

***Metaforen en verhalen over
organisatiewetenschap en onderwijsinnovatie:
Een leergeschiedenis***

een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de Sociale Wetenschappen

Proefschrift

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Summary

Metaphors and stories of organisational theory and educational innovation A learning history

In my thesis I addressed the question, if and how disciplinary scientific traditions influence educational practices. Practices are considered as cultural constructs that depend on both explicit and implicit visions on man and world. I take metaphors and rituals as incorporations of these visions. If disciplinary traditions influence educational practices, similarities between the scientific theories and their incorporations into the organisation of education were anticipated. However, in a case study I have shown that there was a discrepancy between organisational theories and organisational reality. I have suggested that this discrepancy is caused by two opposing systems of metaphors and rituals, in which the system that reflects the practices contradicts or undermines the system used to express the theories, thus inhibiting a genuine transfer of the latter into the former.

Theory and methodology

Introduction

In a constructivist definition, behaviour is construed in an interactive communicative setting. People negotiate definitions of social contexts and in their negotiation they reproduce existing settings and produce new settings. In other words: they (re)define their environments. In doing so, they interpret their situations, judge former and present decisions and evaluate possibilities for consequent behaviour. This process of (re)definition is thus reflexive. In order to be reflexive in an interactive and communicative setting aimed at change, one must be able to question definitions, inquire into their origins and subject them to public scrutiny. In this definition, learning is reflexive. I define reflection as the ability to question assumptions and tacit knowledge and alter them in practice. In order to know whether or not disciplinary scientific traditions influence educational practices, the assumptions and tacit knowledge of the disciplinary scientific tradition in question and the educational practice to which this tradition is transferred need to be traced. I have examined this relation in a single case study at an academic school for business education. Expliciting tacit knowledge I have investigated if and how organisational theories - and the views on man and world that give rise to them - are incorporated into educational practices by means of metaphor and ritual. First I will elaborate on a theoretical framework on how practices are constructed, how metaphors and rituals incorporate images on man and world in these practices and how the construction of metaphors and rituals is related to knowledge construction and learning by way of mental models. Having enunciated my theoretical framework I will pay further attention to its methodological consequences for the research design.

Cultural constructivism

My effort was to reflect on the implicit and explicit world views and the dynamics between them in academic business education. If the statement that academic education has to do with scientific knowledge is accepted, then it can be argued that institutions for academic education reflect disciplinary scientific traditions on the level of both content and structure. This hypothesis is based on cultural constructivism as described in Hagendijk, based on "the assumption that science is a thoroughly cultural endeavor" (Hagendijk, 1996: p. 264) and "that a conceptual opposition of 'nature' and 'culture' is untenable" (Hagendijk, 1996: p. 270). Hagendijk's notion of culture is a loose one: "Culture is not conceived as an abstract system operating behind the people's back, but as a loosely coupled system of 'possibilities' and 'prescriptions' that is implied in what actually goes on in cultural practices. The couplings between elements may vary" (Hagendijk, 1996: p. 267) and we can empirically analyse relevant elements in a particular situation by comparing various sorts of situations. Science is seen as a culturally styled practice that relies on cultural understandings that are historically shaped and negotiated. These practices consist of people, texts, objects and instruments. Defining a reality is a common act, in which participants put forward arguments and negotiate a shared definition in a discourse. According to Hagendijk this is a process of articulation and codification. The practices are considered to be constructs that are articulated and codified. In order to trace views on man and world, these articulations and codifications need to be examined in order to identify the metaphors and rituals incorporating these views.

Metaphors and rituals

According to Lakoff & Johnson "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual systems, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: p. 3). Our conceptual system determines - on a mostly subliminal level - what we see and how we interact with our natural and social world. In other words: our conceptual system determines our views on man and world and how we make sense of our surroundings. It directs our actions and our judgements of these actions. We build images that are largely cultural constructs: "Cultural assumptions, values, and attitudes are not a conceptual overlay which we may or may not place upon experience as we choose. It would be more correct to say that all experience is cultural through and through, that we experience our "world" in such a way that our culture is already present in the very experience itself (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: p. 57). Thus we incorporate our images of man and world into our experiences and into our expressions of these experiences in actions, representations and utterances. Our experiences are natural because they are the products of our bodies (perceptual and motor apparatus, mental capacities, emotional makeup), our interactions with our physical environment (moving, manipulating objects, eating) and our interactions with other people within our culture (social, political, economic and religious institutions): "In other words, these "natural" kinds of experiences *are products of*

human nature. Some may be universal, while others will vary from culture to culture. We are proposing that the concepts that occur in metaphorical definitions are those that correspond to natural kinds of experience" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: p. 118). In essence, metaphorical definition is the understanding and experiencing of one class of actions, events or experiences by way of structuring it in terms of another class.

According to McLaren, incorporation takes place by way of a ritual system. From the theoretical perspective that symbolic meanings are not just reflections of reality, but that they are connected with physical actions in the construction of reality, rituals can be defined as both carriers of cultural codes that shape perception and models that enable us to negotiate different symbol systems. Considering actions within specific contexts as symbolic actions challenges the assumption that behaviour is synonymous to its literal description. In other words: ritual behaviour is the embodiment of metaphor. Ritual and metaphor are both part of and result of our actions. Both are thoroughly cultural in nature: "Ensnared in the framework of both private and institutional life, rituals become part of the socially conditioned, historically acquired and biologically constituted rhythms and metaphors of human agency. [...] A ritual transforms itself into a type of psychosocial vessel in which the catalytic action of symbols and root paradigms promotes the fermentation of world views. Rituals are the generative forces by which we, as social actors, adjudicate our instinctual conflicts with our surrounding culture - with both public and private symbols providing the mise-en-scene; at the same time they are the articulating mechanisms of social control which literally 'puts us in our place'. Ritual lies in the motional world; it 'thematizes' its milieu through 'mindful' bodily gesture. [...] Rituals are semiogenetic: they frame, punctuate and bracket the flow of social life, thereby assigning meaning to events" (McLaren, 1993: p. 39-40); and also: "rituals never convey meaning in a vacuum or outside of history. They are not transparent or vitrescent. They never communicate outside of specific cultural systems of discourse. Rituals are wrapped in skeins of symbols which layer intertwined in its own history, culture and social relations. As carriers of culturally and politically coded meanings, rituals are never self-evident or unproblematic" (McLaren, 1993: p. 255).

Metaphor and ritual give meaning to our experiences because they offer a coherent structure. New metaphors and rituals have the same function as the conventional ones: they create meaning. They are normative, directing our actions, goals and expectations. These, in turn, will fit the given structure, reinforcing the coherence and making metaphor and ritual self-fulfilling prophecies. Because metaphor and ritual create reality in this manner, they also have the capacity to create new realities: "Many of our activities [...] are metaphorical in nature. The metaphorical concepts that characterize those activities structure our present reality. New metaphors have the power to create a new reality. This can begin to happen when we start to comprehend our experience in terms of a metaphor, and it becomes a deeper reality when we begin to act in terms of it. If a new metaphor enters the conceptual system that we base our actions on, it will alter that conceptual system and the perceptions and actions that the system gives rise to. Much of cultural change arises from the introduction of new metaphorical concepts and the loss of old ones" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: p. 145). We categorize the experiences and the events we encounter in a manner that is meaningful to us. Categorizing necessarily means that we cannot see the whole picture: we ignore some of the characteristics of objects and events by focusing on others (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

In short: metaphor and ritual on the one hand reflect and reinforce images of man and world (selfreferentiality) and on the other hand construct images of man and world. They highlight certain aspects while hiding others. Further, they are both cultural and biological.

Metaphor and ritual are inherently political because of their ordering and argumentative function in discourse or negotiation. As part of the experienced reality they pervade both private and public life and are active on both conscious and subliminal levels.

Construction of metaphor and ritual and knowledge construction: mental models In defining the understanding of the physical and social world and our experiences in it as described above, we see a relation with knowledge construction and learning. Metaphors and rituals are considered to be true (facts) if they fit our conceptual system. Objects do not have inherent characteristics; they only have characteristics we attribute to them. Lakoff & Johnson speak of interactional characteristics. They suggest, as an alternative for the opposing and mutually excluding myths of objectivism and subjectivism, the myth of the experientialist synthesis: we understand the physical and social world through our interactions with it. This new myth unites elements of objectivism and subjectivism. The objectivist concern with truth and factual knowledge derives from the importance of successful functioning within our environment and from concern for justice and impartiality. Subjectivism claims that meaning is always related to somebody, never inherent in objects. Both objectivism and subjectivism see man as separated from his environment. Successful functioning for the former is control over the environment, for the latter it is striving for self-realisation. In the experientialist synthesis man is an integral part of his environment. Reason and imagination are connected: "Reason, at the very least, involves categorization, entailment and inference. Imagination, in one of its many aspects, involves seeing one kind of thing in terms of another kind of thing - what we have called metaphorical thought. Metaphor is thus imaginative rationality" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: p. 193). Ritual has the same interactive aspect. McLaren states that people in different contexts are in different states, which he defines as "styles of interacting with the environment and with others which could, perhaps, be appropriately labelled behavioural clusters or complexes. The states of interaction are not simply congeries of abstract events. They consist of organized assemblages of behaviours out of which emerge a central or dominant system of lived practices" (McLaren, 1993: p. 86). Knowledge,

as the practice of knowledge construction and knowledge transfer, can be seen as a cultural construct that is open to debate. The characteristics of metaphor and ritual summed up above apply also to knowledge. Learning as the act of constructing and reproducing knowledge thus resembles the construction and reproduction of metaphor and ritual.

Learning is primarily based on our perception and understanding of the world and our place in it and our interactions with our physical and social surroundings. We learn either by new perceptions or by reorganising existing understandings. In metaphor and ritual most of the images of man and world are implicit: they hide certain aspects, putting others forward. Most metaphors and rituals have become conventional, making us forget the original images they arise from. At the same time, they keep reinforcing these images and their inherent consequences. For example: if we see our environment as hostile, our interactions will be different from those guided by a perspective of a cooperative environment. As mentioned earlier, images of man and world are both directive for our actions and normative for the judgement of these actions. These images I call mental models.

This perspective on learning has consequences for a focus on organisational life in which learning takes place. If we consider organisations as cultures that enact their own realities, we can trace implicit images of man and world in the metaphors and rituals that are active in a specific organisation. In the next section I will focus on organisational learning.

Organisational and individual learning

According to Argyris & Schön all deliberate action has a cognitive basis reflecting norms, strategies and assumptions or models of the world which have claims to general validity. As a consequence, they state, human learning needs to be understood not in terms of behaviourism (reinforcement and extinction of patterns of behaviour), but in a constructivist sense (constructing, testing and restructuring a certain kind of knowledge). Based on our experiences in and interactions with the world we build mental models that guide our behaviour: theories of action. Argyris & Schön distinguish espoused theories from theories-in-use. Espoused theories are the theories of action people claim to give allegiance and communicate to others. The theories-in-use are the theories of action that actually govern actions. Both may or may not be compatible; the individual might even not be aware of their incompatibility. In other words, we camouflage, either consciously or unconsciously, the difference between our espoused theories and our theories-in-use. In most organisations it is policy to camouflage personal and shared models, but the fact that this is policy is also camouflaged. Argyris & Schön have found two levels of learning related to camouflaging. According to them, organisational learning involves the detection and correction of error. The first level, single-loop learning, takes place when "members of the organization respond to changes in the internal and external environments of the organization by detecting errors which they then correct so as to maintain the central features of the organizational theory-in-use" (Argyris & Schön, 1978: p. 18). The second level, double-loop learning, is defined as "those sorts of organizational inquiry which resolve incompatible organizational norms by setting new priorities and weightings of norms, or by restructuring the norms themselves together with associated strategies and assumptions" (Argyris & Schön, 1978: p. 24). In the case of single-loop learning, the hidden assumptions and models remain unquestioned. For double-loop learning to occur, models or theories of action need to be open for discussion. If they are camouflaged, double-loop learning becomes impossible: "Organizational theory-in-use may remain tacit [...] because its incongruity with espoused theory is undiscussable. Or it may remain tacit because individual members of the organization know more than they can say - because the theory-in-use is inaccessible to them. Whatever the reason for tacitness, the largely tacit theory-in-use accounts for organizational identity and continuity" (Argyris & Schön, 1978: p. 15).

With this theoretical framework in mind I performed a case study in an academic school for business education, wanting to examine to what extent the organisational theories developed by the academic staff influence the construction of educational practices by that very same academic staff. In the next section I clarify the research method used.

Constructivist research methods

With a constructivist perspective as theoretical framework, traditional research methods are, according to Guba & Lincoln, insufficient "because conventional methodology does not and cannot contemplate direct work with stakeholders and their constructions (that much of the methodology is simply missing); because the conventional paradigm is tied to the verification mode and cannot deal with discovery processes; because the conventional paradigm strips contextual factors rather than taking them into account; because conventional methodology is aimed at generalizations and not at specifications; and because the value-free posture assumed within the conventional paradigm is logically disjunctive with evaluation's goal of making value judgments" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989: p. 62-63). As an alternative for conventional evaluation methods they suggest a method that fits the constructivist paradigm "using the claims, concerns, and issues of stakeholders as the organizing elements" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989: p. 184). In their so-called hermeneutic dialectic approach both the evaluator and the stakeholders create the product of the evaluation in interaction. This product is, in contrast to conventional methods, not a set of conclusions, recommendations or value judgements drawn up by the evaluator, but an agenda for negotiation drawn up by the evaluator and the stakeholders.

Because I wanted to examine both the advocated or espoused theories and the hidden theories that actually guide behaviour, the theories-in-use, I needed an instrument that helped me make explicit the

implicit. Drawing on my theoretical framework, I wanted to expose the hidden features of the dominant metaphors, thus giving insight into the implicit world views that influence the construction of individual and collective mental models within the organisation. Also, I wanted to see to what extent these hidden features differed from the features these very same dominant metaphors highlighted. In order to identify the implicit and hidden world views I found the so-called learning history to be a useful instrument. The learning history regards both the research process as the documentation of the research findings. The process resembles the hermeneutic dialectic approach of Guba & Lincoln in that the drafts are fed back into the organisation, thus establishing ownership. The documentation of the learning history is in a two column format. In the righthand column the members of the organisation tell their story, in which each "point of view represents a valid, but limited, piece of the solution to the puzzle. If all these perspectives could be integrated coherently, the organization as a whole might learn what happened, and what to do next" (Kleiner & Roth, 1997: p. 173). In the lefthand column, a team of learning historians, comprising both insiders and outsiders, comments on this story by asking questions and identifying recurrent themes. I decided to extend this format for my purposes. I kept the two column format on the right pages of the document, using the righthand column for the story of the organisational members and the lefthand column to outline the situation. In the story of the members of the organisation I identified metaphors in the vocabulary used, printing them blue to give insight into the empirical material for the analysis of the implicit world view. The lefthand pages I reserved for my comments on the story, printed in red to indicate that these were my own analyses and interpretations of the world views arising from the metaphors on the righthand pages. In addition to my own comments, I quoted in grey sections and black print from the scientific publications of the members of the organisation regarding topics discussed on the righthand pages.

In my case study I have thus focused on both espoused theories and theories-in-use on the individual as well as the organisational level. Theories of action, however, are identified on the basis of observation of behaviour. Since I only observed linguistic behaviour, I chose to redefine espoused theories as "lecture" (betoog) and theories-in-use as "tale" (epos). Both lecture and tale were deduced from content analysis of different documents and interviews. The lecture of the organisation was traced in several documents on education policy.

Lectures of individuals were examined in research papers. As mentioned earlier, I consider metaphors and rituals to be the incorporations of the theories-in-use, later redefined as tale. I have traced the tale through the analysis of the word material, thus identifying the images and metaphors in language. I believe that the differences between content and form are not arbitrary, but significant in the explanation of educational practices. Therefore, analyses were performed on two levels: what is said (content) and how it is said (form). In the lay-out I chose for the presentation of the learning history, I was able to visualise these levels and to identify discrepancies between them by contrasting the lecture with the tale. In the next section I will elaborate on the research findings.

Innovating education at the Nijmegen Business School: a case study

In this section I present the case of the Nijmegen Business School (NBS). In 1988 the Faculty of Policy Sciences, of which the NBS - which was established later - is part, was founded. In 1996, the department of Business Studies separated organisational research and business education into two subdepartments. The NBS now offers academic education in business studies to approximately 1100 students. The programme was from the beginning more popular than expected. Because student numbers grew faster than staff, the NBS was understaffed. Further, the staff is young and largely underqualified. Through its enthusiasm it resisted the pressures, but this is now coming to an end - after a period of ten years. Since 1998 it is Dutch national policy to install formal management that is responsible for the quality of education. The Board of the NBS consists of a general manager, a manager responsible for education and a student assessor.

In its short history the NBS has seen several curriculum changes. The two most important changes were inspired by the so-called visitation committee, a Dutch peer review system for auditing the quality of academic education. In preparation for the visit, a self-assessment report has to be written. The first visit was in 1994. In the self-assessment report the mission and goals of the NBS are elaborated on. The organisational paradigm of Socio-Technical Systems Design (STSD) is the leading principle for the NBS. In the self-assessment report the characteristics of this paradigm are put next to the old paradigm of Tayloristic bureaucracy. The old paradigm is characterized by redundancy of parts, external coordination and control, autocratic, with a fragmented socio-technical system. It is based on the technological imperative that man is an extension of machine. The organisational design is based on total specification of tasks that are broken down into narrow skills. The building block is one person related to one task. This paradigm leads to alienation: the practitioner has no ownership of work and no co-ownership of the organisation. As an alternative for this paradigm, the NBS advocates the paradigm of STSD. This paradigm is characterized by redundancy of functions, internal coordination and control, democracy and joint optimisation of the socio-technical system. Furthermore, man is considered to be complementary to the machine and a resource to be developed. The organisation design is based on minimum critical specification, optimum task grouping with multiple broad skills. The building block is a self-managing social system. This paradigm leads to involvement and commitment.

In order to realize this new paradigm one has to give up the feeling of having learned it all, the virtue of being certain and belief in stability - in other words: one has to give up the illusion of false

simplicity. One needs to abandon reductionist thinking and dependency on procedures. Furthermore, one has to reconsider that it is 'they' who are to blame. Instead, one has to accept complexity, doubt and continuous change and realize that learning never stops. One needs to embrace systems thinking and focus on results. Finally, in this paradigm, people are personally accountable for their actions and results.

STSD can be identified as a practical paradigm. Its guiding philosophy can be specified as participatory democracy: improve the human condition at the workplace while at the same time paying equal attention to the production goals. Its interventions are unanimously aimed at substantial reduction of the division of labour in all sorts of work settings. Pre-eminently participatory in character, these manners have been directly borrowed from action research, while at the same time endorsing collective self-work design and group decision-making. Its theoretical commodity is open-systems thinking, with self-regulation as its characteristic feature: "STSD intentionally makes use of the metaphor of the organization as an adaptive whole, giving birth to the concept of a socio-technical system as a predominant frame of reference for description, analysis and design purposes" (Department of Business Studies, 1994b: p. 12).

I have considered STSD as summarized above as the lecture of the NBS. It is to be found in the mission statement: "The growing complexity and changeability of organizational problems with regard to the internal and external management of organizations and the continuous restructuring of organizational processes form the background for changing demands for managerial support. Organizations do not only need experts in the distinct fields of management. There is also a demand for scientists, staff and line managers who are able to look at the miscellaneous aspects of the management of organizations from an integrative point of view. Our subject of study, therefore, is the complex and dynamic relationship - in all particulars - between:

- the structuring of organizational processes (the integrative structuring of production processes, information processes and administration/regulation processes),
- the management of organizational processes (managing the flow of input, throughput and output of distinct functions within an organization) and
- the fine-tuning of organizational components (to cope with external and internal constraints with regard to organizational, economic, technical and human resources).

This integrative approach forms the central focus of both the research programme and the education programme of the Nijmegen Business School" (Department of Business Studies, 1994a: p. 4). The mission of the NBS is to develop, to expand and to impart scientific knowledge, insights and related skills from an integrative point of view, regarding the following dimensions:

1. multi-disciplinarity in scientific approaches: on the one hand attention for a wide range of scientific disciplines in the field of Policy and Business Studies that provide distinct scientific notions, indispensable for the study of the integrative facets of the management of organisations; on the other hand focus on the assumptions of (modern) systems theory (defined as a set of theories about the relationship between (parts of) systems and their environment) as the fundamentals of the scientific approach and the study of the effects of distinct sets of principles concerning organisational design and organisational development (with particular reference to STSD)
2. fields of managerial activities: striving for balance between specialisation and generalisation, between the deepening in specific fields of management or scientific disciplines and the enhancement of the generalist 'spider-in-the-web'-position
3. methodology and reflection: on the one hand research methodology which focuses on the creation of scientific knowledge by designing and executing a scientific research project; on the other hand intervention methodology, focusing on organisational problem-solving, by the development and application of suitable techniques and instruments to diagnose organisational problems, to (re)design a blue print in order to solve these problems, to make a plan for organisational change in order to implement the planned solution into the organisation and to evaluate the success of the implementation (both methodologies are different but related: as the application of the research methodology provides the necessary data for managerial intervention, developing the management intervention methodology gives impetus to the development of the research methodology).

The general mission is converted into educational objectives, concerning the transfer of knowledge and the training of different scientific skills. The objectives of multi-disciplinarity in scientific approaches, fields of managerial activities, and methodology and reflection are translated into the fields of knowledge and into the cognitive, professional and communicative skills students acquire passing through the curriculum. The fields of knowledge contain elementary knowledge of policy studies (policy making, economics, social sciences, philosophy) and of research and intervention methodology, and profound knowledge of business studies (management and organisation, business economics, management information studies). The cognitive skills regard general skills of description, analysis, explanation and assessment of complex problems according to the rules of scientific logic. The professional skills are divided into research skills and problem-solving skills. The first refer to the independent application of scientific research methods and composition of scientific texts, the latter to the skills to diagnose organisational problems, to develop organisational solutions, to (re)design organisational structures (production, management and information structures), to carry out projects of organisational change and to evaluate the degree of success of organisational change. Finally, the communicative skills refer to the correct expression in scientific writing (essays, short theses, final thesis), performance in working groups (cooperation, presentations and demonstrations) and application of communicative (computer based) techniques.

The most important changes induced by the visitation committee in 1994 were the founding of five graduate studies and the transformation of the four-cycle curriculum (every year is a cycle) into the four-episode curriculum (the first year as the first episode, the second year and first half of the third year as the second episode, the second half of the third year and the first half of the fourth year as the third cycle and the graduation preparation as the final episode). Today, in anticipation of the second visit in 2001, the NBS is preparing for further curriculum improvements. Management has launched a large scale and ambitious innovation project called 'Traject 2001'. The plans, written down in a draft document, were discussed in a working conference with the staff members. Their criticisms were worked into a final draft which serves as guiding principle for the near future. Four project teams were put to work. In an interim evaluation they reported their findings to management and put forward several suggestions.

If disciplinary traditions were to influence educational practices, we would find similarities between the scientific theories and their incorporation into the organisation of education. In other words: there would be no discrepancy between the lecture and the tale. For our case this would mean that STSD were incorporated into both the organisation of educational practice (at the institutional level) and the curriculum. Theoretically, a transfer of STSD into the organisation would offer possibilities to redesign both the management of education and the curriculum. Some of these incorporations have taken place or are on the agenda. We might conclude that in some cases the differences between lecture and tale are small or even absent. However, comparing two curricula (of 1994/95 and 1997/98) and the plans for a new curriculum as described in Traject 2001, we see little progress in the realization of the student-based approach the NBS promotes. Moreover, STSD strives for meaningfulness of jobs, involvement and job satisfaction. If we take a closer look at the job satisfaction of the staff members, we see resistance and discontent. The reasons mentioned in the interviews for this are, among others, the top-down management approach combined with the team-based carrying out of orders, the work load, passive students with a consumer attitude, the monotonous job content and the everlasting, never ceasing and continuous change. These are elements of the lived practice as expressed in the tale. In the next section I will confront the lecture with the tale - discussed in further detail below - relating the empirical findings to my theoretical framework.

Confronting theory with practice: metaphors within the Nijmegen Business School It seems that the tools STSD offers do not lead to the same job satisfaction within the NBS it is supposed to accomplish, according to that very same NBS. This indicates a discrepancy between the lecture and the tale. The metaphors in both lecture and tale are, however, similar. The dominant metaphor identified in the learning history is NBS IS PIONEER, divided into the metaphors STUDY IS QUEST, ORGANISATION IS RESEARCHER, ORGANISING IS PROBLEM SOLVING and INNOVATION IS NEGOTIATION. However, taking a closer look at some of the metaphors and rituals in daily practice, I found that they refer to a different view of man and world than the lecture does. For instance, one of the goals of the NBS is to guide students in their development to become active and self-directed learners according to the metaphor STUDY IS QUEST. However, in most documents - and most important: in the student prospectus - students are overwhelmingly referred to in phrases such as 'students are taught to', painting a picture of a passive student, waiting to be switched on by a teacher. This is reinforced by phrases such as 'students are offered' and 'students are invited to'. Further, active learning as in constructing knowledge is mostly contradicted by a positivist use of language, sustaining a view of man and world as stable, ordered, passive and unchangeable, promoting reproduction of existing knowledge instead of construction of new knowledge. Phrases such as 'students are made aware of', 'students are introduced into' and 'students are made confident with' underline this stable order. Also, the focus on content instead of on form in the student prospectus leaves the students with an image of paper theory that is not lived. environment, thus inhibiting the implementation of STSD-like changes, that require : constructivist world view.

It seems that a universe full of paradoxes is created and sustained in which students and staff have to find their own ways and in which all efforts to find a balance are frustratingly fruitless. There seems to be a gap between the theories and the practices of management within the organisation. STSD offers tools for changing this universe, but to change this universe, the metaphors and rituals that sustain the old paradigm also need to change.

Concluding remarks

Are disciplinary traditions and educational practices related? In the case of the NBS we saw that little of the concepts of organisational theories the researchers adhered to were incorporated into the management of educational practice and into the curriculum. Most management efforts to incorporate STSD-like elements into the organisation of education and the curriculum met a lot of resistance. Although STSD is promoted to others as a useful practical paradigm, it does not seem to work for the promoters themselves. In fact, they resist the translation of STSD into educational settings. I believe that the successful implementation of STSD into the own organisation is hindered because metaphors and rituals reinforce positivist thinking by way of the tale contradicting the lecture. Precisely the absence of STSD in the organisation, creating paradoxical situations due to the difference between lecture and tale, affected the innovation process in a crucial way: this new paradigm was not accepted because it was not lived.

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