an integral aspect of organisational culture, also exerts an important influence on behaviour.

Culture and Academic Organisations

Clark (1970, 1977), Baldridge (1971, 1977), and Meek (1982, 1984) are amongst those who have examined the cultural aspects of academic organisations. Little, however, was found in the work of these writers which extended understanding of the specific research problem being investigated here. Clark's (1970, 1977) work is noteworthy, however, for its analysis of the expressive aspects of academic organisations and, in particular, of a specific symbolic phenomenon - the organisational saga. What is highlighted here is the integrating function of a saga in a specific institutional setting - the extent to which a strong saga can contribute to a sense of a unique or distinctive collective identity.

There is a necessary distinction to be made between, on the one hand, the culture of academic organisations and, on the other hand, academic culture.

The latter topic is narrower in scope than the former, having been described as "that organizational culture which relates to the educational enterprise of academic organizations" (Harman, 1988, 46). Academic culture is also said to refer to "the symbolic dimension which embodies the occupational life and work of academics in the university world" (Harman, 1988, 6). Given Harman's definition of academic culture, it must be considered a subject area of potential relevance for the present study.

Writers who have addressed the subject of academic culture include Clark (1970, 1983, 1984), Harman (1988), Becher (cited in Harman, 1988, 49), and Dill (cited in Harman, 1988, 49). Harman's (1988) research comprises a case study of the culture of academic members of staff at the University of Melbourne. For the purposes of the present discussion, what is noteworthy about Harman's case study is the analytical framework used - a framework that has been derived from the work of Clark (1983, 1984).

Academics are seen by Clark (1984) as belonging to four modes of organisation, two of which are primary, and two secondary. The two primary modes include: (a) the discipline (and the associated field of study) which the academic staff member represents and (b) the staff member's specific place of work (that is, a specific university or college). The two secondary modes include: (a) the academic profession or 'profession-at-large' and (b) the system of which it is a part.

Given these modes of organisation, Clark (1983, 75) distinguishes four levels of culture which include the following: (a) enterprise (b) discipline (c) 'profession-at-large' and (d) national system. It is these four levels of culture which are said to be "powerful sources" (ibid) of an academic's beliefs and values.

Of the four levels, there are two which accord with the primary modes of organisation - those of enterprise and discipline. The culture of enterprise, existing as it does at the local institutional level, varies between institutions. It is at this level of culture, for example, that the concept of the organisational saga is relevant.

The disciplinary culture constitutes the second primary culture for academic staff members. Harman (1988, 48), explaining this level of culture, notes that the "miscellaneous branches of learning" reflect "differing epistemological traditions" and thus provide "different cultural frameworks within which specialists share beliefs about theories, intellectual styles, and methods of solving problems." This point is reflected in the following comment by Geertz:

> ...to be a Shakespearian scholar, absorb oneself in black holes, or attempt to measure the effect of schooling on economic achievement -- is not just to take up a technical task but to place oneself inside a cultural frame that defines and even determines a very great part of one's life...(Geertz, cited in Harman, 1988, 49).

As this remark suggests, academic staff pursuing the same discipline are not only involved with a particular task, they are part of a specific cultural world. The idea that the various disciplines provide different cultural frameworks is also supported by Meek (1984, 130) who has linked variance in the "cultural and symbolic aspects of academic behaviour" to differences existing between disciplinary cultures.

Of the literature reviewed in this section, it should be emphasised that no studies were identified which examine the metaphors of academic staff members (including those of academic administrators). Of the works considered here, Clark's conceptualisation of academic culture has the most theoretical value. In the light of Clark's conceptual framework, the academic administrators who are the subjects of this study, can be seen as functioning within four different levels of culture. They participate in a specific enterprise culture; they also participate in a disciplinary culture; they share certain values with the wider academic community; and, as well, they are a part of a systemic culture.

Of the two primary cultures (enterprise and discipline), however, it is the latter that is most relevant. It will be recalled that the three groups of academic administrators represent, broadly speaking, the following branches of learning: the humanities, science and technology, and the social sciences. Given Clark's concept of disciplinary culture, the academic administrators

can thus be seen as inhabiting different occupational life-worlds (that is, sub-cultures) within the one overall institutional (or enterprise) culture. One could expect, for example, that their language and behaviour would reflect these differences and show some variation.

The Role of Metaphor in the Development of Theory

In this section, studies of the role of metaphor in the development of theory are examined. In particular, the writer attempts to (a) identify the functions of metaphor in the development of theory and (b) highlight those functions which are relevant to the research problem. Certain ideas that are central to the work of Greenfield are introduced and parallels are noted between the work of Greenfield and that of Kuhn and Morgan.

Assumptions Underlying Organisation Theory

A number of writers (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Astley and Van de Ven, 1983; Morgan, 1980; Morgan and Smircich, 1980) have addressed the nature and significance of the assumptions underlying various schools of organisational theory and analysis. The work of Morgan in this area is especially important. In *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis* (1979), Burrell and Morgan had attempted to show that the various approaches to organisational analysis are based upon sets of core assumptions which are rarely made explicit, but which nonetheless have a significant impact on the nature of theory and research. In a number of further works (Morgan, 1980, 1983; Morgan and Smircich, 1980) Morgan developed this theme examining, in particular, the influence of metaphorical thinking on the development of theory.

Morgan's most influential paper on the metaphoric nature of organisation theory is "Paradigms, Metaphors and Puzzle Solving in Organization Theory" (1980). This paper stands directly in the tradition of Pepper (1942) and Kuhn (1970), writers who have explored the role of cognitive paradigms and root metaphors in the development of scientific knowledge. Certain

key ideas contained in their work are useful in explaining Morgan's own approach to the concepts of paradigm and metaphor.

Whilst Kuhn is said to have used the term 'paradigm' in a number of ways, there is one particular usage adopted by Morgan - the idea of a 'paradigm' as representing a view of reality (Morgan, 1980, 606-07). Morgan (1980, 606) also adopts Kuhn's key point that the various paradigms represent "alternative" views, or "alternative" realities. For Morgan, any one paradigm, or view of social reality, comprises a set of "metatheoretical" assumptions about the nature of society and the nature of science (Morgan, 1980, 607). Whilst within a specific paradigm, there may exist different schools of theoretical thought, these different schools are grounded in, or underpinned by, shared assumptions about the nature of social reality. From the previous points, it is clear that the term 'paradigm', as used by Morgan, is virtually synonymous with the notion of 'world view', or even 'culture'. Indeed an important feature of Morgan's argument is that knowledge about organisation and administration is "mediated by social milieu" (Morgan, 1980, 605).

Language and World View

Sergiovanni (1995, 58) is one writer who has emphasised the importance of "the language of theory," noting that "the heart of any theory is the language used to describe...it." There is, in particular, an intimate connection between world view and language. However, before turning to this specific subject, it is necessary to note the more fundamental point that language provides access to the meaning of the social world (Silverman, 1970, 132).

There are two main ways in which language can provide access to meaning. Firstly, language functions as a repository of human experience; it allows this experience to be recorded and transmitted. Secondly, language influences or even shapes perception and thought. This second notion exists in its strongest form in the work of Sapir and Whorf (1964). Their linguistic-relativity hypothesis, as explained by Keesing (1981, 86), contends that "a people's world view is encoded in their language and structured by its unique grammar." Whilst not all would agree with the Sapir-Whorf

hypothesis, it is nonetheless useful insofar as it points to an important theme in the literature of organisational science. This is the theme that language is more than simply a cultural artefact. Language is a dynamic rather than a passive entity - that is to say, it does not so much reflect reality, as define and shape it.

This essentially 'constructivist' view - that language *creates* reality - is ubiquitous across a range of discourses (see, e.g, Burke, 1966; Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Polanyi, 1958; and Geertz, 1973). In organisational science, it characterises the work of writers such as Silverman (1970), Van Maanen (1973, 1977), Manning (1979), Morgan (1980), Evered (1983), and Pondy (1983), to name but a few. It is equally well represented in the work of scholars in the field of educational administration - as, for example, Greenfield (1975; 1993), Bates (1982), Gronn (1983), Macpherson (1988), and Sergiovanni (1995). Of this last group, the work of Bates (1982), Gronn (1983), and Macpherson (1988) highlights the way in which everyday language, in the form of 'talk', shapes and sustains organisational realities.

It is not necessary here to delve into the specific ways in which this theme is addressed by the writers just mentioned. The point that language, and metaphorical language in particular, influences perception and shapes ideas about organisation and administration, is brought out more fully when metaphors as 'ways of seeing' are discussed on pp.51-55. What the writer would prefer to emphasise at this point is the relationship between language and world view. The work of one writer, namely Beare, is especially noteworthy for its sensitivity to this relationship.

Beare (1987a, 284) has commented that

> Our perceptions and assumptions about reality are
> revealed in the vocabulary we use to describe that reality.

Moreover, according to Beare, core assumptions or world views are conveyed chiefly through figurative language. On this point Beare (1987a, 276) notes that

> A paradigm is built up and expressed through analogies; in verbal terms, then, our paradigms are revealed in metaphors, recurrent imagery, patterned language, favourite similes. From analysing these, one can unravel what are the core assumptions upon which our view of the world is based.

As Beare's statement indicates, the clues to an organisational scientist's (or administrator's) paradigm are to be found in the images and metaphors contained in speech acts or written statements. It might be remarked, in passing, that this statement is consistent with Lakoff's (1993, 244) view that "metaphorical language is a surface manifestation of conceptual metaphor." Beare's statement also provides a justification for the writer's attempt, in the present study, to identify the metaphors of the administrators through an anlysis of their speech acts and written statements.

There is moreover, an important corollary to the argument that language expresses a world view. It follows that the emergence of a new paradigm will be accompanied by changes in language. This point is again well brought out by Beare in his discussion of the rise to prominence, during the nineteen eighties and nineties, of the economic paradigm in education (Beare, 1987b, 1989, 1995). The "favoured metaphor" to emerge during this period was the the business corporation metaphor (Beare, 1995, 136). The language used to describe education became replete with analogies and images based on the business metaphor. As Beare (1995) has explained, a new pattern or template of meaning had found expression in a new vocabulary, thence to be translated into "new patterns" of management.

Metaphors as 'Ways of Seeing'

In the development of theory, a metaphor functions as an interpretive lens through which the scientist views the world or some aspect of it. Scientific enquiry, for example, has been described as

> a creative process in which scientists view the world metaphorically, through the language and concepts which filter and structure their perceptions of their subject of study and through the specific metaphors which they implicitly and explicitly choose to develop their framework for analysis (Morgan, 1980, 611).

As this statement suggests, a metaphor 'frames' an area of study or problem. In particular, by highlighting certain features and screening out others, it structures perception and thinking in a distinctive way. The machine metaphor provides a useful illustration of this. The metaphor of the machine with its associated suite of images of 'clockworks', 'cogs-in-wheels', 'factories', 'blueprints', 'assembly-lines', 'fine-tuning', etc, is highly effective in structuring a distinctive view of reality. Similarly, the political system metaphor with its attendant imagery of 'coalitions', 'games', 'cliques', 'facades', 'negotiation', 'in-fighting', 'manouevring', etc, is equally effective in structuring a quite different view of reality.

The work of both Black and Pepper provides some additional insights into the functions of metaphor in the development of theoretical ideas. That there are close connections between the notions of models and metaphors is a point which has been argued consistently by Black (1962a, 1962b, 1993). Indeed Black (1993, 30) has noted that "every metaphor is the tip of a submerged model."

Pepper (1942) makes a similar point. Pepper - the first to use the term "root metaphors" - likens these to models. According to Pepper a scientist, in endeavouring to understand a complex world, chooses firstly a small, familiar area, and then proceeds to use this to explore and comprehend a broader domain. On this point, Pepper (1942, 19-20) comments:

> What I call the root metaphor theory is the theory that a world hypothesis to cover all facts is framed in the first instance on the basis of a rather small set of facts and then expanded in reference so as to cover all facts. The set of facts which inspired the hypothesis is the original root metaphor.

As this comment suggests, the root metaphor, or metaphorical model, enables the scientist to reconstruct reality on a miniature scale.

There is no doubt that the metaphors of organisation theory (as, for example, the machine and organism metaphors), are essentially

metaphorical models. Morgan's (1980) statements about the functions of metaphors bear this out, as well as clearly reflecting points made by Pepper. Morgan (1980, 611) notes, for example, that

> The use of a metaphor serves to generate an image for studying a subject. This image can provide the basis for detailed scientific research based upon attempts to discover the extent to which features of the metaphor are found in the subject of inquiry.

Morgan (1983a, 603) also comments that the "significance of metaphor" lies in "prefiguring a subject of study." And yet again, he (1983b, 13) notes that "the different images of a subject guide and prefigure, and hence shape, what is seen."

The statements made by both Pepper and Morgan suggest that metaphors can function as simplifying models which organise thought. They 'open up' for exploration a larger or more complex area. Such statements are entirely consistent with the notion that metaphors provide a fundamental way of thinking about or experiencing the world. For the theorist, they are tools of thought which can give concrete form to what is abstract or only vaguely known. Indeed a particular subject may be so abstract or unfamiliar that it can be grasped initially only through metaphor.

Again, the "prefiguring" nature of metaphors, as explained by Morgan (1983a, 603), underscores their heuristic function. As tools of thought, they can be particularly effective in the initial stages of scientific research. On the other hand, it must also be noted that Morgan attributes to metaphors a function that goes beyond the purely heuristic. Insofar as they structure subsequent thinking about a subject area or problem, they do more than provide an initial insight. For Morgan, the choice of a specific metaphor by an organisational scientist influences the kinds of problems that are seen to be significant, as well as shaping the way research is carried out.

All of the previous points about the functions of metaphor are consistent with Black's (1962a, 1993) argument that a primary function of metaphor is to illuminate, to provide insight. In the process of theory development, a metaphor provides a "way of seeing" (Morgan, 1986, 12). In connection with

this point, an observation by the physicist David Bohm is noteworthy. Bohm has observed that the root of the word 'theory' is 'to see' (Bohm cited in Briggs and Peat, 1989, 200). Bohm's observation points to the close relationship between metaphors and theories. Theories themselves, as well as metaphors, can be said to be 'ways of seeing'.

The argument that metaphors are interpretive constructs which shape thought about organisation, is also in harmony with certain ideas made familiar by Hanson and Kuhn. As philosophers of science, Hanson (1962) and Kuhn (1970) have argued that theories exert a considerable influence over what is observed. In Hanson's (1962) terms, the process of observation is itself 'theory-laden'. One sees through the spectacles or lens of some theory and what is observed depends very much on the theory being used. It is not necessary here to follow through the epistemological implications of this point. It is sufficient to emphasise that if the principle concerning the 'theory-ladenness' of observations is accepted, then the metaphorical insights upon which a theory is based must be considered of crucial significance.

There is a further point to be made here which follows from the acceptance of metaphors as interpretive constructs. If metaphors are essentially 'ways of seeing', then the relationship of metaphorical thinking with the notion of vision is clear. Indeed an important feature of Morgan's argument is its portrayal of the scientific process as a creative endeavour. The social scientist is, in the light of this argument, as much a person of vision, as he is a painstaking collector of empirical information. Moreover, in the metaphor which underlies the thinking of each theorist, is to be found the key that will unlock that scientist's vision.

The writer is aware that, in the foregoing discussion, no reference has been made to the debate (see, e.g. Morgan, 1980; Pinder and Bourgeois, 1982; Bourgeois and Pinder, 1983; Tinker, 1986; Tsoukas, 1991)[1] which accompanied Morgan's ideas on the role of metaphor in organisational analysis. She is also aware that she has omitted certain important themes in Morgan's own work. The point, for example, that the metaphors provide

"partial" insights (Morgan, 1980, 611) has not been discussed. Nor has a closely related idea - namely, that the various metaphors provide different, but complementary insights, a point which leads Morgan (1980) to advocate a wide-ranging metaphorical (and theoretical) pluralism. Again, no reference has been made to the confining or limiting effects of the use of favoured metaphors (Morgan, 1980; Mitchell, 1986; Bates, 1982) - an important theme that recalls Rokeach's thesis (1960) of "the open and closed mind." Closely related to this last theme, and similarly omitted from the discussion, is the notion that taken-for-granted metaphorical assumptions can lead to the reification of social reality (Brown, 1976, 1977; Bates 1982; Morgan, 1980, 1986; Tinker, 1986). In connection with this last point, it might be argued, for example, that Morgan's main contribution in organisational science resides in his showing that the metaphors, as symbolic constructs, are independent of organisation and administration. The writer has omitted the areas of discussion mentioned above in order to focus sharply on the functions of metaphor in the development of theory.

Image and Reality in the Work of Greenfield

The central ideas of Greenfield's work are directly relevant to the present discussion. It must be emphasised, however, that in the quotations from his work that follow, Greenfield is not talking specifically about the role of images in the development of formal organisation theory. He is making a broader point concerning the role of symbolic forms - images and ideas - in the shaping of reality. Nonetheless, his arguments parallel many of the points already made about the functions of metaphors. In particular, they reinforce the point that images play an important role in the shaping of perception and thought.

In "Organisations as Talk, Chance, Action and Experience" (1993a), Greenfield celebrates the significance of the individual's "images of reality" (ibid, 63), including the "power of the image to shape what we see..." (ibid, 65). Greenfield (ibid, 62-3) comments thus:

> In trying to understand reality, we require concepts or categories that enable us to make sense of that which William James called 'the blooming welter' of phenomena around us. As aids for understanding we use

> larger models - theories, if you like - that provide us with
> reservoirs of ideas. These models are images of reality; we
> carry them in our minds and use them as templates to
> stamp meaning into the world around us.

Here Greenfield refers to those maps and pictures of reality that are carried in the head, as it were, and which enable the individual to interpret an often confusing world. In a word, these constructs enable individuals to theorise (that is, see) the nature of the world. Indeed Greenfield's statement provides as succinct a summary as any of the notion that observations of the world are always 'theory-laden'.

In the same paper (that is, in "Organisations as Talk, Chance, Action and Experience"), Greenfield goes on to speak in a similar vein of the role of ideas and images in the interpretation of *organisational* experience. He (ibid, 71) notes, for example, that

> In the face of a multi-faceted, ambiguous 'reality', one
> needs a conception, an idea of it, if one is to speak of
> organizations. The idea inevitably stands between us and
> what we think is reality; it links our experience and our
> sense of an outside world and others' behaviour in it. It is
> this mysterious void between behaviour and experience
> that the image must fill. What is needed are images and
> methods of enquiry that will illuminate what we
> understand by organizations.

As these comments indicate, images are needed to make sense of organisational reality in all its variety and complexity. It is noteworthy also that in the above statement, Greenfield refers specifically to the illuminative power of the image.

There are then clear parallels between the work of Morgan and Greenfield (and one might add also, of Pepper and Kuhn). All of these writers affirm that images have an important role in the shaping of perception and thought. For Greenfield, as for Morgan, the complexity and ambiguity of organisational life is such that it can be understood only through ideas and images. Again, Kuhn, Morgan, and Greenfield all emphasise the notion of multiple images, images that afford different perspectives on reality. However, there is one feature which distinguishes the work of all and

which the writer wishes to emphasise. Implicit in their work is a view of the individual as an interpretive being, one whose knowledge of the world is mediated through ideas and images.

Summary

In this section of the review, the focus has been narrowed to an examination of the role of metaphor in the development of theory. The literature examined here has disclosed clearly the way in which theoretical conceptions of organisation and administration are based, fundamentally, upon a metaphorical assumption or insight. Metaphors, in other words, are important vehicles of thought and interpretation. As interpretive constructs, they enable individuals to understand and make sense of the world and, more specifically, they influence perception and shape ideas about organisation.

The Metaphors of Organisational and Administrative Discourse

In this section, some of the leading metaphors of organisational and administrative discourse are discussed. Metaphors for educational (and academic) organisation are noted and reference is also made to some metaphors that have been used for universities.

Metaphors of Organisation and Administration

Even a cursory examination of the literature would be sufficient to indicate that organisations have been construed metaphorically in very different ways. A work such as Morgan's *Images of Organization* (1986, 1997) includes a discussion of eight conceptual metaphors - the organisation as machine, as organism, as brain, as culture, as political system, as psychic prison, as flux and transformation, and as instrument of domination. However, as Morgan himself points out, these represent only a selection of organisational metaphors.

What is noteworthy about at least some of these metaphors is their origin. Tinker (1986, 374) has made the point that many of the metaphors of organisation and management have been imported from the fields of cybernetics and systems theory. By way of illustration, Tinker notes the incidence of analogies based on mechanical systems and robots (see, e.g. Beer, 1966); analogies based on organisms (see, e.g. Burns and Stalker, 1961); analogies based on neurological models of the brain (see, e.g. Beer 1972); and analogies based on mathematical systems (see, e.g. Klir, 1969). Tinker (1986, 376) also mentions Herbert Simon's (1969) analogy of the two watchmakers. This last - the 'watchmaker' analogy - was used by Simon to illustrate a point about the evolution of hierarchies in nature.

Despite the array of metaphors already mentioned, there is no doubt that the leading metaphors of theoretical analysis and research have been two in number - those of the machine and organism. These are the principal vehicles of the 'functionalist' view of organisational reality, or as Morgan (1980, 613) would have it, of "the orthodox view." Despite, however, the prevalence of these, it is also true that metaphors drawn from the social and cultural domains have been used increasingly in organisational discourse. These metaphors include, amongst others, the culture metaphor (see, e.g. Geertz, 1973), the language game metaphor (Wittgenstein, 1953), and the text metaphor (Ricoeur, 1971). The organisation conceived as culture (see e.g. Turner, 1977, 1983; Pondy and Mitroff, 1979); as language game (see e.g. Pondy, 1978); and as text (see e.g. Huff, 1983) are metaphors that frequently convey interpretive views of organisation and administration. Their rise to prominence during the nineteen-eighties went hand-in-hand with an increasing interest in interpretive modes of analysis and research.

An important metaphor not mentioned to this point is the theatre metaphor. Whilst it does not appear to feature greatly in the discourse of educational administration, it has been a particularly rich metaphor in the broader domain of the social sciences. The theatre metaphor was first introduced into the social sciences by Kenneth Burke (1945) and then applied to the analysis of social interactions by Erving Goffman (1971). However, its use as a tool of organisational analysis is exemplified in the work of Mangham and Overington (1983, 1987). As Mangham and Overington's

(1987) discussion suggests, the strength of the theatre metaphor lies in its capacity to illuminate the social-psychological aspects of organisational life.

The metaphors noted in the foregoing discussion are by no means exhaustive of the ways in which organisation and administration have been construed. There are also the somewhat more novel metaphors, such as Cohen, March and Simon's (1972) organised anarchy and garbage can metaphors - metaphors developed from a study of educational organisations. Although less colourful, Weick's (1976) loose coupling metaphor could be included here. Again, there is the metaphor of the spinning top, a metaphor used by Ghosal and Mintzberg (1994) to characterise the nature of the corporate organisation.

To the above might be added the rather colourful array of images that have been invoked to describe the emerging organisations of the postmodern world. These have been described, variously, as network organisations (see, e.g. Morgan, 1988; Toffler, 1990); pot pourri organisations (Morgan, 1988); maple tree organisations (Bergquist, 1993); palm tree organisations (Bergquist, 1993); and doughnut organisations (Handy, 1994). A moment's reflection on these metaphors will suggest their topographical nature. The network metaphor, for example, is clearly a metaphor of space. It thus provides an interesting contrast with Ghosal and Mintzberg's spinning top metaphor, this last evoking a sense of movement, of dynamic forces existing in balance.

Metaphors of Educational Organisation

The leading theoretical metaphors of educational administration parallel those found in the broader field of organisational science. This is evident from those writers (Mitchell, 1986; Sergiovanni, 1992, 1995) who have examined the metaphors used to theorise the nature of educational administration.

Mitchell (1986, 33) identifies four leading conceptual metaphors, these being referred to as the "machine," "organism," "market-place" and "conversation" metaphors. Sergiovanni's leading metaphors are closely

related to those of Mitchell. For Sergiovanni (1992, 163), the metaphors that have generated "major" views of educational administration include the "rational mechanistic," "organic," "bargaining," and "community, culture" metaphors. These metaphors are said to be "generative" of the "efficiency," "person," "political" and "cultural" views of educational administration respectively (ibid).

Any of these metaphors can be extended of course to different aspects of organisation and administration. The educational administrator's role, for example, can be pictured as coordinator, as nurturer or gardener, or as negotiator, depending on whether the machine, organism or political system metaphor is the root metaphor in use. The imagery used by Sergiovanni to discuss the nature of leadership is clearly an extension of his generative metaphors. Probably to capture a sense of the dynamic nature of leadership, this aspect of administration is described, metaphorically, as a set of "forces" (Sergiovanni, 1995, 93). These "forces," with the exception of one, reflect the four generative metaphors and include technical, human, educational, symbolic and cultural "forces." The leader is pictured, correspondingly, as "management engineer," "human engineer," "clinical practitioner," "chief" and "high priest" (Sergiovanni, 1995, 93-4).

Sergiovanni and his colleagues (1992), in tracing the various metaphors associated with the development of thought in educational administration, are particularly concerned with those that attempt to capture, or which are seen to accord with, the distinctive nature of educational organisations. These include Cohen, March and Olsen's organised anarchy and garbage can metaphors, March's political coalition metaphor and Weick's loose coupling metaphor (Sergiovanni, et al., 1992, 153, 158). The same authors (1992, 169) also note, favourably, Blumberg's metaphor of educational administration as craft and, in particular, as moral craft. The school as community is another metaphor identified by Sergiovanni and one which is given extended treatment in his (1994a, 1994b, 1995) more recent work.

Whilst Mitchell and Sergiovanni have analysed the metaphors of theoretical discourse, Beare (1987a, 1987b), Bates (1982) and Thomas (1988) discuss metaphors exemplified in the organisation of educational

institutions. The point that educational institutions are the expression of certain pervasive and fundamental metaphors is highlighted by Bates. Bates (1982, 8) comments, for example, that

> Educational systems are then, in a sense, a physical working out of the cultural metaphors and myths held by educators and administrators. Many of the metaphors we employ are, for instance, ritualized in the forms of organization, ceremony, and interaction which are typical of schools.

This same point is confirmed by Beare. Beare (1987a, 1987b) identifies three metaphors which, historically, appear to have characterised the organisation of schools. These are the metaphors of the school as army, as monastery, and as factory. The prevalence of these metaphors, in the history of schools, is also noted by Thomas (1988). However, Thomas (1988) focuses his discussion principally on one of these - the monastery metaphor. Thomas's discussion is noteworthy for the way it highlights the rich history of the monastic form of organisation. Moreover, Thomas's discussion brings out the usefulness of the monastery metaphor as a tool of analysis of "modern" school organisations (Thomas, 1988, 9).

Like Beare and Thomas, Bates (1982) identifies the significance, for education, of such metaphors as those of the machine and factory. However, Bates is also concerned to emphasise the "varied" and "contradictory" nature of the metaphors that pervade "the everyday language of schools" (Bates, 1982, 8). On this point, he comments as follows:

> Metaphors of the child as flower, nigger, enemy, cog, machine, chameleon, miniature adult, psychopath, gentleman, or reasoner, are common currency in staffrooms as are our metaphors of the school as factory, clinic, or bureaucracy.

As this comment would suggest, schools for Bates are composed of multiple, competing metaphors and myths. Not unexpectedly then, Bates himself adopts the military metaphor to define the nature of institutional life. Schools as well as "other public institutions" (Bates, 1982, 6) are seen as "battlegrounds in which contending mythologies compete for the holy grail - control of the future" (Bates, 1982, 6).

Both Bates (1982, 7) and Beare (1987b, 1989) have noted the extensive consequences of changes in important and pervasive root metaphors. This point can be illustrated by the emergence of the business corporation metaphor as a leading metaphor in the sphere of education. The rise to prominence of this metaphor has signalled, according to Beare (1987b, 8), "a paradigm shift with enormous consequences."

The metaphors referred to in the foregoing discussion represent a sample of the leading metaphors contained in the discourse of educational administration. In perusing the literature, especially that part of it that deals with the theory of educational administration, it is difficult not to be struck by the presence of one theme. There is a continuing preoccupation with the question of the *appropriateness* of certain metaphors to the nature of educational organisation and administration. This theme is very apparent in the work of Bates (1981, 1982) and Sergiovanni (1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1995). An examination of the development of Sergiovanni's thought, for example, suggests an increasing sense of dissatisfaction with the established root metaphors of educational administration. In his more recent work Sergiovanni (1994a, 1995) speaks specifically of the need for changing the metaphors used to construe the nature of school organisation. "Changing the metaphor," he writes, "changes the theory" (Sergiovanni, 1994a). It is noteworthy that the metaphor that Sergiovanni proposes, as an alternative to existing metaphors, is the metaphor of the school as community (Sergiovanni, 1994a, 1994b, 1995).

Metaphors of Academic Organisation

From the literature that has been reviewed to this point concerning the metaphors of educational organisation and administration, it would seem that much of it has included discussion of the metaphors used for *school* organisation. An examination of the literature on *academic* organisation and administration, however, has revealed that essentially the same metaphors used to conceptualise educational organisations generally (and school organisations in particular), have been applied also to academic organisations.

That this is so is clear from the work of writers such as Baldridge and Deal (1971) and Birnbaum (1991). Three metaphors, according to Baldridge and Deal (1971), characterise the academic organisation. These are the metaphors of the academic organisation as bureaucracy, as collegium and as political system. At least two of these (bureaucracy and political system) are related to, or the same as, two of the leading organisational metaphors identified by Mitchell and Sergiovanni (those of machine and political system). Moreover, it could be argued that the third, university as collegium, is an elaboration of, or at least is related to, the organism metaphor.

Birnbaum (1991) has added only two to those identified by Baldridge and Deal. Again, these are well established metaphors in the field of organisational science generally. The first is Cohen, March and Olsen's (1972) organised anarchy metaphor. This, together with the garbage can metaphor, are especially noteworthy in that they represent explicit attempts to capture the distinctive nature of universities and their decision processes. The remaining metaphor advocated by Birnbaum (1991) - one which is the focus of his work - is that of the academic organisation as cybernetic system. Indeed Birnbaum's work provides a striking example of the language of systems engineering applied to higher education.

Metaphors for Universities

The metaphors mentioned to this point are essentially *organisational* metaphors. Some of the most memorable metaphors for universities occur within those areas of educational discourse that examine the philosophy of education and, specifically, the philosophy of higher education. Monson (1967), in a paper that discusses metaphors used for universities, provides a useful summary of these. The metaphors cited include Newman's metaphor of the university as alma mater, Ortega y Gasset's metaphor of the university as a path through a dangerous forest, and Hutchins's metaphor of the university as an active monastery (Monson, 1967, 22). Whilst these metaphors describe an ideal view of the university, Monson also notes a number of metaphors that have been used to characterise the reality of the contemporary university. These include Clark Kerr's metaphor of the

university as a bargaining-table, Becker's baseball team metaphor, Barzun's metaphor of the university as cookie-cutter, and Hutchins's service-station metaphor (Monson, 1967, 22). Monson also notes Veblen's oft-cited use of the business metaphor to describe the contemporary university. This metaphor was used pejoratively by Veblen to describe the curriculum as a department store, the professors as drillmasters and, perhaps most memorably, the president as "the captain of erudition" (Monson, citing Veblen, 1967, 23).

To the foregoing metaphors, Monson (1967, 23-27) adds three of his own: the dispensing machine, zoo, and mammoth cave metaphors. The metaphor of the dispensing machine, which seems to be akin to the service station metaphor, emphasises the provision of resources to a purchasing public. In contrast, the zoo metaphor connotes the uniqueness of the university as an institution, including, in particular, the uniqueness of its faculty members. Finally the mammoth cave, an adaptation of Plato's cave metaphor, evokes a sense of exploration, especially exploration of the unknown.

What is distinctive about at least some of these metaphors, as for example Ortega y Gasset's path and Monson's mammoth cave metaphors, is that their connotations are philosophical in nature, evoking a sense of the educational purposes of the university. They are noted here because, in the writer's view, they are a necessary complement to the metaphors more commonly associated with the organisation and administration of universities.

Summary

The metaphors used for organisation and administration (including educational organisation and administration) are varied in range, reflecting very different theoretical and philosophical perspectives. A small number of metaphors (e.g. machine, organism and political system), however, have been widely applied to organisations in the business and industrial spheres, as well as to organisations in the educational sphere. Any examination of the metaphors of organisational discourse must recognise also the prevalence of images and analogies drawn from the realms of cybernetics

and systems theory.

There is little or no difference between the metaphors used for academic organisation and those used for educational organisations generally. The organised anarchy and garbage can metaphors are noteworthy, nevertheless, in that they represent attempts to capture the distinctive nature of academic organisations and their processes.

Metaphor and Administrative Behaviour

In this section attention is focused directly on those works which specifically link the metaphors of administrators with administrative behaviour and practice.

The Assumption of a Relationship

In Chapter One, reference has already been made to a selection of works (Morgan, 1986; Sergiovanni, et al., 1992; Sergiovanni, 1995; Bredeson, 1985, 1988) in which there is an assumption of a direct relationship between the metaphors of administrators and administrative behaviour. Here it is necessary to add that this assumption can be identified in the literature in both a weak and a strong form. Mitchell, in the course of discussing his four generative metaphors of management, speaks of these as constituting "important guides for social action and analysis" (Mitchell, 1986, 30). However, Beare (1987a, 284) makes the point that a fundamental metaphor or image "...helps to pattern action and behaviours." Beare makes this point in the context of discussing the relationship between core or paradigmatic assumptions and administrative behaviour. He (1987a, 285) notes, for example, that

> ...if you take the time to diagnose the other's paradigm, you discover triggers to explain behaviours, or to design strategies of intervention.

Beare (ibid, 286) emphasises this point by adding to it the following remark:

> You can predict behaviours [of others], decode signals, understand their responses, persuade their intellect if you understand the ground upon which they will base their responses.

Since, for Beare, paradigmatic or core assumptions are reflected in the metaphors used by administrators, it seems that a strong relationship is posited between the metaphors of administrators and their behaviour. On the basis of core assumptions and their associated metaphors, predictions are able to be made about administrative behaviour.

Explaining the Relationship

The work of the literary critic Kenneth Burke (1945; 1966; 1984), as well as that of the sociologist C. Wright Mills (1940), provides some insights into the nature of the connection between metaphors and administrative behaviour. For both Burke and Wright Mills the social milieu is a linguistic milieu in which words inherently carry implications for action. Burke (1966) has argued that words are "symbolic action." There is a close inter-relationship between the linguistic representation of any idea or form and the physical relationship with the world that is characterised as 'action'.

Mills, in "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive" (1940), argues a similar point. In this paper, Mills espouses new theoretical developments on the sociology of language. The function of language is seen not as one of expressing "prior elements" or "private states" within the individual; rather its function is the "social" one of "coordinating diverse actions" (Mills, 1940, 904).

Mills's interest is in linking motives with social actions. For Mills, motives are to be construed not as "subjective 'springs' of action," rather they are to be considered as "typical vocabularies" (words, phrases) which have "ascertainable functions in delimited societal situations" (ibid).

What is especially relevant to this investigation is Mills's statement that

The motives actually used in justifying or criticizing an act definitely link it to situations, integrate one man's action with another's, and line up conduct with norms... *It is a hypothesis worthy and capable of test that typical vocabularies of motives for different situations are significant determinants of conduct* [emphasis added] (1940, 908).

It is worthy of note, amongst other things, that this statement provides a strong justification for the research problem being investigated in this study. In addition, in a more theoretical sense, motives as vocabularies, are said to *guide* behaviour. Indeed Mills notes specifically that "vocabularies of motives ordered to different situations stabilize and guide behavior and expectation of the reactions of others" (ibid, 911).

Metaphors are frequently seen as indicators or expressions of inner phenomena, such as beliefs, values and attitudes (see, e.g. Embler, 1951). However, following Mills, it is possible to argue that metaphors, as linguistic phenomena, guide behaviour in social situations. Thus Mills's argument would appear to offer a theoretical justification for statements in the literature of educational administration (e.g. those of Sergiovanni, Mitchell, Beare, and Bredeson) that the metaphors of administrators are linked to administrative behaviour.

But what of works in the field of organisational science - what insights about the relationship between metaphors and administrative behaviour are to be found in these? As was made clear when discussing the role of metaphor in the development of theory, Morgan's position is that images and metaphors are interpretive constructs which shape perception and thought about organisation and administration. In *Images of Organization* (1986), a work which combines a theoretical with an applied emphasis, Morgan takes this argument a step further. Now metaphors are seen as influencing not only thought and understanding, but also administrative and managerial practice. That this is so is clear from the following comment:

In recognising how taken-for-granted images or metaphors shape our understanding and action, we are recognising the role of theory. Our images or metaphors are theories or conceptual frameworks. *Practice is never theory-free, for it is always guided by an image of what*

one is trying to do [emphasis added]. The real issue is whether or not we are aware of the theory guiding our action (Morgan, 1986, 336).

This statement is significant in that a close inter-relationship between images, theories and practice is postulated. For Morgan, the same fundamental, deeply held images that shape ideas about organisation and administration, also guide administrative and managerial practice.

Morgan's phrase, "the injunction of metaphor," is one which sheds further light on his conception of the relationship between metaphors and administrative practice. Morgan notes that

> ...metaphors give us systematic ways of thinking about how we can or should act in a given situation - what I call *the injunction of metaphor* [italics in original] (Morgan, 1986, 331).

And, again, he comments that

> Each metaphor has its own injunction or directive: a mode of understanding that suggests a mode of action (Morgan, 1986, 334).

These statements not only draw attention to metaphors as "ways of thinking," they clearly and emphatically link thought with action. Here it seems metaphorical thinking not only guides, it *directs* administrative action.

The use of a neologism - "imaginization" - further highlights the close relationship between images and administrative behaviour. "Imaginization" is specifically contrasted with "organization" (Morgan, 1986, 343). Whereas the latter is said to be "usually loaded with mechanical or instrumental significance" (ibid), "imaginization" is explained as follows:

> In coining the word *imaginization*[italics in original] my intention is to break free of this mechanical meaning [the instrumental meaning of organisation] by symbolizing the close link between images and actions. Organization is always shaped by underlying images and ideas; we organize as we imaginize; and it is always possible to imaginize in many different ways (ibid).

As administrators "imaginize," it seems, so will they organise. The use of different images and metaphors will thus give rise to different ways of organising and administering.

It will be recalled that, in discussing the development of organisation theory, Morgan had linked metaphors with creative thinking. In *Images of Organization* (1986) they are also linked with creative action. This point is summarised in his remark that organisation, conceived as "imaginization," is "a creative process where new images and ideas can create new actions" (ibid, 343). The key to developing innovative approaches to organisation and management is thus to be found in the administrator's or manager's capacity to "imaginize." It is a theme which is developed further in Morgan's (1993) later work, *Imaginization: the Art of Creative Management.*

It is noteworthy that the link that is made here by Morgan between metaphorical thinking and the idea of change occurs also in the work of Sergiovanni. In Sergiovanni's (1995, 60) more recent work, he argues the need to change the metaphors that are used for "management, leadership, and schooling." According to Sergiovanni (1995, 60; 1994), when the metaphor is changed, the theory is changed and so too, by implication, is the administrator's mode of organising and managing.

Overall, the statements of Sergiovanni about the relationship between metaphors and administrative behaviour are consistent with those of Morgan. Both writers concur that there is a close relationship between thinking (including metaphorical thinking) and administrative behaviour. Whereas, however, Morgan had favoured the term "imaginization," Sergiovanni (1992, 1995) employs a different neologism - that of "mindscapes." The latter are explained as follows:

> In many respects, mindscapes are our intellectual security
> blankets and road maps through an uncertain world. As
> road maps, they provide the rules, assumptions, images,
> and principles that define what the principalship is and
> how its practice should unfold (Sergiovanni, 1995, 30).

It would seem from this statement that by the term "mindscapes"

Sergiovanni means something that is broader than a specific theory or model. "Mindscapes" comprise mental maps and pictures, and the images and metaphors associated with these. "Mindscapes," thus construed, appear to be the same as those images and pictures which, for Greenfield, are so influential in the shaping of reality. It is worthy of note also that the description of "mindscapes" as "intellectual security blankets," carries many of the same connotations as Morgan's 'taken-for-granted' metaphorical assumptions.

Sergiovanni's conception of "mindscapes," and their connections with models and administrative behaviour, is summarised in the following statement:

> In sum, the metaphor of mindscape can be helpful in understanding how models influence behavior. Models function as mindscapes by defining for administrators what is acceptable and unacceptable practice and by providing them with certain givens to ensure that their practice will be acceptable (Sergiovanni 1985). Mindscapes, in turn, function as lenses that frame what is seen and thought, and thus they shape professional reality (Sergiovanni, et al., 1992, 120).

From this statement it seems clear that, fundamentally, it is the "mindscape" that influences behaviour - models being but one expression of a "mindscape." Moreover, Sergiovanni's statement that "mindscapes" "function as lenses that frame what is seen and thought," corroborates Morgan's (1980, 1986) point about the role of metaphors as interpretive constructs. Indeed the two terms (that is, 'mindscape' and 'metaphor') appear to be almost interchangeable.

Whether the lenses through which the administrator 'sees' are called 'mindscapes' or metaphors, the point is that they constitute frameworks of meaning. As such, they shape not only thought, but also action and behaviour. To put this same point somewhat differently, administrative action and behaviour always takes place within frameworks of meaning. The keys to these frameworks of meaning are to be found in the administrator's images and metaphors.

There is one other writer, namely Senge, whose work might be mentioned here. This is not because Senge's work offers any additional theoretical insights into the nature of the relationship between metaphors and administrative behaviour. It is simply because Senge, like Morgan and Sergiovanni, assigns such importance to the administrator's ideas and images.

Senge's work is a leading example of the corpus of literature that now exists on the learning organisation. The very phrase 'the learning organisation' carries connotations associated with thought and understanding. Hence the learning organisation represents a subject area that is potentially hospitable to the notion of metaphor.

In advancing his theory of the learning organisation, Senge (1992) draws attention to the importance of deeply held 'mental models'. These are explained in the following way:

> 'Mental models' are deeply ingrained assumptions, generalizations, or even pictures or images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action. Very often, we are not consciously aware of mental models or the effects they have on our behavior (Senge, 1992, 8).

'Mental models,' as described here, appear to be very similar to Sergiovanni's 'mindscapes'. In particular, Senge's comments echo Morgan's arguments about the significance of underlying images and metaphors, images and metaphors which are often tacitly held or taken-for-granted.

It is also clear that Senge sees 'mental models' as significant, precisely because of their impact on managerial behaviour. This point is highlighted in Miller and Dess's (1996, 392) explanation of Senge's position:

> Senge and others have argued that mental models hold the key to a major break-through for building learning organizations. But what is so important about something as nebulous as a mental model? The facts that they are both models, and mental, indicate how ephemeral they are. Yet when it comes to shaping organizational action, a manager's mental models are very real. In fact, they

define reality, because they determine what decisionmakers see when they look at a problem or an opportunity. When it comes to shaping decisions and actions, personal perceptions are the most important form of reality.

On this view, 'mental models' are important precisely because they shape the decision-maker's perceptions of problems and issues and thereby influence decisions and actions.

It comes as no surprise then that, like Morgan and Sergiovanni, Senge argues that it is the 'mental models' of managers that must be influenced or changed, if changes are to occur in managerial practice. This particular point is noted also by Wack, a writer influenced by Senge's ideas. Wack has remarked as follows:

> Every manager has a mental model of the world in which he or she acts, based on experience and knowledge. When a manager must make a decision, he or she thinks of behavior alternatives, within this mental model...From the moment of this realization, we no longer saw our task [in scenario planning] as producing a documented view of the future. Our real target was the mental models of our decision-makers; unless we influenced the mental image, the picture of reality held by critical decision makers, our scenarios would be like water on stone (Wack, cited in Miller and Dess, 1996, 392).

Wack is here alluding to his discovery of the fundamental importance of the manager's mental maps and pictures of reality. Where these are not taken into account, the use of management tools, such as scenario planning, is pointless.

The parallels between the thinking of Morgan, Sergiovanni and Senge are striking. Senge's 'mental models' parallel Sergiovanni's 'mindscapes' and both echo Morgan's 'imaginization'. In drawing attention to the importance of the administrator's ideas and images, all three terms simultaneously highlight the nature of organisation and administration as a way of 'seeing' and thinking. Perusal of the work of Morgan and Sergiovanni, in particular, reveals that for both these writers, images, theories and administrative behaviour are closely inter-related. Just as

observations of the organisational and administrative world can be said to be 'theory-laden', so too is administrative and managerial practice. In sum, it might be said that the work of the writers reviewed here reflects an assumption that is central to Greenfield's work - the assumption that it is always through ideas and images that the world is comprehended and understood. In assigning a central place to the thinking, experiencing human actor, this work reflects ideas that are central to the cultural perspective on organisation.

Related Research

In this section are reviewed those research studies that are most closely related to the present study. It is important to note that a concerted attempt was made to locate research of a similar kind to the present one. To this end, a comprehensive search was made of data bases in the fields of education, business and management. However, no research was identified that is precisely the same as the present study.

Firstly, in this section, some empirical studies in the field of educational administration are noted. Two specific studies are then discussed, one being by Bredeson (1985) and the other by Moore and Beck (1984). The question of relevant Australian research is then examined and, in the final topic of this section, the present study is compared with others.

Empirical Studies in Educational Administration

In recent years, a number of empirical studies have been carried out in the field of educational administration, in which metaphor is a central concept. Amongst these studies are those of Bredeson (1985), Inbar (1991), Beck and Murphy (1992), Dana and Pitts (1993), Fennell (1994), and Ratsoy (1995). The research reported by these writers makes use of the concept of metaphor to examine a specific aspect of educational organisation and administration.

Bredeson (1985) has investigated the metaphorical perspectives of five public school principals. Inbar (1991) has studied the metaphors used for the planning process, whilst Fennell (1994) has applied the linkage metaphor, a variant of the loose-coupling metaphor, to the study of change processes. Beck and Murphy (1992) have examined the metaphorical language used for the role of the principal, their data source being published accounts of educational administration in America. Dana and Pitts (1993) have studied a principal's use of metaphor as a tool of reflective enquiry. In addition, Ratsoy (1995) has utilised the concept of metaphor in an extensive study of teacher evaluation policies and practices.

Bredeson's Study

Of the studies mentioned above, it is the work of Bredeson (1985, 1988) that is of most relevance to the present study. This is because Bredeson's work, as explained in Chapter One (pp.7-8), reflects an interest in the influence of the metaphors used by educational administrators on administrative and organisational behaviour. Bredeson's earlier paper (1985) contains an account of his research and it is this paper which will be considered here.

The stated aim of this research is, in part, "to describe the images that currently exist in the statements, beliefs, values and daily routines of five school principals" (Bredeson, 1985, 30). The findings are worthy of note. The behaviour and beliefs of each principal were characterised by images reflecting a composite of three of Sergiovanni's generative metaphors: the rational mechanistic, the organic and the bargaining metaphors (ibid, 37). However, Bredeson went beyond these to identify three "broad metaphors of purpose" (ibid, 38). The three metaphors which encapsulated the purposes of the five principals included the maintenance, survival and vision metaphors (ibid). As Bredeson (ibid) puts it, each principal "practiced the craft of the principalship within the parameters" of these three metaphors of purpose. But, whilst each principal's behaviour and beliefs were characterised by all three metaphors, the metaphor that predominated was that of 'maintenance'.

It is noteworthy that Bredeson did not find any significant differences

between the principals. That is, all five were characterised by the same three metaphors of purpose. Bredeson's (ibid, 45) point here is that the metaphors of purpose were not so much "a matter of personal choice" but rather "a matter of community, organizational and professional role expectations." In other words, "all five principals shared a common culturally standardized image of the principalship" (ibid). Indeed one of the most valuable aspects of Bredeson's study is the light which it sheds on the ethos of the principalship in America.

An examination of Bredeson's research indicates that it is quite different in its precise focus from the present investigation. Bredeson's focus is the metaphorical perspectives of the principals - these having been identified through an analysis of the principals' statements, beliefs, and behaviour. This focus is very different from that of the present study, the latter being concerned with the relationship between the metaphors of the administrators and their administrative behaviour.

There is another point of difference. The metaphors identified in Bredeson's research are broad and generalised, being accurately described by Bredeson as "metaphorical themes" (ibid, 38). It would seem that they are identified from a study of the principals' behaviour as much as they are from an examination of their language. The metaphors of the academic administrators in the present study, in contrast, are identified entirely from an analysis of their language.

Other Empirical Studies

<u>Moore and Beck's Study</u>
Although the research noted to this point is drawn from the field of educational administration, the writer also attempted to identify any related research in the broader field of organisation and management studies. Only one study was located which appeared to be of relevance. This is a paper by Moore and Beck (1984) entitled "Leadership Among Bank Managers: a Structural Comparison of Behavioral Responses and Metaphorical Imagery." Moore and Beck's paper describes a study of seventy-seven Canadian branch bank managers using critical incidents written for the

situational demands of branch bank management. Again, this study is different from the present one. The difference is one of purpose. In the words of Moore and Beck (1984, 241), their research is "conceived to identify and to conceptualise a specific Canadian management style." It is not research which is aimed at identifying the nature of the relationship between the metaphors of the bank managers and their behaviour - although the title of the paper, at least on the surface, may appear to indicate this.

Australian Research

No Australian research study was identified that was similar in kind to the present investigation. Harman's (1988) study of academic culture at the University of Melbourne and Meek's (1984) study of conflict at the Gippsland College of Advanced Education are of interest in a broad, theoretical sense. However, the subjects addressed by Harman and Meek are quite different from the topic of the present study.

A paper by Blackman (1991) was located entitled "Metaphor in Appraising and Improving Teaching: Issues for Research." It is a brief discussion which does not go beyond providing some examples of images used by teachers to describe teaching and the classroom. A paper by Grady (1993) might be mentioned here also - a paper which is of methodological interest only. Grady describes an instrument he has designed for use by school principals, the purpose of the instrument being the identification of the metaphors used by teachers. Grady's instrument was not used in the present study, although it was given consideration when devising the data collection strategies.

Comparing the Present Study with Other Studies

The precise topic of the present study sets it apart from other research studies. Whilst the relationship between the metaphors of administrators and administrative behaviour constitutes a recurrent theme in the literature, the present study is the only one that subjects this relationship to detailed investigation.

There is, however, one major aspect of the present study that can be compared with other studies. The aspect being referred to is that which requires the identification of metaphors.

Again, so far as the identification of metaphors are concerned, there are important differences between the present study and those reported in the literature. The study of Fennell (1994), for example, applies a theoretical metaphor (the loose coupling metaphor) to the study of the change process. Ratsoy (1995) uses metaphors mainly as a conceptual framework for his study of teacher evaluation practices. Neither of these has, as its principal focus, the metaphors of educational administrators. It is true that the studies of Bredeson (1985), Inbar (1991), and Dana and Pitts (1993) do address the metaphors used by administrators. However, these are concerned with examining the metaphors of *school* administrators. In sum, there were no studies identified that examine the metaphors of academic administrators. As far as the writer can determine, there are indeed no studies which link the concept of metaphor with academic organisation and administration.

There is another feature which distinguishes the present study from others reported in the literature. This difference has to do with the level of analysis of the metaphors. In a study such as Bredeson's, the metaphors are identified partly from statements and partly from the behaviour of the principals. They are, to a large extent, metaphors of administrative practice. This of course, given Bredeson's purpose, is legitimate. However, leaving Bredeson's valuable study aside, others such as those of Inbar (1991) and Dana and Pitts (1993) give little detail concerning the identification of metaphors. Where these studies are concerned, one is left with the impression that the process of analysing the metaphors has been neither comprehensive nor systematic. The present study has, by comparison with those reported in the literature, a much greater emphasis on the analysis of language. The metaphors of the academic administrators are identified solely from their speech acts and written statements. Moreover, the language of the administrators has been subjected to intensive analysis.

Methodological Perspective

In this section, the methodological approach employed in the present study is identified and justified.

The 'Field Study' and 'Case Study' Defined

The present study falls into the domain of the field study. Specific definitions of the term 'field study' vary. Scott (1965, 261-62) provides a broad definition noting that the term describes studies "...where the investigator does not 'stay' with his subjects and does not observe them 'intimately', but merely visits them briefly to gather information of a more general and public sort." On the other hand, Hughes (in Junker, 1960, v) states that:

> Field-work refers...to observation of people *in situ*, finding them where they are, staying with them in some role which, while acceptable to them, will allow both intimate observation of certain parts of their behaviour and reporting it in ways useful to social science but not harmful to those observed.

Whilst such variation in definitions can be found, the essential characteristic of the field study is identified succinctly by Junker (1960, 1) who comments that "field work...[is] concerned with learning first hand from living people about themselves and their society." The present study falls into this category in that the researcher goes 'to the field' and studies the subjects of the investigation in their natural setting.

The study's research design has been described as a parallel, concurrent case study design. As a research design, the case study belongs to the genre of descriptive, non-experimental research. Such non-experimental or descriptive research is undertaken, according to Merriam, "when description and explanation (rather than prediction based on cause and effect) are sought, when it is not possible or feasible to manipulate the potential causes of behavior, and when variables are not easily identified or are too embedded in the phenomenon to be extracted for study" (Merriam, 1988, 7).

The nature of the phenomena investigated in the present study, as, for example, the metaphors of the academic administrators, clearly necessitate the use of some form of descriptive research. As a form of descriptive research, Merriam (1988, 16) goes on to define the qualitative case study as "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon, or social unit." On the basis of the nature of the final report, case studies, according to Merriam (1988, 27), can be "primarily descriptive, interpretive or evaluative." Many are a combination of the descriptive and interpretive (ibid, 29), a statement which fits the present study.

Theory and Method

One clear point which emerges from the literature, as well as from the research examined, is that there is an affinity between particular theoretical ideas and research strategies. Fieldwork is clearly the preferred style of investigation in studies which are influenced by symbolic interactionist and phenomenological ideas, or which deploy the concept of culture (see, e.g. Blumer, 1967, 1969; Filstead, 1970; Denzin, 1978; Pondy and Mitroff, 1979; Greenfield, 1975). The concern of such researchers with people, their meanings, experience, and way of life commits them not only to fieldwork, but frequently to qualitative studies of particular cases. Cuff and Payne (1984, 205) make this point noting that there is a predilection not only for fieldwork, but for intensive holistic studies within particular, often small-scale settings.

Blumer's (1967) landmark discussion of 'variable analysis' in sociology provides a methodological framework for studies which utilise symbolic interactionist ideas. Blumer's discussion, as explained by Cuff, Sharrock and Francis (1990, 148), identifies points which have frequently been made by advocates of naturalistic and qualitative research in organisational and educational settings. In the place of the variable analysis associated with the rationalistic research paradigm, Blumer argues the case for a naturalistic approach, the study of a situation or setting 'the way it is'. Thus Blumer dispenses with any attempt to fit the research subject to precise operational definitions or closely defined, preconceived ideas. There is no *precise* specification of research procedures in advance of the actual empirical

investigation.

The methods favoured by Blumer for data gathering are direct as distinct from indirect methods, being participant observation, informal or open-ended interviewing and document analysis. Unlike those methods which are associated with the rationalistic or natural science model, as for example questionnaires or survey methods, field research methods have the advantage of allowing the researcher to acquire first hand knowledge of the empirical social world (Blumer, 1967; Filstead, 1970).

In the field of organisational science, Blumer's points have been echoed by Pondy and Mitroff (1979) in the course of their advocacy of a cultural approach to the study of organisations. "We suspect," say Pondy and Mitroff 1979, 29), "that questionnaire design, large sample surveys and multivariate analysis will need to recede in importance in favor of abstract model-building and ethnographic techniques more suitable to documenting individual cases of meaning and belief systems." Where the subjective aspects of an organisation are emphasised, the strategy of investigation necessitates a focus on interpretation and appreciation, as distinct from measurement.

Similar points have been made by Greenfield in the field of educational administration. His (1975) criticism of studies of school organisations based on the systems model, includes a criticism of the use of experimental methods and quantitative analysis to establish relationships among variables. This criticism is again in the spirit of Blumer, namely, that such methods quantify human conduct and abstract reality. They fail to capture "the direct experience of people in specific situations," a goal which is better achieved through the case study and comparative and historical methods of analysis (Greenfield, 1975, 71).

There is thus ample justification to be found in the literature for the writer's choice of methodological perspective in the present study. In sum, the review of literature on methodological issues has disclosed that theoretical and methodological issues are closely linked. Research which deploys the concept of culture favours a direct approach to the study of the

organisational world. The field study and qualitative case study approach are preferred styles of investigation. This finding lends support to the writer's choice of research design in the present study. In addition, the review has highlighted that there is also a close relationship between research design and specific techniques for data collection. There is a relationship, for example, between the field study and the use of participant observation, informal interviewing and document analysis. Questionnaires and survey methods are most often associated with rationalistic research strategies. This finding lends support to the writer's choice of data gathering techniques.

The Theoretical Framework in Summary

The assumption that the metaphors of administrators are directly related to administrative behaviour appears to presuppose that the metaphors of the administrators influence or in some way affect administrative behaviour. The review of literature has been directed towards explaining or at least making theoretically meaningful this latter idea.

Within the organisation theory tradition, it is the cultural perspective which is most relevant to the problem being investigated. By contrast with the conception of man implicit in mechanistic and organismic views of organisation and administration, the cultural perspective emphasises man's "higher capacities", including his symbol-producing nature (Pondy and Mitroff, 1979, 3). It thus allows for an expanded conception of the administrator's uniquely human attributes - his capacity to use language, exhibit insight, and invest situations with meaning (Pondy and Mitroff, 1979; Morgan et al., 1983). If it is accepted that the use of metaphor represents a basic human impulse to find meaning in the world (Nietzsche, 1968; Ricoeur, 1977; Bowers, 1980), or is, in Lakoff's (1993) terms, a fundamental way of conceptualising experience, then the relevance of the concept of culture to the present study must be allowed.

Any attempt to explain the supposition that metaphors guide or influence administrative behaviour invites, firstly, reflection on a major assumption of the cultural view - the assumption that cultural processes influence human behaviour. This, in turn, necessitates some clarification of the term 'culture' itself.

Keesing's use of the term 'culture' is adopted here. It is a use which has its roots in the thinking of Geertz and Goodenough, writers whose theoretical approach views the "realm of ideas, the force of symbols as centrally important in shaping human behaviour, not simply as secondary reflections of the material conditions of social life" (Keesing, 1981, 67). Following Geertz and Goodenough, Keesing restricts "the term culture to an *ideational* [emphasis in original] system" (Keesing, 1981, 68). "Cultures in this sense," according to Keesing (1981, 68), "comprise systems of shared ideas, systems of concepts and rules and meanings that underlie and are expressed in the ways humans live." Keesing, explaining further his use of the term 'culture', sees it also as referring to "the organised system of knowledge and beliefs whereby a people structure their experience and perceptions, formulate acts, and choose between alternatives" (Keesing, 1981, 68). For Keesing, culture is thus a kind of "conceptual code" to be distinguished from "the overt behaviour based on that code" (Keesing, 1981, 69).

That the codes of meaning indigenous to a particular social system serve as behaviour-shaping ideals is implicit in many definitions of culture. Keesing's discussion brings out clearly the notion that culture, as a kind of conceptual code, acts as a compass guiding and directing human behaviour. This navigational aspect of culture is also evident in those explanations of the relationship between culture and behaviour which employ social interactionist concepts - concepts such as social construction, interpretation, definition of situation, and negotiation.

Louis's (1983) explanation of the symbolic interactionist position is provided in full on p.41. Here it is sufficient to note that the individual, in this view, is continuously engaged in a sense-making process, a process involving the negotiation of meaning. Blumer has linked this interpretive process with human behaviour in the following way. "Human beings," says Blumer, "act

towards things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them..."
(Blumer, cited in Louis, 1983, 44). An identical idea, namely that
interpretation guides action, is implicit in Thomas's statement: "If men
define situations as real they are real in their consequences" (Thomas, cited
in Louis, 1983, 46).

The explanation provided above of the way in which culture is linked to
human behaviour, is clearly underpinned by an interpretive, rather than a
functionalist, approach to the concept of culture. When applied to the
subject of organisational culture, the interpretive approach emphasises the
meaning embodied in symbols and the part which this meaning plays in the
shaping of organisation and administration. Pondy and Mitroff (1979, 26-7),
for example, comment that myths, stories and metaphors are "powerful
vehicles" for "exchanging and preserving rich sets of meaning." Similarly,
Smircich (1983a, 353) states that, from an interpretive perspective, "language,
symbols, myths, stories, and rituals..."are "generative processes that yield
and shape meanings ... that are fundamental to the very existence of
organization." This latter statement has the advantage of highlighting the
point that, from the interpretive perspective, symbolic forms are more than
cultural artefacts; they are dynamic aspects of an organisation's culture.

The interpretive approach to organisational culture, has important
implications for the way in which the organisation is conceptualised.
Smircich (1983a), and also Morgan, Frost and Pondy (1983) have made this
point, noting that those who adopt a functionalist approach to culture
construe the organisation as a predominantly material, objective entity. For
interpretivists, on the other hand, the organisation, being the outcome of
processes of social construction, is a largely subjective phenomenon. The
extent to which the organisation is construed as a subjective entity,
however, varies. The work of Van Maanen (1973, 1977) and Manning (1979)
exemplifies a somewhat extreme 'subjectivist' position, with the
organisation being construed as patterns of symbolic discourse. Others are
somewhat less 'subjectivist' in their approach, but as Smircich (1983a, 353)
points out, whilst these writers may manifest "different understandings of
the specific nature of culture," they are fundamentally alike in that they "are
all influenced to consider organization as a particular form of human

expression."

Clearly then, a cultural perspective on organisation and administration, when viewed in the way described above, highlights the artifice that shapes the organisation. The social (and organisational) world of the academic administrators for example, can be viewed as a 'built' world, 'built' through the imposition on experience of categories and conventions of thought. It is in this sense an arbitrary or conventional world in that it could have been other than it is. Academic administrators are essentially interpretive beings acting not on direct knowledge of the objective world, but on the basis of their perceptions and categorisations of reality. Another way to make this point would be to say, as does Greenfield (1993a), that the administrators act on the basis of their "images of reality" - the maps and pictures of reality that they create or that others create for them.

In this interpretive, sense-making process, language is of central importance. This is because it is through language that the individual categorises reality and articulates and communicates the meaning of experience. Linguists such as Sapir (1964) and Bernstein (1964) have argued that language is the most powerful of the social forces through which a culture reaches the real world. The way in which language organises and shapes perceptions of the world imposing meaning upon it, has been put well by Hawkes. Hawkes (1973, 14) comments that

> Language, like spectacles enables us to 'see', but it imposes on what we see certain of the properties of the lens. Yet without the lens we would see nothing: so we either see in the spectacles' terms or not at all.

Hawkes (1973, 11) goes on to comment that "language and reality interpenetrate" seeming to be "all but inextricable."

Metaphor is both a fundamental way of thinking about and conceptualising experience and it is also pervasive in language (Lakoff, 1993). As Edelman (1971, 67) has put it, "thought is metaphorical and metaphor pervades language." In the discourse of organisational science, Morgan explains metaphor in much the same way as Hawkes (quoted above) has explained

language. The use of metaphor is said to imply a "way of seeing" (Morgan, 1986, 12). Indeed Morgan (1980, 1986) has argued that metaphor is a particularly powerful interpretive lens framing and giving perspective to the individual's experience of organisation.

For Morgan (1980), theory and research into organisation and administration is guided and shaped by underlying images and metaphors - images and metaphors which may be tacitly held or even taken-for-granted. In Morgan's argument concerning the role of metaphor in the development of theory, fundamental images or metaphors (that is, root metaphors) prefigure an area of study, guiding and shaping perception in distinctive ways. An important feature of his argument is that the various metaphors (for example, organisation as machine, as organism, as political system, etc), provide different perspectives, that is different ways of 'seeing' or 'looking at' organisation and administration. Each metaphor, according to Morgan (1986, 13), provides a distinctive, but partial insight and each metaphor is also said to be complementary to the others. He stresses, for example, the importance of using the insights provided by different metaphors - that is, multiple perspectives - in the analysis of organisation and administration (1986, 322).

The influence of metaphors, as interpretive constructs, however, extends beyond their role in the development of theoretical ideas. Not only theory and research, but also administrative behaviour and practice, is said to be guided and shaped by underlying root metaphors (Morgan, 1986; Mitchell, 1986; Beare, 1987a; Sergiovanni, et al., 1992; Sergiovanni, 1995).

At this point, it is appropriate to refer again to the writer's previous discussion (on pp.39-42) of the relationship between culture and human behaviour. In that discussion, culture, construed as a kind of conceptual code, was said to act as a compass guiding and directing human behaviour. Explanations grounded in symbolic interactionist ideas (see e.g. Louis, 1983) all emphasise this navigational aspect of culture. Insofar, moreover, as culture can be said to guide behaviour, it seems reasonable to suppose that metaphors, as an important aspect of culture, can also function to guide behaviour.

Further insights into the relationship between metaphors and behaviour can be gleaned from writers such as the literary critic Burke (1957) and the sociologist Wright Mills (1940). Although these writers are more concerned with language, rather than with the more specific concept of metaphor, their ideas are relevant here. For both Burke and Mills, words as symbolic forms in themselves carry implications for action. The function of language, for Mills, is not one of expressing "prior elements" or "private states" within the individual; rather its function is the "social" one of "coordinating diverse actions" (Mills, 1940, 904). Moreover, motives as vocabularies (that is, words, statements) are said to *guide* behaviour. Indeed Mills notes specifically that "vocabularies of motives ordered to different situations stabilize and guide behavior and expectation of the reactions of others" (ibid, 911). Language can be taken as an "indicator of future actions" (Mills, 1940, 904).

Since the supposition that metaphors guide or shape administrative behaviour is central to the work of Morgan (1986) and Sergiovanni (1995), their attempts at explaining it are particularly noteworthy. Morgan appears to posit a link between thought and action. Metaphors, as interpretive constructs, not only shape ideas about organisation and administration, they also carry with them a prescription for action - what he calls the "injunction of metaphor" (1986, 331, 334). Metaphors, says Morgan (1986, 331), "give us systematic ways of thinking about how we can or should act in a given situation - what I call the *injunction of metaphor* " [italics in original].

The statements of Sergiovanni (1992, 1995) about the relationship between metaphors and administrative behaviour are consistent with those of Morgan. Sergiovanni (1992, 120; 1995, 30) speaks of "mindscapes" - ways of thinking that comprise mental maps, pictures, and models, and the images and metaphors associated with these. As with Morgan, Sergiovanni (1992, 120) appears to posit a link between ways of thinking (mindscapes) and administrative behaviour. Moreover, Sergiovanni's (ibid) statement that mindscapes "function as lenses that frame what is seen and thought," is consistent with Morgan's (1980, 1986) argument about the role of metaphors as interpretive constructs. Indeed the two terms (that is, 'mindscape' and

'metaphor') appear to be almost interchangeable.

Perhaps none of these writers offer a precise explanation of the link between symbolic forms such as metaphor and behaviour. They provide a way of thinking about this relationship, rather than any complete explanation of it. However the idea is interpreted or understood, it is nonetheless true that writers of varying theoretical persuasions affirm the significance of an administrator's interpretive constructs - one might even say of an administrator's 'lenses' or 'spectacles'. These are said to be significant not solely because they influence an administrator's thinking about problems and issues. In shaping perceptions of problems and issues, they also influence decisions and action.

The interpretive constructs or 'lenses', referred to above, are described in the literature in various ways. They may be called "images of reality" (Greenfield, 1993a), root metaphors (Morgan, 1980, 1986), "mindscapes" (Sergiovanni, et al., 1992; Sergiovanni 1995), "mental models" (Senge, 1992), or "maps and pictures" of reality (Kantrow, 1987). Whether, however, the 'lenses' through which an administrators 'sees' are called metaphors or 'mindscapes', the essential point is that they constitute frameworks of meaning on the basis of which administrators act and behave. To put the same point somewhat differently, administrative action and behaviour always takes place within frameworks of meaning. The keys to these frameworks of meaning are to be found in the administrator's images and metaphors.

A criticism which may be made of the preceding discussion is that the writer has conflated the terms 'action' and 'behaviour'. Theorists who adopt a cultural perspective frequently argue that action must be distinguished from behaviour (see, e.g. Sergiovanni, 1984; Macpherson, 1984). Sergiovanni (cited in Lakomski and Evers, 1995, 10) draws the distinction thus:

> Actions differ from behaviour in that they are born of preconceptions, assumptions, and motives. Actions have meaning in the sense that as preconditions change, meanings change regardless of the sameness of recorded behaviour.

Lakomski and Evers (1995, 10), explaining this position, note that human action is "characterised by inner mental phenomena, such as motives, intentions, beliefs and values."

The writer acknowledges this distinction between action and behaviour. It is a distinction which brings into focus a major debate in the discourse of organisational science - a debate reflecting a fundamental theoretical dilemma in the field. The dilemma being referred to is the action-structure dilemma and it offers a useful vantage point from which to view the problem being investigated.

In the context of discussing central theoretical perspectives and tensions in the field, Astley and Van de Ven refer to this dilemma as involving "the interplay between 'the two sociologies'." (Astley and Van De Ven citing Dawe, 1983, 251). On the one hand, individual action is viewed as the derivative of the social system and, on the other, the social system is viewed as the derivative of individual action. The debate encapsulates a fundamental question concerning the nature of organisations. Are they "functionally rational, technically constrained systems, or are they socially constructed, subjectively meaningful embodiments of individual action" ? (Astley and Van De Ven, 1983, 251).

In this study, it is the latter conception of organisational reality which is emphasised, the metaphors of the administrators being seen as interpretive constructs which shape administrative behaviour. Behaviour, that is, is construed from the standpoint of the individual actor, as distinct from the standpoint of the social system. However, the very pervasiveness of the dilemma referred to, as evidenced in the perennial debates, underscores the great complexity of social reality and suggests that organisation and administration may not be able to be explicated satisfactorily, solely in terms of either an action or a structural frame of reference. Astley and Van de Ven (1983, 266) themselves suggest this point when they note that both views are "jointly necessary for developing a dynamic appreciation of organisations."

It is worthy of note that, even a writer such as Sergiovanni who otherwise emphasises the importance of human action as distinct from behaviour,

frequently proceeds to discuss organisation and administration as though they are comprised of both subjective phenomena such as meanings and objective phenomena such as observable behaviour. This is reflected in his concern with administrative practice and with the way in which different 'mindscapes' can structure administrative practice in different ways (Sergiovanni, 1995). It is difficult, in examining these aspects of Sergiovanni's work, not to believe that in some indefinable way, he envisages administration as a complex phenomenon comprising both a 'subjectivist' and an 'objectivist' dimension.

Sufficient has already been said to indicate that, in the theoretical framework proposed here, it is the subjective dimension of organisational reality that is emphasised. At the same time, however, there is no attempt to impose on the study a doctrinaire phenomenology. Indeed insofar as the study attempts to examine the metaphors of the academic administrators in relation to the administrative arrangements that are used for decision-making, it may appear to be somewhat eclectic. This eclecticism, however, is itself an acknowledgment of the complexity and plurality of organisational reality. It is noteworthy that this complexity and plurality is itself stressed by certain writers whose thinking displays a strongly 'constructivist' orientation - as, for example, Morgan (1980, 1986). An important feature of Morgan's (1980, 1986) thought is that the various conceptual metaphors for organisation and administration are complementary in the insights they provide and, on the basis of this line of thinking, he himself advocates the use of multiple perspectives, in other words, a theoretical pluralism.

End Note

1 The debate between Pinder and Bourgeois, and Morgan is based on opposing views about the social (and organisational) world. In particular, it is underpinned by different perspectives on the relationship beween language and reality. For Pinder and Bourgeois (1982) and Bourgeois and Pinder (1983), the ideal language of scientific discourse is literal language which is precise and unambiguous. Metaphors being figurative and not

literal do not deal with identity and hence can be misleading (Pinder and Bourgeois, 1982, 643). Tinker (1986) critiques Morgan on the grounds that the latter does not sufficiently take into account the social genesis of metaphors. He accepts that metaphors can illuminate theoretical understanding, but argues that certain metaphors can entrench social bias. Tsoukas (1991), however, attempts to bridge the positions of Pinder and Bourgeois and Morgan. He argues against the assumption that metaphorical and literal languages are mutually exclusive. They have different, but not incompatible functions in organisational science. Tsoukas advocates a "transformational view of metaphors" and with it a methodology whereby metaphorical insights can be developed in such a way as to yield literal identities.