

**COTWOLD COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL**

**WORKING NOTE NO. 1**

by

**A. K. Rice, M.A., Sc.D.**

**Centre for Applied Social Research,  
Tavistock Centre,  
Belsize Lane,  
London, N.W.3.**

**February 1968**

## CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
<b>I THE PRIMARY TASK OF THE COTSWOLD COMMUNITY</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Male Identification</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>The Social Role of Delinquency</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>The Boundary Control Function of the Individual</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Boundary Control and Approved School Organisation</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>II THE IMPORT-CONVERSIONS-EXPORT SYSTEM</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>The Import System</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>The Conversion System</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>The Living Process</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>The working Process</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>The Export System</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>The Working Process</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>The Living Process</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Leisure Activities</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>III MODEL ORGANISATION</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Operating Systems</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>The Managing Systems</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>The boy and the Structure</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>IV COMPARISON WITH THE PRESENT</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>The Headmaster/Principal</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>The Housemaster/House Warden</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Establishment and Size</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Training School/Work/Export</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>The Farm and the Garden</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Financial Management and Boys' Attitudes to the School</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Co-education</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>V THE COTSWOLD SCHOOL IN THE APPROVED SCHOOL SYSTEM</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>VI POSSIBLE NEXT STEPS</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>APPENDIX</b>	<b>31</b>

# COTSWOLD COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL

## WORKING NOTE NO. 1

### Introduction

1. The terms of reference for this study were stated in a letter to the Home Office on 6<sup>th</sup> December 1967:

“...a “limited feasibility study” of the organisation required to convert a traditional approved school into a therapeutic community .... The first phase of any study would require not only analysis of the controls the headmaster could establish in the school, but also an analysis of those to which he himself was subjected. I would therefore propose that as a first phase I should undertake:

- a. a brief examination of the history of the school, its foundation, growth and the reasons for the change;
- b. an examination of the changes already made by the new headmaster; and
- c. an exercise in organisation model building based on the new definition of the community’s task.”

2. This note is intended to be a working document rather than a report. Its status is that of a preliminary attempt to sort out some of the ideas I have developed in my experience with the Cotswold Community over the past few weeks, and to set these against the background of the concepts and hypotheses I brought to the study at the beginning. Much of what I have to say will be only too familiar to the Home Office, the Foundation, the Managers, the Headmaster and Staff, and many of my ideas are still little more than speculations which will have to be verified, modified or discarded as the study goes forward. I hope, however, that this working note will serve as an agenda for further discussions with those concerned with the reorganisation of the school.\*

3. But I am not simply concerned with testing hypotheses or developing concepts. It is my hope that this note will help to illuminate some of the problems which are of active concern in the school now. I therefore concentrate particularly on the ways in which the new definition of the primary task bears on the forms of organisation that have to be developed. A further understanding of the relationship between task and organisation would seem to be a pre-requisite to considering future organisational changes. I hope indeed that some of the ideas put forward can form the basis for immediate experimental trial.

---

\* The headmaster now prefers to be called the Principal, and the school is beginning to be referred to as the Cotswold Community. In the remainder of the note I have used the new titles when referring to the future.

4. The changes that have taken place recently have already confused both staff and boys. Many of them feel anxious and insecure. Nevertheless, I believe that the majority of the staff recognise that some changes are necessary, not only in the Cotswold School, but in the approved school system in general. Not unnaturally, because of their anxiety and insecurity, they want quick and simple solutions. At the same time, there is in the staff a growing willingness to recognise that there are, in reality, no simple solutions and that research and experiment are necessary. To some members of the staff the prospect of experiment is exciting; but for the majority anxiety still overshadows excitement. An experiment that produces positive results will mean changing their established ideas and traditions, with the consequent need to learn something new; \*\* an experiment that produces negative results, in the other hand, will provide no relief from the present stress and uncertainty. Though negative results may provide momentary satisfaction (the “I told you so” variety) they cannot but provide still more anxiety among those who have elected to make their careers in the approved school system, and who are already profoundly depressed by the uncertainties surrounding their future. The point is an obvious one, but I make it to emphasise the very mixed feelings that will accompany any change, and the difficulty of making undistorted judgments about its results. In my very brief encounters with those involved, I have found my own sympathies and identifications swinging wildly. The world of the approved school is one in which it is easy to have one’s emotions aroused, to find oneself believing mutually contradictory propositions at the same time. Institutional structure is a necessary defence.

5. This note arises from individual discussions with Mr. D. Morrell of the Home Office, Mr Ronald Howells of the Rainer Foundation, Mr. Lee Brown, Chairman of the Local managers, and Messrs. Balbernie, Douglas, Stevens and Webster of the Cotswold Community. I have paid, in all, three visits to the school (one very brief) where I met the rest of the staff in two groups (twice each) and a group of boys drawn from each of the houses. I also saw some members of staff, individually and in groups, for special discussions as my ideas developed. During my visits to the school I saw some of its activities, but in no sense can it be said that I studied them or discussed any of them in detail. In addition, I have read papers and reports, both from the Home Office and from the school.

6. The note is in six parts:

In Part I, I discuss the primary task of the Cotswold Community and how it differs from the previous definition, together with some of the ambiguities and difficulties in the present definition.

Part II then considers the import-conversion-export system required to perform the new primary task. I distinguish between

a. An import system that has to receive a boy on his entry into the community and make the diagnosis necessary for his treatment,

---

\*\* “I have been in four schools so far, and each one has worked on a different system. It looks as though I’ve got to learn still another one. I wish they’d make up their minds.”

- b. The conversion systems: the living and working systems a boy experiences during his stay and what they are intended to achieve, and
- c. The export system: the transition back to external society.

In part III I outline a possible model organisation with the operating systems and the specialist control and service functions required in the various managing systems.

In part IV I make some comments on the present organisation, the roles and role-relationships within it and how they differ from the model. I also note some of the existing gaps and touch on the practical problems of filling them.

In part V I examine briefly the Cotswold Community as part of the approved school system and take up the question of the kinds of controls that are exercised on the Headmaster (Principal) by the authorities responsible for the school.

Finally in Part VI I consider some possible next steps.

In the Appendix I outline the concepts and assumptions that I brought to the study and on which the study was initially based. The main concepts used are those of primary task, organisational model building, and boundary control as the most important task of management.

## **I – THE PRIMARY TASK OF THE COTSWOLD COMMUNITY**

7. The primary task of the Cotswold School is now defined as the provision of therapy for boys suffering from serious psychological disturbance and damaged personalities. Their behaviour has led to delinquency of such an order that they have appeared before the Courts and have been committed to an approved school.

8. So long as the task of the approved school was defined as dealing with delinquency rather than with boys, corrective punishment could be, and still is, held to an effective form of conditioning ‘therapy’. More understanding of delinquency has led to the view that delinquency itself is a presenting symptom of psychological damage and disturbance. The important questions that have to be answered if therapy is to be successful are: what is damaged?, how is the disturbance caused?, and what is successful therapy?.

9. In one sense the term “non-delinquent child” is a contradiction; and “delinquent-child” tautological. Delinquency is essentially an adult concept. Every child has to come to terms with the reality of the world in which he lives and in the process of growth and maturation will have to subdue those natural parts of himself, the expression of which society prohibits. A delinquent is one who has fallen foul of the authority of society to determine the difference between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ behaviour.

10. This is not the place, even if I could, to review recent advances in understanding and knowledge about delinquency but for the sake of making my starting point explicit I would like to make three points: first, the general problem of male identification for adolescent boys; second, the social role of the delinquency; and the third, the essential individual boundary control function.

### **Male Identification**

11. In the process of growth and maturation every individual has to cope with the change from complete dependence as a baby (usually on parents) to quasi-dependence as an adult. Boys, in our society, have in addition to accommodate to a change in the sex of the figures on whom they depend, and whom they can take as appropriate models for adult behaviour. (Girls, of course, have difficulties because they do not have to make this accommodation.) They have to come to terms with their own male aggression and the difference between constructive and destructive characteristics.

12. In those parts of society in which both work and leisure activities tend to be heterosexual rather than homosexual, adult male transitional models, with whom the young adolescent boy can identify, are usually available. By contrast, in those parts of society where female activities are, for the most part, confined to home-building and housekeeping and other female occupations, and male activities to male-dominated work and leisure, the young adolescent male has few adult male transitional figures with whom he can identify. He has to make the jump himself.

13. Under such circumstances the usual transitional object is the gang. To join a gang however requires at least some recognition of the differences between the self and others, some experience of the nature of authority and the taking of roles on behalf of a group. These requirements call for a degree of sophistication that is often

beyond the scope of an already damaged personality. While gangs can, of course, be delinquent and thus lead to approved school orders for their members, I make the hypothesis that successive acts of delinquency of a kind that lead to the approved schools are more often committed by those who have not found it possible to take part in normal gang-life and thus have not acquired acceptable outlets for male aggressiveness.\*

### **The Social Role of Delinquency**

14. It is recognised at least by the more progressive members of our society that delinquency is a social activity, and that delinquents of all ages provided convenient and necessary receptacles for the delinquent and deviant parts of ourselves. Since they represent our often disowned and discarded parts we frequently want them hidden and, if possible, forgotten.

15. Nevertheless, there is the possibility that the recognition of the role taken by the delinquent on behalf of society can lead to so much blame being attached to society which requires such roles to be taken, that the delinquent himself is treated as a victim, with little or no responsibility for his actions. More importantly, society's ambivalence towards delinquency and delinquents can drive those involved with delinquents into extreme love/hate attitudes: to deny their hatred and recognise only their love, or to deny their love and recognise only their hate.

16. When more is known and more social welfare services are available, it may be possible to treat society and individuals simultaneously. But for some time to come it will be necessary to recognise that such establishments as the Cotswold Community will have to deal with damaged and disturbed children who will return to an environment that has foisted delinquent roles on them in the past. The task of the approved school is to prepare their members to resist the forces that require them to take such roles in the future.

### **The Boundary Control Function of the Individual**

17. The task of the approved school can thus be described as to strengthen the capacity of the young delinquent to take a more mature and sophisticated responsibility for his own behaviour, to take more conscious and rational authority for his own decisions about when to conform and when to deviate, what to accept and what to reject. In short, to help him control the relations between himself and his environment.

18. This function of control (which I would call the ego-function, is a boundary control. It controls the transactions between the inner world of the individual – hopes, fears, aspirations, abilities and disabilities – and the external world of reality – physical and human, and for many, spiritual as well.

---

\* Richard Balbernie confirms that most of the inhabitants of the Cotswold Community are the isolates who have not been able to acquire the degree of sophistication required to join gangs. This needs checking, elsewhere as well. If it is generally true, it would explain, in part, why the gangs that previously disrupted the Cotswold School were so punitive in structure and so sadistic in culture.

19. Mature control of the boundary between the individual's inner world and the realities of the external environment is not easy for normal adults, let alone for the damaged and maladjusted young. It is therefore perhaps small wonder that those who have to cope with delinquents sometimes find their own uncertainties about their own ego-functions driving them into inflexible attitudes, but at least consistent attitudes – too consistently authoritarian on the one hand, over determined permissiveness on the other.

### **Boundary Controls and Approved School Organisation**

20. To take a place in society involves taking many different roles and behaving appropriately in different roles in different situations. To control transactions across the boundary between the self and the environment means therefore controlling the boundaries between the self and the many different roles in many different situations. It requires the ability to recognise situations for what they are, and when they change, and to respond appropriately in each. In effect, the delinquent has chosen, or has been thrust on him, a limited range of responses; only occasionally does his response match the situation he is in.

21. I am sorry to have made these obvious points at length, but if they are accepted, then they provide a basis for the organisation of any approved school, if, that is, the organisation is to match performance of the task assigned to the Cotswold Community. The organisation should provide a model that is structured in such a way that the 'ego-functions' of the whole institution and of all its parts are mature and sophisticated. The organisational model for the institutional must provide well defined boundaries and adequate controls over transactions across them. To put this another way: the members of the Community must be clear about and committed to the task of the whole, and the different tasks of its different parts, they must be clear about their structure and accept the different responsibilities and authorities of the different roles they take. They must be aware of change in situation and role and change in response called for.

22. In this way the Community can provide models of an institution and of institutional behaviour, and the staff of appropriate adult authorities with which the boys can identify themselves. Moreover, the models should be transferable to the external world, that is, they must be of use to the boys when they leave.

23. In summary, the approach taken in this note is that the boys have not had appropriate models available to them (particularly models demonstrating the constructive rather than the destructive use of masculine aggression). The task of the school is to present them with appropriate models and to help them to identify with them. Even for the very disturbed, psychiatric or psychological therapy, as direct treatment, cannot take up more than a comparatively small proportion of waking life. The milieu in which it takes place should therefore reinforce and support specific treatment. Certainly if it does not support it, or, worse still, contradicts it, then any results of therapy will almost certainly be jeopardised. Without specific treatment, the institution and staff behaviour provide the only therapy available.



## **11 – THE IMPORT-CONVERSION-EXPORT SYSTEM**

24. Boys enter the Cotswold Community at 13, 14, or 15, usually, while they are still ‘school boys’. They leave 18 months or more later when, in terms of the external environment, they would already have left school and started work. The import-conversion-export system therefore has to cope with the transition from school boy to working teenager, and at the same time it has to provide a home. The Community, in other words, has to provide two parallel processes: living and working\*, which may or may not keep in step with each other through the various systems of activity of the total import-conversion-export process.

25. I do not propose to take up questions about the differences between education and training, nor to suggest their relative importance either for boys in the approved school system or for any other boys and girls for that matter. I accept the general proposition that the purpose of education is to provide opportunities for maturation and growth. I believe, however, that since coming to terms with their environment is a major problem for approved school boys, the acquisition of skills, and in particular, of those skills that fit them to take work roles, is an important part of maturation.

### **The Import System**

26. Intakes into the Cotswold Community are boys who have been committed to an approved school and have spent some time at a classifying school. In the classifying school some general diagnostic procedures will have been carried out, but it is unlikely that these procedures will match any particular boy to the resources of a particular school, and especially to one undergoing so much change as the Cotswold Community. In addition when boys arrive at the Cotswold Community they are likely to be resentful, fearful and suspicious about what is going to happen to them.

27. The primary task of the import system is diagnosis – to match, as well as possible, the boy and the available resources in the school. A secondary and nevertheless vitally important task is to make him ready to take advantage of the resources available, to prepare him to enter the Community. In one sense what I have called the secondary task could be comprehended in the primary task. But ‘diagnosis’ and ‘readiness to enter’ may not be coterminous and good results require the completion of both processes.

28. As far as these processes take the new arrival past the first bed-time- a critical point in the process of entering the institution – so will the import system require special residential accommodation, staffed by those who can comprehend and help him in this important ‘boundary-crossing’ transaction.

29. I am told that in fact the diagnostic process is likely to take about two weeks on average. Some may take longer, some shorter, but it seems essential that, during this period, the additional problems of entering a new environment have been dealt with to some extent. Unless they are, the prognosis is unlikely to be accurate. During this time

---

\* I do not like these terms very much, but either Roget was not very helpful or I did not use him properly.

the boy has to be housed, fed and given some opportunity for recreation. Taking the import system as the frame of reference: intakes are new boys; diagnostic procedures match his needs to resources; outputs are boys allocated to their living and working environments in the Community, or rejects who cannot be accommodated in the Community.

## **The Conversion System**

### **The Living Process**

30. I believe it is important to recognise that an institution such as the Cotswold Community cannot provide a boy with a family. It may provide a substitute small group environment: and the small group environment may have healthier relationships than those in his own family; it may even be more satisfying. But it is not a family, and the dynamic relationships with which the Community has to deal are not family relationships.

31. So far as we can tell at present the appropriate size for an effective living group for boys and girls of the age of the entrants to the school is from five or six to eleven or twelve. The number will vary with variations in age, sex, task and the function and personality of leaders and members. When new-comers are assigned to their living units they should therefore be assigned to groups of this size.

32. Small groups can provide security and a sense of intimacy. But confinement to one small group can, on the one hand, frustrate the range of potential relationships (like a family that never visits or has visitors) and, on the other hand, be over-seductive in encouraging withdrawal into a closed in-bred unit. Two safeguards are required, the first, the group should have experience of losing older members and gaining younger ones; and second, a higher order system should put together more than one small group as an identifiable unit, for convenience called a 'House'.

33. I suggest that the house should consist of as many small groups as will provide the next level of identification (in numbers and authority) as the boys can be expected to cope with. Two groups invite permanent warfare, I suggest, therefore, as a first try, that a house should have not less than three or nor more than four small groups. Beyond the house would be the living unit of the Community, differentiated from the units providing for the working process.

34. Provision would have to be made for correcting misplacements in the original diagnosis, for changing boys from group to group within houses, and from house to house within the Community, when either because of changes in the boy or in the composition of the group or of the house or for any other reason such change was felt to be desirable. It is hoped that since stability of the "living process" is desirable, such changes could be rare.

35. If we consider the nature of the authority with which it is hoped that the boys might identify in the living process we are faced with the problem that, in the external environment, running a house or a group and nothing else is not a normal masculine role. It would, therefore, seem essential that any man in charge of a house should also

have another role ( or be manifestly capable of taking one) and one moreover which identifies him with masculine roles in the environment. These could, of course, range from teaching or instructing in the school, working in one of the other activities of the school, or even a job in the external community.\*

36. Since the boys who come to the Cotswold School have failed to make constructive use of opportunities for self-government or self-management, each of the basic groups in each house will also require an adult group leader who will be primarily responsible for them as a group and individually. These too should have some other role, apart from group leadership, which gives them appropriate masculine identities.

37. Each house would also require a housemother (and probably other female staff) not only to provide adequate female support for the boys, but also to bring feminine insight to bear on staff discussions about the boys.

38. The basic organisation of the living unit would be a number of houses, each of which would contain a number of primary groups. Each group would be headed by a group leader, who would report to a house warden \*\*and through whom the house warden would normally work. The house warden would be responsible for the house to the man in charge of the living unit as a whole. Each house would have a housemother and other female staff who may or may not be attached to the basic groups. The living process would thus provide an institutional substitute for a stable 'family' living in a supportive 'neighbourhood' in a recognisable community. Within the living process different kinds of male and female roles would provide models with whom the boys could identify, with emphasis on the transition from female to male identification on the one hand, and from younger 'fraternal' to 'parental' and community authority on the other.

39. At least one further 'living unit' will be required – a 'house' for those who for various reasons cannot be accommodated in the main houses – the very disturbed or the very destructive, who, either for their own sakes or for the sakes of others, have to be separated. It is hoped that this would not become a permanent home for any boys, but that the treatment in it could be such as to enable them to join or to return to their own houses after they had sufficiently recovered

### **The Working Process**

40. The 'working' part of the conversion system would consist of academic and trade training. It would continue up to the point at which a boy 'left' school and started work. The length of the time would vary for different boys.

41. Again, since many of the boys have failed at school in the external environment, the teaching and trade instruction required is essentially remedial in character: geared more to the boys' needs than to that of a curriculum.

---

\* This double role-taking would also have the advantage of providing models of role change and appropriate behaviour change.

\*\* I have used this title to differentiate the role from the existing one of 'housemaster'.

42. I believe that if the Cotswold Community is to offer the boys adequate models of behaviour, it is very important that the boundary between the training school and 'employment' roles should be firmly defined. The boys, as students, should not be used as cheap labour. Such exploitation can only communicate adult delinquency which is a completely inappropriate model. What I have called the 'employment' roles are discussed in the next section under the export system.

### **The Export System**

#### **The Working Process**

43. For the purposes of organisation the export system of the Community can be said to have started once a boy takes what, in the external environment, would be regarded as a paid working role. Within the Cotswold Community such 'employment' roles are at present mixed up with trade training (I am of course excluding domestic duties in the houses and the normal chores of a school).

44. Far more work than I have done is required to define the boundary between studentship and employment and to differentiate the two systems and staff roles in them. Such definition and differentiation would increase the flexibility with which boys could be assigned to, and elect themselves for, part- and full-time employment and experience the different rights and obligations in a variety of situations.

45. If the employment roles are to provide models for use after the boy leaves the Cotswold, then it follows that they should be in enterprises to which, within limits, external criteria apply. In general, they should be commercial enterprises and be judged by commercial standards. As a minimum, they should be very cost-conscious and inculcate efficient working practices.

#### **The Living Process**

46. Once a boy is engaged in a full-time employment role, it is to be hoped that he would also be ready to leave the 'house' system and live in what I have called the Cotswold Hostel. (I understand that attempts are already being made to set up hostels outside the actual Community in Ashton Keynes.) In my conception, the Cotswolds Hostel would be a part of the Cotswold Community, but would be recognised as being outside the boundaries of the 'school'. Different authorities and different responsibilities would apply to those who lived in it. It would be the equivalent in the external environment of the hostels for young people frequently run by such institutions as the Y.M.C.A. In them there would be greater freedom as to times of coming in, lights out, etc., and would therefore be the possibility of more privacy.

47. By this time, I hope, the boys would no longer need the 'two-level' authority of the House Warden and Group Leader and one should suffice. The major therapeutic task of the Hostel Warden would be to prepare the boys to leave, what in retrospect, if not at the time, they would perceive as a protected environment. At the same time, and to help this 'rehearsal', the boys should have to 'pay' for their keep. This means

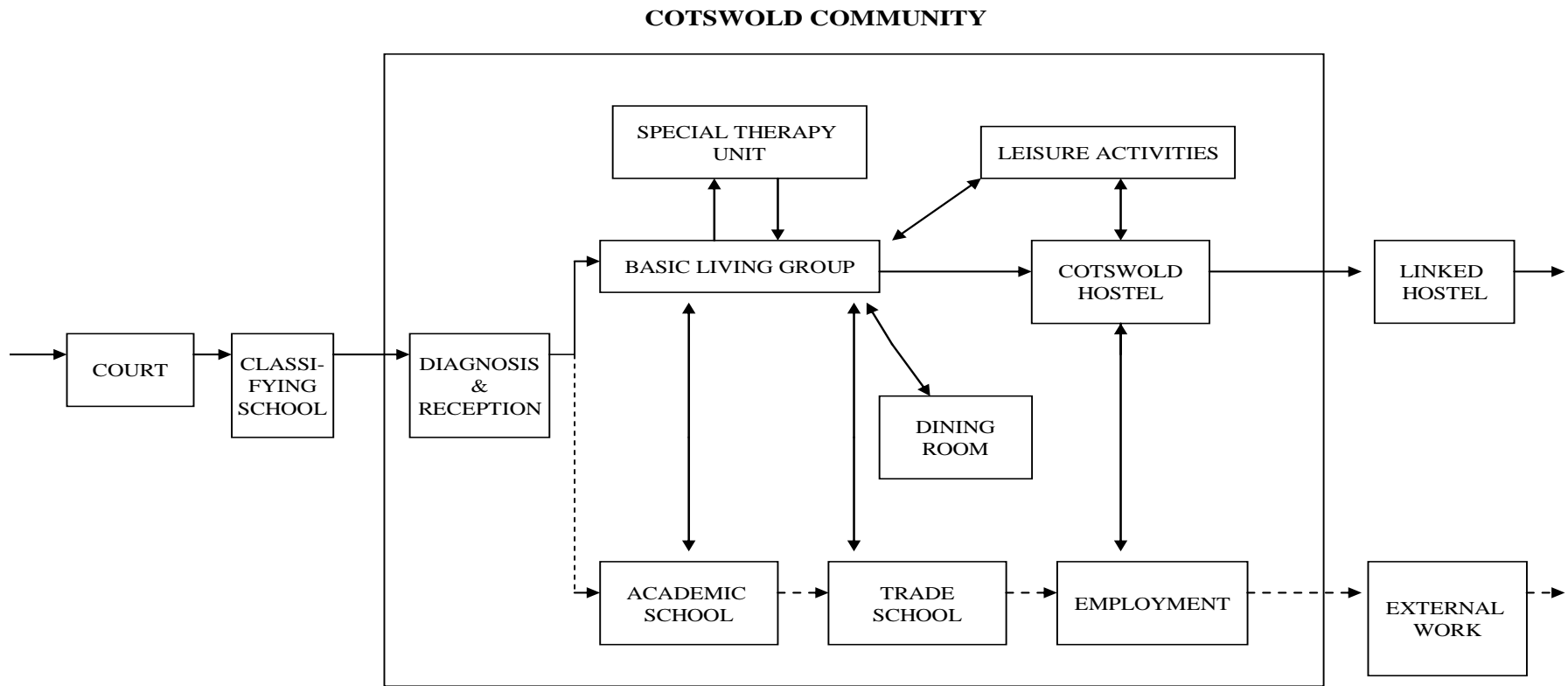
of course that they would have to be paid appropriate rates for their work, i.e. pay and promotion as rewards, suspension and dismissal as punishments.

48. Of course, not all boys would go through the total process (including the hostel) and some would be expected to move much faster than others. Some will have to be turned back and experience again what they have left, and some will fail and have to be removed from the Community. Nevertheless, a process such as that envisaged should offer a balanced range of experiences to match their growing maturity.

49. Figure 1 shows the passage through the institution of one boy who, after reception and diagnosis, is assigned to a group in a house and to a class in the training school. He has a short spell in the special therapeutic unit, then moves back to his own house. As he grows older he transfers to a trade class, starts part-time work and then full-time in one of what I have called the Cotswold Enterprises and lives in the Cotswold Hostel. He then 'leaves' the Community and lives in a Cotswold linked hostel, of the kind now envisaged, and enters ordinary employment in the outside world.

### **Leisure Activities**

50. Parallel with the living and working processes in the Community would be the leisure activities appropriate for the kind and age of the boys in the Community. Again I think an attempt should be made to represent the conditions of the external environment as to the boundaries between the various types of activity and where they take place, i.e. those appropriate to the house, those to the training school and those that take place in youth clubs and elsewhere outside both home and school.



**FIGURE 1** LIVING, TRAINING AND WORKING PROCESS OF A BOY PASSING THROUGH COTSWOLD COMMUNITY: Lives in same group in same house, except for one spell in Special Therapy Unit, until he enters hostel; parallel progress through academic and trade training to work roles.

51. The importance of the definition of the boundaries of all the systems and of the attempt to make as explicit as possible when boundaries are being crossed is that the kinds of authority appropriate within each boundary should, so far as possible, be made manifest. Thus, in the living units authority is basically 'parental' in character, in the school educational, in clubs and other activities democratic, and in 'employment' that of industry and commerce. I do not mean that authority in home, school and employment should not have elements of democracy or that every parent, teacher or employer should exercise authority in the same way, but that there are differences in authorities carried by different roles in different situations and in the sanctions with which different kinds of authority can be applied. The traditional approved school is said to impose one kind of authority – usually corrective and punitive – in all situations. The Cotswold Community should provide a range.

## **111 – MODEL ORGANISATION**

52. The model organisation has to provide for the differentiation and the control and service of the two major processes – living and working – and accommodate leisure activities at appropriate places in both of them.

53. The major discontinuities in the living processes are first, at entry into the reception and diagnostic system; second, on transfer to a basic living group in a house; third, from the house to the hostel; and fourth, on discharge either to a Cotswold linked hostel away from Ashton Keynes or back home.

54. The major discontinuities in the working process are between academic and trade training, between trade training and employment in the Cotswold Enterprises, and finally between employment in the Cotswold Enterprises and employment outside. Within each sub-system the academic classes would be differentiated from each other, and from the trade classes, which in turn would be differentiated as to trade. The Cotswold Enterprises would be differentiated on normal industrial and commercial lines.

### **Operating Systems**

55. The resulting model organisation of the operating system is shown in Figure 2.\* (In the titles given to the various systems and heads I have followed Richard Balbernie.)

---

\* This and subsequent organisational diagrams are based on topological notations; that is, the diagram shows the boundaries of commands, not lines of command or communication. The ‘boxes’ at the boundary of each command represent its ‘management’. They represent roles, not people. It is irrelevant organisationally whether they are filled by one person or by a group. Equally one person can appear in more than one box.



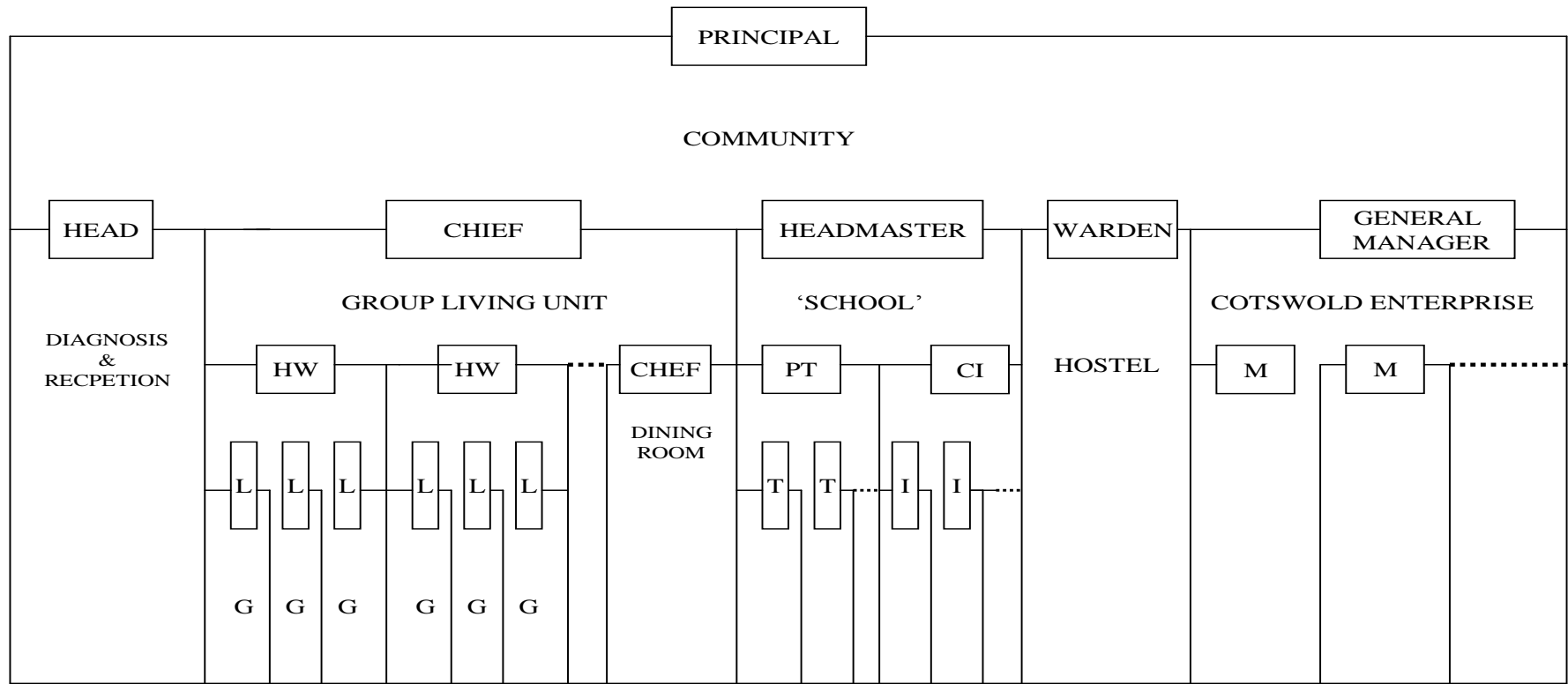


Figure 2

HW = House Warden  
 L = Group Leader  
 G = Basic Living Group

PT = Principal Teacher  
 CI = Chief Instructor  
 T = Teacher

C = Class  
 I = Instructor  
 M = Manager

56. The Cotswold Hostel could be shown as part of the Group Living Unit. Such an arrangement would ensure continuity of control of the living process for the boy: but it might also tend to blur his crossing the boundary from the conversion to the export system. The hostel is intended to help to break bonds that would (it is hoped) be formed in the basic group and in the house. The breaking of such bonds might be a necessary rehearsal for finally leaving the Community. Even when separated from the Group Living Unit it could be located with Cotswold Enterprises as part of a first order operating system, in that living in the hostel and working in one of the enterprises together make up the export process. I feel, however, that greater separation of 'living' and 'working' sub-processes would provide better experience for the boy at this stage of his passage through the Community than greater integration. The model accords more with the outside world.

57. At its presently proposed size it is questionable whether a second order of differentiation is required in the Training School operating system, i.e. the 'headmaster' (whether one person or a joint appointment) will not require both a Principal Teacher and a Chief Instructor. This level will be discarded in subsequent diagrams.

58. I have shown the Dining Room as a separate second order operating system because it exists. At this stage I have not thought it appropriate to discuss the merits of central as against house eating. I have assumed for diagrammatic purposes that if boys ate in their houses (or even in groups) most of the cooking would be centralised.

### **The Managing Systems**

59. The first order managing system of the Community will consist of the Principal and the heads of each first order operating system and such specialist control and service functions as are required (and not provided by the Principal or the heads of the operating systems). The Principal is not likely in practice even to delegate the management of all operating systems; some he may retain under his own management. If he does, then both he and the heads of those systems whose management he has delegated will have to guard against boundary confusion. As Principal he will be their superior and they his subordinates; as head of an operating system he will be their colleague.

60. As a minimum I suggest the first order managing system should contain the following specialist functions: the Chaplain, administration, estate maintenance, and the special therapy unit, the last because it might have to admit the results of breakdowns in any part of the community.

61. How much specialist medical, psychiatric and psycho-therapeutic advice and service, and at what level will be required still has to be discovered, though some will surely be necessary.

62. Whether the matron, and somebody to co-ordinate the clubs and other leisure activities should also be located here I do not know. I could make a case for locating the matron in the second order system of the Group Living Unit where the majority of boys (and female staff) will 'live'; but if she is of the right calibre she will also serve

and influence the Diagnosis and Reception unit, the Training School and the Hostel. I would hope that leisure activities could be differentiated (as suggested in paragraphs 50 and 51) and be located in the appropriate second and third order managing systems. This would avoid the need for a specialist in the first order.

63. If the intension is to make contact with the family of a boy before he comes, during his stay and after he has left, and to maintain relations with other social agencies involved with the family, then a social caseworker will be required. The appropriate location would be in the first order system since the caseworker would be controlling transactions with a significant part of the external environment on behalf of the Principal.

64. Each of the differentiated operating systems will also require such control and service functions as are required for the performance of its primary task. But as for the first order system this does not mean that each need be differentiated from operating system management. Which are differentiated will depend on the nature of the task and on the specific skills of the head of the operating system.

65. The task of the import system is to diagnose, to receive and to allocate newcomers to living units and to school units. Service functions will be required to house, feed and clothe the boys while this task is performed and specialist help may be required in diagnosis, psychological testing and psychiatric interviewing. While Richard Balbernie heads this system himself, I imagine that little will be required, provided his House Warden in this system can cope with the reception aspects of the task.

66. The managing system of the Group Living Unit may require in addition to its Chief, House Warden and Chef, some specialist psychotherapeutic help, possibly a child psychotherapist (non-medical) or an experienced member of the growing new profession of child-care workers.

67. Each of the houses will require, in addition to its House Warden and group leaders, a housemother and such assistance as she requires to carry out the necessary female roles.

68. Finally, the Training school will require the normal specialists, appropriate to its size, found in schools and technical colleges and the Enterprises, those that are normal to similar and commercial institutions in the external world.

69. The model organisation showing some differentiated specialist control and service functions is shown in Figure 3.

### **The Boy and the Structure**

70. The model organisation provides for differentiation of sub-systems, the definition of boundaries, and adequate recognition of boundary-crossing. In short, it is an attempt to set up a structure for 'pure' milieu therapy. It caters for the 'living' boy,

the 'working' boy and the 'playing' boy. It must also provide for the 'whole' boy, for whom the Cotswold Community, by its very nature, must accept responsibility.

71. In strict organisational terms, the model provides that full integration only occurs at the level of Principal (and his specialist staff in the first order managing system). I hesitate to make any other 'organisational' provision on the lines, for example, of a 'tutor', at this stage. Rather, I would hope that the House Wardens, and particularly the Group Leaders, would fulfil the function throughout the boys' stay in the Community; and that they would cope with the subtle change in their relationships and their authority as the boys moved through the various stages of both 'living' and 'working' processes. The most important changes would, of course, occur as the boys moved from Group Living Unit to Hostel, and from Training School to employment, when the nature of the authority would change from 'parental' and 'fraternal' to 'friendly'.\*

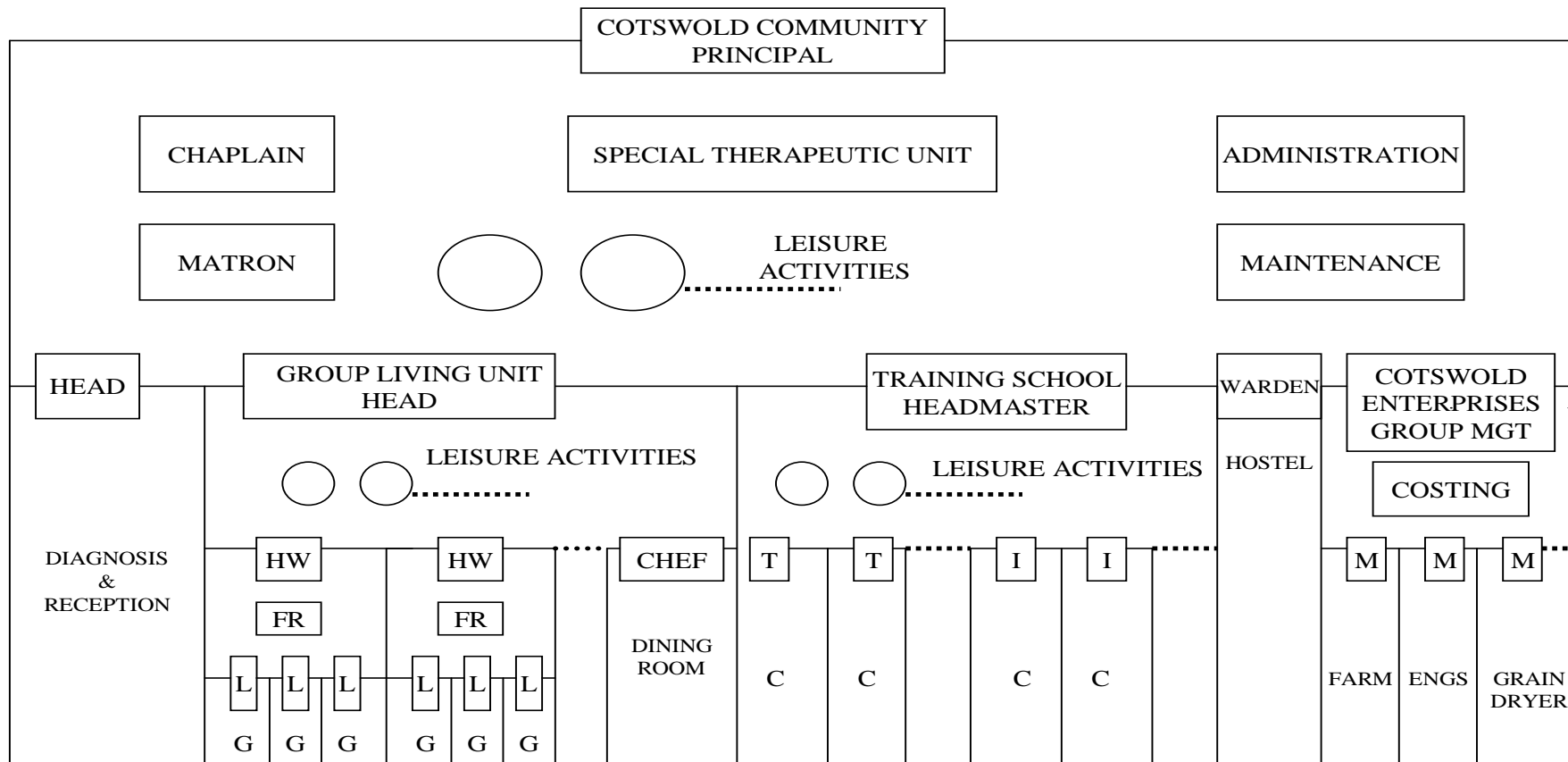
72. The advantage of leaving the role of 'tutor' vague at this stage is that the change in structure envisaged should also induce a change of culture. Indeed, there would be little point in getting an organisation to fit task performance if a congruent culture did not result. Experimental trial should be illuminating.

73. What I believe to be of prime importance is that a new differentiated structure should provide opportunities for the making of more mature and sophisticated relationships than in the past, not only between staff and boys but between staff, and between boys. In short, I hope that an adequately defined and stable structure will give more individual freedom to experiment and rehearse, and will avoid the rigid conformity to past patterns of behaviour. There are as many ways of being a house warden, group leader, teacher and instructor as there are house wardens, group leaders, teachers and instructors. Within the limits prescribed by the structure and culture, they should have freedom to be themselves, and the boys opportunities to learn from the permissible variations.

74. I assume, of course, that in an institution such as the Cotswold Community case notes and case conferences involving all those concerned with an individual boy would be routine procedures.

---

\* I still do not like using these terms, even as analogies, but I can think of no better way to convey my meaning.



**Figure 3**  
**Simplified Model Organisation**

HW = House Warden  
FR = Female Roles  
L = Group Leader  
G = Group

T = Teacher  
I = Instructor  
C = Class  
M = Manager

## **IV – COMPARISON WITH THE PRESENT**

### **The Headmaster/Principal**

75. At present the Headmaster/Principal has a plethora of roles. He is: executive head of the total Cotswold Community, head of the Diagnostic and Reception Unit, chief of the Group Living Unit, headmaster of the Training School and General Manager of Cotswold Enterprises. He is also I suspect the real housemaster of each house, the Chief Instructor in the Trade School and Manager of the farm.

76. While it is possible, and indeed desirable, in a comparatively small institution for one man to take many roles and to give personal leadership in each, such multiplicity limits the growth of other staff by restricting delegation, make expansion difficult and inevitably confuses boundary definition. The argument of this note is that confusion of boundaries is exactly what is not required in an approved school.

77. While the Principal takes so many roles, it is difficult, if not impossible, for him, for his staff and for the boys always to recognise just what role he is taking at any one time. Perhaps more importantly his taking so many roles and being in charge of everything at every level provides a dangerous role for the boys in that the authority in the community becomes perceived as omnipotent and omniscient – a process which the love/hate attitudes towards delinquency and delinquents is only too ready to foster. When, as a present, the Principal is also the chief therapist, in which he has to make professional relationships with boys and staff, the conclusion can only be more confounded.

78. The traditional organisation for an approved school also provides for a deputy headmaster and a third-in-charge. Such appointments can only feed the fantasies by pushing the headmaster on to a still higher pedestal. Careful examination should be made of the roles that need to be taken. The model shows that instead of providing the Principal with a deputy and a third-in-charge, he should be provided with those to whom he can delegate responsibility for units. Which units he hands to others will, of course, depend on his own skills and on his own preferences. The important point is that in the model organisation there is flexibility, even at the top, for the deployment of specialist skills and the need for the headmaster, his deputy and third-in-charge all to be masters of all arts and crafts is avoided.

### **The Housemaster/House Warden**

79. The most serious difference, however, between the model organisation and what exists is in the status, task and role of the housemaster/house warden. In the model organisation the house warden is not only in charge of a house but is expected to take an adult male role in some other part of the community or outside it. Because the role is conceived of as central to the boys' rehabilitation, there must be the possibility that the house wardens are perceived either by themselves, their colleagues, or the boys as having lower status than other members of the staff. Under present circumstances they may have to be at least teachers or qualified instructors. Once the model is established

then it should be possible for exceptional men, who by reason of lack of qualification, cannot command full Burnham scale plus allowances, to take house warden post, but only when the status of the role is well established. The thinly veiled contempt felt by teachers and instructors for the status of the existing housemaster role is manifestly communicated to the boys with consequent confusion of appropriate models of authority; and frustration of the efforts of housemasters to offer alternative models.

80. The existing housemaster role becomes what I have called here the 'basic group leadership' role. It is to be hoped that those taking such roles would also be qualified to take other roles within the Cotswold institution or outside it, or would acquire such qualifications while in the Community.

### **Establishment and Size**

81. I know far too little about the actual tasks performed in the Cotswold Community at present to do more than speculate, but I do not think, considering the number of boys for which the Community is planned, that there would be any need to increase the establishment. What is perhaps required is a re-allocation of posts within the existing establishment.

82. The model organisation could of course be expanded; and it is for experiment to determine the average size of basic living group, the optimum number of groups in a house, and the optimum number of houses in the Group Living Unit. Nor do I know how many boys are required to reach the 'critical mass' that makes a viable Training School. It may be worth noting that differentiation between Living Unit, Training School and commercial enterprises also increases the range of opportunities for expansion. For example, expansion of the commercial enterprises could possibly provide work for more than one hostel; or the optimum size for a Training School could require more than one Group Living Unit.

### **Training School/Work/Export**

83. Another major difference between the present organisation and the model is in the definition of boundaries between conversion and the export system in the living and working processes. If we consider the problem for any boy of returning to the environment by which he has already been found delinquent, and the inevitable discrepancy between what it is hoped to achieve in the school and realities that he will face outside, then some form of preparation seems quite essential.

84. 'After-care' undertaken both by Cotswold personnel and other social agencies may help, but it seems unlikely that there will be in the near future such an after-care service as will bridge completely the return to the external world. In view of what I understand is an increasing re-conviction rate (however inadequate this may be as an indicator) more needs to be done urgently in the 'export system' than is possible in the present organisation.

### **The Farm and the Garden**

85. The farm is approximately 360 acres of mixed arable and dairy farming, but it is more highly mechanised than is usual for one of its size. It has a grain dryer that has a greater capacity than can be adequately used. Discussions that have already started between the Chairman of the Local Managers, the Principal, the Farm Adviser and the Farm Bailiff, have already reached the point of suggesting that as a commercial proposition the farm is rapidly becoming an anachronism. It is too small and gives too little yield as an arable farm; and as a dairy or meat producing enterprise it cannot compete with 'factory' farms.

86. As a working environment, even for the rare boy who wants to become a farmer or farm worker, it does not provide an adequate model.

87. Nevertheless as an estate it has obvious value, both commercially and as a 'cordon sanitaire' between the Cotswold Community and its immediate neighbourhood. How far its machine-shop could be set up as Cotswold Engineering and its grain drying capacity be marketed locally I do not know, but with an estate of that size (apart from the obvious possibility of the gravel on it) there must be opportunities of setting up some viable enterprises.

88. I understand that the Garden is in a different category and that it can be, and is to some extent, a viable enterprise. To accord with the model it will require that it be differentiated into that part which is used by the Training School for teaching and that part which provides employment.

89. Before I move on to the setting of the Cotswold Community in the Approved School system I would like to mention two other points very briefly. They have come up, but both, I believe, deserve attention. The first is concerned with the impact of financial management on the attitude of the boys to the school, and the second with co-education.

### **Financial Management and Boys' Attitude to the School**

90. I understand that a grant is made to the Foundation to cover the cost of the Community, and some of this is subsequently recovered from the local authorities. I have been told that the Community is not affected by this transaction between the Home Office and local authorities. I have been told at the school, however, that some of the boys' parents contribute to the boys' upkeep at the school according to their means. This contribution is exacted by local authorities. But the boys know what their parents are paying. The relations between boys and staff and boys' attitude towards the Community are affected by this knowledge.

91. In my discussions with the boys (and I make full allowances for their telling me what they think it would be proper for me to hear) I heard a lot about their concerns for the cost to their parents of their being in the Community, both by contribution and by loss of earnings. If what they told me was true, and I accept that it might not be, then there is considerable difficulty for the boys in establishing the connection between their punishment, punishment of their parents, and the realities of the costs of



upkeep of approved schools. Particularly when the amount they can earn in the Community is so pitifully small. I think it is a fair speculation that if they believe their parents are being punished, they are likely to be driven back into identification with 'bad' parents and to be inhibited in their identification with 'good' authority figures in the Community.

### **Co-education**

92. The incident of homosexual practices and other manifestations of a one-sex community frequently appear to suggest that co-education would provide a solution to many of the difficulties. It would of course produce others. Work with other teenagers suggests that for both boys and girls there are ages at which mixing the sexes is appropriate, but other ages, particularly around puberty, at which too much mixing leads to intense competition and not always for the right things.

93. Just how the population of the Cotswold Community fits into this, I do not know. Such evidence as I have been given suggests that the boys might be generally sexually sophisticated for their age, as compared with other school populations. Relations with a girls' approved school might give opportunity for experiment before decisions about co-education have to be taken. I am of course also aware that the population of approved schools is predominantly male, and co-education could not become general.

## **V – THE COTSWOLD SCHOOL IN THE APPROVED SCHOOL SYSTEM**

94. Figure 4 is an attempt to show the existing super-ordinate managing systems as they apply to the Cotswold Community. The Home Office through its rules lays down how an approved school shall be conducted, and delegates the responsibility to the Foundation. The Foundation in turn delegates responsibility to Local Managers, who, in turn, delegate to the Headmaster. At the same time, however, the Home Office, through its Inspectorate, maintains direct control over the school. As a minimum the Headmaster is subject to two controls, one of which must, by the nature of the dual control, be subordinated to the other if any kind of stability is to be maintained. Alternatively, the Headmaster is in a position of playing off one authority against the other, and instead of working to recognised and overt terms of reference, is driven to political manoeuvring.

95. In Figure 4 I have shown clear boundaries between the Home Office and the Foundation, and between the Foundation and the Local Managers, and between the Local Managers and the Headmaster. I think that the boundaries are far less precise and well-defined than are shown. Nor have I done more than indicate the possible confusion that can exist in the Home Office itself as between its administrative and inspectorate arms.

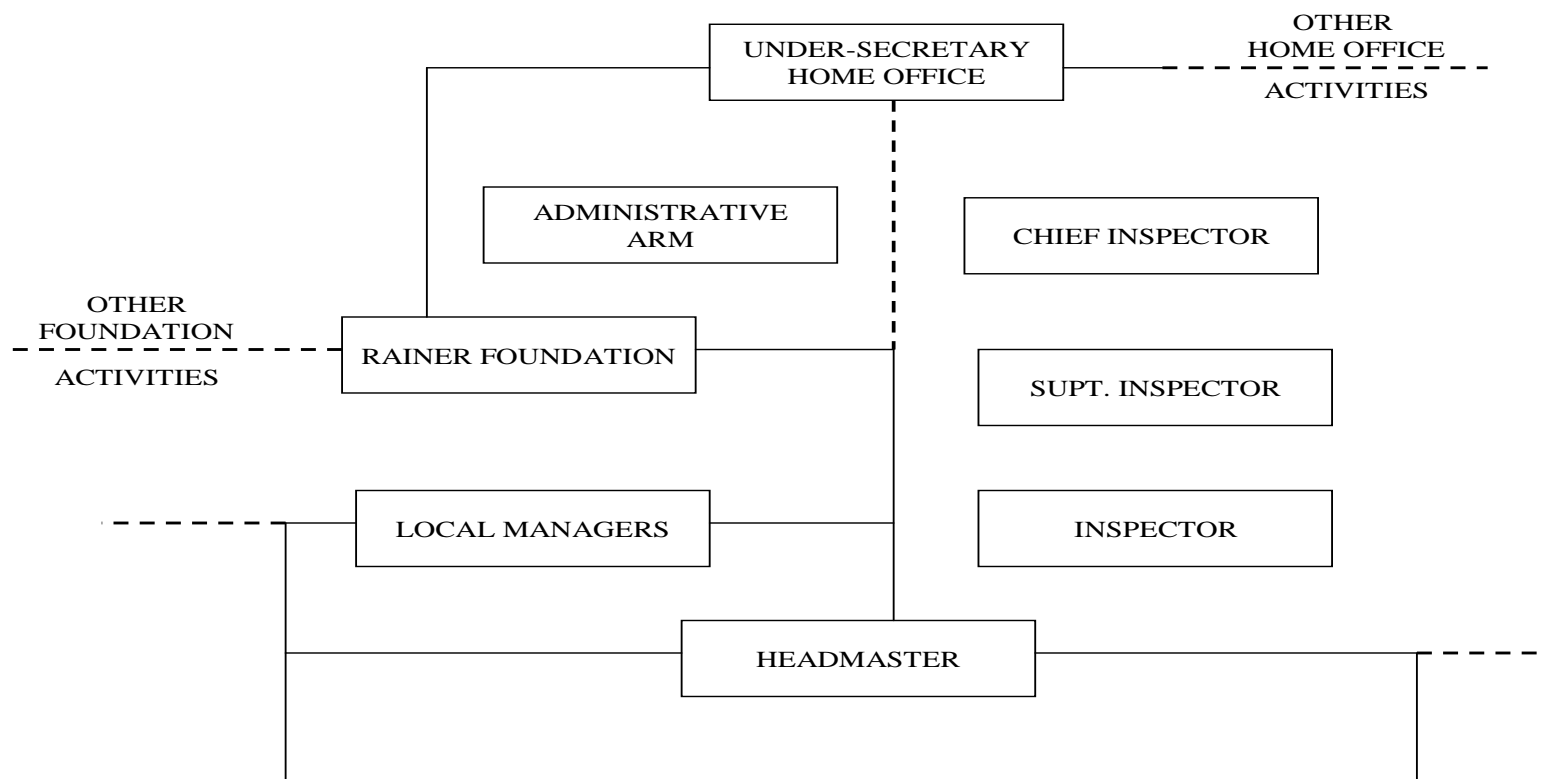
96. If the Cotswold Community is to carry out an experiment this form of control must be simplified to some extent. I recognise that clear-cut organisation for its own sake is not necessarily desirable, let alone politically possible. But what can be said with some certainty is that if the Cotswold Community is to be experimental then it requires special protection – in particular, protection from interference. The more it is buried in the administrative structure the more likely is it to have freedom restricted by the need to satisfy too many authorities.

97. I hope that the Cotswold Community can be given ‘special’ status as an experimental unit under national rather than local control. This would mean, however, that the status of the Local Managers would have to be re-examined. Any institution such as the Cotswold Community will require a link with its local community if for no other reason than that the Principal will always require somebody, whom he trusts, close at hand to whom he can talk. The question is the authority that such a link should carry. I suggest that it would be more appropriate to an experimental unit if any local body were advisory rather than executive. This would remove one level in the hierarchy between the Principal and the Home Office. (And those members of the Local Managers who were also members of the Foundation’s General Committee would retain more direct control through that body.)

98. If the Local Managers became an advisory rather than an executive body, the question of its composition would need examination. Strictly speaking, from the organisational point of view, an advisory body should be composed of those best able to give advice. As the Community and the environment change then the kind of advice required, and hence advisors, should also change. I do not think that it is practical to have a committee whose membership is constantly changing, and I do suggest that the actual membership be kept very small and that ad hoc co-option should be used as needed.

99. By the accident of recent appointments the Cotswold Community has been given considerable freedom to reconsider its task and to re-organise. But without the personal interest of highly placed officials in the Home Office, the system could still frustrate any desirable reforms. I believe that the Foundation has a very important role to play in this situation, by providing a screen between the system and the Community – a screen that can facilitate selected direct contacts between the Home Office and the Community and inhibit others. (In America, such a role has been ‘institutionalised’ and I believe is known in government circles as ‘running interference’.)

**FIGURE 4. HOME OFFICE/FOUNDATION SPLIT CONTROL**



## VI – POSSIBLE NEXT STEPS

100. As soon as possible authoritative discussions about the future organisation of the school should be initiated with the staff, if only to deal with some of their confusion and existing insecurity.\* If the discussions could be started with a statement of intention of working towards the kind of model given in this note, however lacking in detail, or any other agreed model, it would at least give a sense of purpose and direction. Members of the staff could begin to come to terms with the part they will have to play in it or indeed to discover if it is the kind of organisation in which they want to play a part at all.

101. This process has indeed already started in that I have discussed my forming ideas with all the staff. It was noticeable in those discussions that the fact that the Principal had initiated this study was, in a very minor way, reassuring.

102. What is now needed for the Principal, with the approval of such authorities as are required, to commit himself to an experimental structure, to discuss this with the staff and to make key appointments (even if only acting). Direct discussions with the boys are less relevant, since I believe that once something starts to happen, provided there is some conviction behind it, then the staff themselves should be those who communicate to the boys what the future is likely to hold.

103. On the assumption that the model organisation outlined in this note, or some modification of it, is to be used experimentally, then I suggest a pilot run could be started very quickly by setting up the diagnostic and reception system and at least one house.

104. To start the first house it would be necessary to find a man with the necessary status within the Community either as a teacher or instructor who would be willing (and preferably excited by the prospect) to become House Warden. He would need as many group leaders as there were basic groups in the house. These could be drawn from the present housemasters, assistant instructors or teachers. At the same time the roles of housemother and other female roles should be examined and stabilised. At this stage I suggest that the population of the pilot experiment should not include the more disturbed or damaged boys. Nevertheless, it should contain a range of ages and stages of progress through the Community.\*\*

105. While this experiment is going on examination could be made of the establishment to discover what changes would be needed and how existing staff would fit into the roles. My guess is that far more would fit than has been thought in the past.

106. Parallel with this re-examination of the establishment consideration should be given to training for the new roles. Members taking changed or modified roles, and those intending to do so, should be given opportunity to learn the theories and

---

\* I am quite sure that a number of current 'crises' are in fact due to uncertainty about the future and the small numbers in the school. It sometimes seems to me that the boys are 'manufacturing' crises to keep the staff employed.

\*\* Paragraphs 100 to 103 may well be out of date as they are written.

concepts behind the new structure and to experience as members of groups themselves some of the stresses and strains of taking new responsibilities and exercising different kinds of authority.

107. When these processes have gone far enough then it should be possible to consider the rest of the boys, who will not have been involved in the first experiments, as intakes into the new system. Their previous experience in the school would then be part of the case histories available for diagnosis. In this sense the population of the school could be considered as one that had been transferred from the old Cotswold School to the new Cotswold Community.

108. In the meantime, preparations would have to be made for setting up new houses based on the experience of the experimental house or houses. The function of the dining room in relation to the new houses would need examination, and the special therapeutic unit for the badly damaged and badly disturbed would have to be set up.

109. In the working units, differentiation of Training School and enterprises and the planning of any new ones could be started. All of these changes, and particularly those related to the differentiation of Training School and enterprises, would require some strengthening of the administrative arm, particularly in the fields of financial management.

110. Finally and perhaps unnecessarily, I should re-emphasise that the concepts and assumptions on which the model organisation in this note is based need checking, not only in the Cotswold School, but in other institutions of a similar kind as well. In addition, as the work on re-organisation proceeds and data becomes available from the diagnostic procedures and the follow-up treatment, it should be possible to find some general patterns emerging as to the causes of delinquency and of the kind of young person most liable to take the delinquent role rather than any other form of maladjustment or deviation.

## Appendix

### Concepts and Assumptions

#### The Primary Task

1. A central concept that has been used in previous organisational studies, and which I have applied to this one, is that of the primary task. This is defined as the task that an enterprise, or part of an enterprise, must perform in order to survive.
2. The precision with which primary tasks can be defined will vary with different enterprises and at different times. The precision of the definition itself imposes constraints upon the performance of the task. Constraints are also imposed by the environment in which the task is carried out. There are the obvious political, legal, economic and social constraints that affect whole classes of enterprises; there is also more specific constraints such as the availability of human, technological and financial resources for task performance.
3. Within a large and complex enterprise each part has its own distinctive primary task. For example, in the Cotswold Community one could define such tasks for a class in the school, for a House, for the farm, for a matron's department, and so on. Each part by carrying out its own primary task contributes to the primary task of the whole: but the contributions may be direct, or indirect, central or peripheral, immediate or long term. The contributions may also at times conflict.

#### The Enterprise as an Open System

4. The concept of the primary task is related to a theory of organisation that treats any enterprise or any institution as an open system. Such a system must exchange materials with its environment in order to live. The difference between what it imports and what it exports is a measure of the activities which take place within the system. Thus a factory imports raw materials, processes them and exports finished products (and perhaps some by-products and waste). An approved school imports delinquent boys or girls, 'processes' them and exports potentially rehabilitated citizens, and failures.
5. Such intakes and outputs are the distinctive results of import-conversion-export processes that mark off the factory and the approved school from each other and from other types of enterprises. In all enterprises there are many other import-conversion-export processes. For example, a school imports recruits to its staff and exports those who have resigned, retired or been discharged; it imports materials in the form of food and equipment, uses some for its own maintenance, and exports others as products; it imports finance, uses some to pay staff, and exports some suppliers of goods or services.
6. The nature of these processes reveals the variety of relationships that an enterprise makes with different sectors of its environment and within itself between its different parts, the variety of tasks that the enterprise performs as a whole and the contribution of its different parts to the whole. Every enterprise and part-enterprise

has, however, at any given time one primary task. The dominant import-conversion-export process is the process by which the primary task is performed. It is this dominant process that defines the essential relationship of an enterprise to its environment and to which its other tasks and other throughputs are subordinate.

### **Systems of Activity**

7. A system of activities is that complex of activities which is required to complete the process of transforming an intake into an output. A task system is a system of activities plus the human and physical resources required to perform the activities. The term 'system', as it is used here, implies that each component activity of the system is interdependent with at least some of the other activities of the same system, and that the system as a whole is identifiable as being in certain, if limited, respects independent of related systems.

8. Thus a system has a boundary which separates it from the environment. Intakes cross this boundary and are subjected to conversion processes within it. The work done by the system is therefore at least potentially measured by the difference between intakes and outputs.

9. Those systems of activity that lie on the main stream of the dominant import-conversion-export process are in our terminology operating systems. Where in any enterprise there is more than one operating system, a differentiated managing system is required to control, co-ordinate and service the activities of the operating systems. This will include the management of the total system, management of each discrete operating system and also those non-operating systems that are not directly related to the primary task of the whole, but which provide controls over, and services to, the operating systems.

10. Members of an enterprise occupy roles in these various systems of activity. One member may occupy more than one role and one role may be occupied by more than one member.

### **Organisational Roles**

11. Organisation as the term is used here, is the instrument through which roles and role-relationships are related to the activities through which the primary task of the enterprise is carried out. It is a means to an end. The most appropriate organisation is therefore the one that best fits primary task performance.

12. This does not imply, however, that once the primary task has been defined and the organisation appropriate to it has been devised no organisational changes will be required. Because an enterprise is an open system, the nature of the constraints within which it operates is constantly changing. Internally, a change in technology may remove old constraints and introduce new ones. Externally, changes may range from a minor statutory requirement to a major shift in definition of the primary task – in the Cotswold Community for example, from corrective and punitive to therapeutic. Such changes, even if they do not demand a redefinition of the primary task of the whole,



frequently redefine the primary tasks of parts and modify the strategies through which an enterprise relates its internal and external environments so as to achieve the most effective performance of the primary task of the whole. Changes in strategy may not always be explicit: they may be merely reflected in changes in the behaviour of the enterprise. Different forms of organisation differ in the capacity to respond and adapt to change in strategy. Strategic changes, whether or not they are explicit, and even if they do not entail a redefinition of the primary task, may require changes in the form of organisation if this is to retain its effectiveness.

13. It follows that for every task an organisational model is required, which will define the boundaries of operating systems and control and service functions that are required to co-ordinate, control and service the operating systems. Such definitions of the boundaries of the system will determine the roles and role-relationships that provide for effective performance.

14. Since the performance of any task is, however, subject to complex constraints the actual organisation of the enterprise as a whole will inevitably be a compromise between the model and the constraints. In the same way, since each part of any enterprise has its own primary task and thus requires an organisational model for itself, the organisation for the whole will be constrained by the need to integrate the organisation of the parts.

15. In building an organisational model, the dominant process identifies the nature of the intakes, the activities required to convert these into and dispose of outputs, and the human and physical resources required to provide or to facilitate these activities. The next step is to discover the discontinuities in a process which mark the boundaries of system of activity. Through its organisation an enterprise assigns activities to roles and roles to individuals and groups.

### **Boundary Controls**

16. The most important management control in any organisation is therefore the control of the boundaries of systems of activities, since it is only at boundaries that the difference between intake and output can be measured. In this note what is usually referred to as 'management' will be conceived of as being essentially

- (a) The definition of boundaries between task systems, and
- (b) The control of transactions across boundaries.

17. Management of an enterprise requires therefore four kinds of boundary control:

- 1) regulation of task system boundaries (i.e. regulation of the enterprise as a whole, as an import-conversion-export system, and regulation of constituent systems of activity);
- 2) regulation of sentient group boundaries (the boundaries of the groupings to which people belong, either directly through their roles in systems of activity or indirectly through their personal relationships);

- 3) regulation of organisational boundaries; and
- 4) regulation of the relation between task, sentient and organisational boundaries.

18. Task, organisational and sentient boundaries may coincide. Indeed they must coincide to some extent on the boundary of the enterprise if it is to continue to exist. The enterprise may also be differentiated into parts which are similarly defined by coinciding boundaries. There are dangers in such coincidence. One danger is that members of a group may so invest in their identity as a group that they will defend an obsolescent task-system from which they derive membership. One can add the possibility that the identification of change in task –system boundaries, and even the identification of the boundaries themselves, can be made difficult by the existence of group boundaries that are strongly defended. The representative who identifies more with his customer than with his own company, the politician who identifies more with his party than with his constituents, the approved school staff member who identifies more with the delinquency than with the boy are not unfamiliar figures.

19. In general, it can be said that without adequate boundary definitions for activity systems and groups, organisational boundaries are difficult to define and frontier skirmishing is inevitable. It is perhaps a major paradox of modern complex enterprises that the more certainly boundaries can be located the more easily formal communications systems can be established. Unless a boundary is adequately located different people will draw it in different places and hence confusion between inside and outside. In the individual this confusion leads to breakdown, in enterprises to inefficiency and failure.