

Community culture invention – instant self anthropology using Community Quality Cabarets

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Abstract

A tool that allows communities to recover parts of their own tradition while inventing new culture components for dealing with present challenges is presented here. Traditional and aboriginal cultures that, in their own opinion, are not effectively responding to the challenges of modernisation are generally forced to choose between either traditional culture elements or those foreign culture elements proffered by modernisation. A middle way that recovers and re-interprets traditional culture components and then uses them to suggest and guide community responses to particular challenges of modernisation may be needed. The Community Quality Cabaret described here allows considerable portions of communities to be engaged in inventing new images and practices that re-empower traditions, while directing such traditions toward a more positive and effective response to the local challenges of modernisation. Use of this tool in a traditional fishing community culture on Majuro is reported. How the tool can be applied to build bridges among stakeholders in conflict within communities is also described.

The germ of the idea

Those of us dealing with the differences of culture, whether it be gender cultures, subgroups within organisation cultures, national cultures, or the cultures of generations, among many others, have occasion to observe when and how communities represent to themselves what their own culture is. This is the role of anthropology, developed by a community itself, in the daily life of that community. Some people and communities seem almost entirely unconscious of their culture, whereas others bandy it about almost as if it were a collectively agreed on propaganda instrument to wheel out in every occasion, relevant or not. Whereas some people sophisticatedly reflect on their community and see patterns of value and practice evolution that any professional anthropologist would call 'culture', others lumber out bigotries of the most banal sort as their favourite representations of 'being a group', 'being a member', 'belonging here'. Although some forms of 'togetherness' seem to mean nothing but the 'togetherness' itself; others seem to represent something worthwhile that people can articulate.

When we succeed in locating when and where in daily community life an anthropology self-consciously built by the members of that community exists, it raises the possibility of that community

(re)assessing the satisfactoriness and health of its own culture, and, should the need arise, improving it. Although few field anthropologists working with so-called 'traditional' cultures have reported such community-built anthropologies and their deliberate use for community improvement, a close examination of some ethnographies reveals a possibly less-than-conscious representation of culture and its use improve culture (see Eberts, 1995 for an interesting case of Japan generating new myths of 'quality').

The long-term problem

A major worldwide theme in the study of culture is the challenge that modernisation presents to traditional cultures. This can take the form of missionary-supported destruction of indigenous cultures in the name of a 'better' foreign religion, or the insidious undermining of an aboriginal culture by economically dominant foreign cultures, until mass alcoholism results. Key community dynamics measure the degree of destruction of challenged traditional cultures, such as: departure of youth for marginal or degrading occupations in the dominant or encroaching culture, or the undermining of the traditional male family role model as the pride and practical leadership of males is eroded by foreign culture values and practices.

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In general, whenever a choice is forced between staying with a traditional culture or switching to the encroaching modern one, human suffering and sub-optimal culture interactions result. This is a severe problem. Any long-term and sustainable solution should enable the blending of traditional cultures with those resulting from modernisation, and not demand switching among them.

The root causes of the long-term problem

The self-negating foundation of Western culture, as in turn the basis of modernisation culture, has long been observed and described (Campbell, 1986). A culture where, in principle, if we did something X way in the past, we should do it a different, non-X way in the future, is often said to stem from Descartes, Rousseau, Hobbes, Locke, and the Enlightenment ideal of freely choosing one's conditions of life by undoing all those 'unfreely' chosen parts that were inculcated during socialisation within a particular culture and community. Education as a 'leading out' from such unconsciously made commitments and a 'leading into' freely chosen ones, has been a Western ideal and a core assumption in modernisation culture worldwide (Berlin, 1991).

In the West, as well as in non-Western cultures, a countertrend has appeared which argues that Western (and modernisation) culture has become excessively self-negating (Campbell, 1986). Education as indoctrination into a culture and its beliefs replaces education as 'leading out' from unconscious commitments made in childhood.

A third element, from radical elements not necessarily grounded in empirical datasets, challenges both traditional cultures and modernisation cultures as inherently bigoted, unjust perpetuation of oppression of females, racial groups, or others. They are good at challenges and somewhat less convincing as proposers of new cultural values and practices to adopt if we agree to reject traditional and modernisation cultures (Dawkins, 1998).

In sum, we have self-negating cultures, self-affirming cultures, and other-negating cultures, all at odds with each other. A middle way among them, if found, would allow them to benefit from each other's strengths without being undermined by each other's weaknesses.

The short-term problem

In both traditional non-Western cultures or modern Western cultures a need for improving the strength and capability of cultures is evident. Both traditional and modern cultures are finding it dif-

ficult to entice, attract or engage the interests of their own youth. Both are also having difficulty encouraging and supporting their own middle-aged members. So a general need for culture strengthening is quite evident (Campbell, 1986).

Similarly, both traditional and modern cultures suffer from dysfunctions in the process of establishing values and practices. Cynical leadership, defeatist non-adaptive responses to present challenges, or governments supplanting civic cultures until they die appear in both types of culture. In sum, a tool is needed to help both strengthen cultures and reduce their dysfunctional components.

The roots of the short-term problem

Atrophied festivals occur in both traditional and modern cultures. Often in traditional cultures art forms are split along generational lines between ancient traditions and modern entertainment. In modern cultures, mass entertainment supplant local participation in arts and festivals. People get used to coming, sitting, drinking, and leaving, rather than more expressive and personal forms of participation. Highly paid professionals at the centre get the attention, attenuating arts, participation, and fellow feeling in entire populations. Trying to respond to challenges when only parts of a society share images, rites, routines, and practices is often self-destructive.

Most societies see themselves as one culture rather than a complex mix of clashing cultures. Recent efforts to promote pluralism and diversity in industrial society workplaces have their counterparts in traditional cultures that suddenly face caste systems and other subcultures belying their image of themselves as uniform and homogeneous. It is futile to try to respond to challenges as one culture, when the reality comprises two or more clashing cultures.

An image from history – the fin de siècle cabaret in Europe

As disaffection with Victorian era culture increased throughout Europe, persons of various sorts found themselves in small cafes, where improvised song, dance, poetry, and drama, together with more marginal arts like puppetry, shadow theatre and mime, exposed the contradictions of society in rude, brute, direct, and strikingly effective ways. Performances in these cabarets served as mirrors of happenings in society ignored by traditional artists, publishers and politicians (Segel, 1987). At the same time, in Asconia, on the sides of a mountain in Switzerland (Green, 1986), free-love communities of artists and other intellectuals, like Kafka, Jung, Isadora Duncan, Freud,

and Hesse, turned daily life into improvisational art performances by people for each other.

As masses of rural people moved to the cities before and after the second world war they discovered daily life in the city was performance, with sidewalks and shopping malls being the stages where selves and excellence of self were displayed (Mumford, 1955). After the war, the mass entertainment industries could not satisfy the hunger for performance of ordinary people, a hunger that was not even perceived in the main venues of their societies. The global karaoke boom, instigated by Japanese industrial success, temporarily filled a tiny part of this hunger of ordinary folk for spaces of appearance before peers.

In all the above—fin de siècle cabaret, Asconia, sidewalk theatre, and karaoke—images from traditions were refurbished to relate them to contemporary issues and happenings. And *vice versa*, contemporary issues and happenings were refurbished to relate them to traditions and their values.

But what might happen if someone got serious about wrapping traditions in contemporary issues and wrapping contemporary issues in traditions? What might happen if all the latent performers in any community could be mobilised?

What might happen if ordinary residents of neighbourhoods were to invent new images for their culture's future, based on profound retellings and refurbishing of their community's traditions?

What if the cabaret, a form combining many arts to mirror society's situation and needs, could be re-invented so that any community anywhere could learn and apply it to their strengthen culture?

The rest of this article explores modifications in fin de siècle cabaret that might allow it to strengthen cultures and resolve culture clashes.

A possible role for self-conscious anthropologising of self in healthy community functioning

Awareness of own culture, first of all, helps achieve alignment among various culture elements (Bohannan, 1995). One culture axis is questions of existence, values that answer those questions, and practices that embody those values. These might be aligned better when communities build their own ethnographic accounts of themselves.

Another culture axis is events, the stories they give rise to, and the practices that arise from those stories. These might be better aligned when com-

munities build their own ethnographic accounts of themselves. The subcultures of self, gender, age group (generation), and nation might be better aligned when communities self-anthropologise.

Another culture axis is owning culture, challenging culture, and rejecting culture (culture drop out) or renewing culture as a result. These might be better aligned when communities self-anthropologise. Alignment here can be understood using Eckstein's concept of anomie (Eckstein, 1955). Where one area of life is, say, democratic, and another area bureaucratic, and still another autocratic, what one learns in one area does not carry over to other areas. This makes for alienation and anomie. Where what is learned in one area does carry over to another or others, anomie is reduced. So in this sense 'alignment' can be understood as reduced anomie.

Further, communities given to perpetuating, preserving and remembering their traditions and culture may fail to adapt to their situations by modifying their traditions, values and culture to better handle challenges of the present and near future. Few communities purposefully thus adapt their own cultures. Events or tools for doing so might accelerate or deepen adaptive responses to present challenges.

Using good datasets, Denison examined whether cultures can be either too weak or too strong, or if they could be strengthened (Denison, 1990). He measured the strength of cultures of various corporations, compared the resulting strength measures, and measured the evolving strengthening or weakening of particular corporate cultures. Measuring the portions of populations espousing values practised by the corporation as a whole, the portions practising such values, the uniformity of response of population members to challenges, and like measures, were part of his efforts to measure strength of culture. (I am interested in devising a way for communities to measure the strength of their own cultures and strengthen them where and when needed.)

Peter Vaill studied high-performance organisations. His categories for describing such organisations overlap Denison's categories for describing strong cultures. With modifications based on my own research, Vaill's categories are shown below (Greene, 1997):

Work contradictorily

1. Work in a historic context, not a life-style improvement context – rehearse beyond life-span traditions and heroes (emphasise value you establish for the unborn, not the living);

2. Invest energy in the particulars – establish rhythm of engagement (examine tasks with much greater attention to details than others);
3. Be very conservative – maintain chosen form (this is being conservative about staying within the chosen form of working that brings high performance, not sticking with traditions);
4. Innovate radically within chosen form – encourage continual improvisation within chosen form (experiment, challenge, reverse, bring in new approaches, and the like, but only within chosen form of engagement);

Violate social norms

5. Maintain boundaries – in members, times, and spaces (make the transition to joining a group a real deeply felt personal decision, not a usual, casual joining up);
6. Be problematic to others – avoid external norms and controls (obey nothing in society or social expectations of others on your way to victory);
7. Scrounge resources – work based only on your standards not others' standards (improvise and opportunistically use any things, persons or situations that fit your needs, pure *bricolage*);
8. Use problematic parts – use others' rejects to excel (judge people only by their ability to play the roles within your chosen form that you need, not by their history or record elsewhere);

Know thyself

9. Have the ability to say no and not do things – skip non-fitting opportunities (carefully distinguish the necessary from the nice or possible and emphasise necessity);
10. Address the overall team paradoxon in the smallest unit – all members share major challenges (do not treat problems as individual but as systemic in nature);
11. Engage particulars of mission – see the uniqueness of who you are and what you do and who your customers are (do not do your thing any way but your own way);
12. Make people earn membership – joining requires years of work (establish layers of new discipline, coordination, chemistry between people, and require new members to master every layer);

Automate and value processes

13. Develop predictable behaviours – practice until all can guess each other's mind (make mastery automatic and instantaneous, so that coordination and changes of plans are extremely fast);
14. Improve responses to challenges – break your own routines and invent new routines rapidly (never become a stable target for opponents);
15. Value the intrinsics of the task, not rewards or fame – value the task processes, not ends (let history decide the ends, you just work the process);
16. Establish clear, shared purpose – non-perfunctory commitment (real motivation by each individual, not general vague group assent)

Create huge repertoires of ways to succeed

17. Do things without resources that others require months and permissions to do – make the bureaucracy catch up with you (use high-performance track record to keep independence from low performances around you);
18. Suddenly change venue and practice style – create challenging situations to adapt to (your adaptability muscles need regular exercise, which cannot be done if your practice environment is too stable);
19. Suddenly leave out key members and tactics – force stretching secondary roles until they become world-leading in performance by themselves (establish dependencies then disestablish them – create a huge repertoire of ways to succeed);
20. See what others do, improve it radically, then copy that improvement – use the best that ever lived as your benchmark, not just current opponents (never only copy but copy with improvements).

Establish coincidence dynamics

21. Ask questions about fundamentals – challenge own routines regularly (expose needs for doing routines better);
22. Supply coaching and resources instantly in response to member questions and needs – answer faster, deeper, and better than others (establish the same coincidence of genuine questions with resources for excellent answers)

nearby that creates prodigies; be willing to answer stupid questions anytime)

23. Try out ideas and answers – do not individualise learning but get teams to support individual experiments (make learning and tinkering the culture, not doing the tradition the culture); and
24. Compete vicariously – view others' victories or defeats and practice what your group would do to respond (show one look, then switch to any of dozens of ways to handle opponents' moves).

It is clear from the items listed above that making a culture stronger involves lots of contradictory undertakings. It is not a matter of generating fanatical attachments where there were tepid ones earlier, because societies, if healthy, are a balance of detachment with attachment. Strengthening one arm creates distortions likely to be harmful in the long run.

The most radical need for self-anthropologising is the one stated by Joseph Campbell (Campbell, 1986). A student of the world's religions, and its base cultures, in his later years he concerned himself with the coincidence of so many traditional cultures failing around the world at the very time when Western culture seemed to be suffering from failings of its own. He hypothesised that the new religion would be global.

In contrast, writing at the same time, Alvin Toffler came to the opposite conclusion (Toffler, 1975). His hypothesis was the world would 'de-massify'; where seven or eight major world religions reigned, dozens would emerge, more local, more responsive, more bottom-up in origin.

Who is right? We do not need to know the answer. If we have a tool for getting the clash of traditional and modern cultures to mend and for strengthening cultures losing value to their members, then each group can use that tool to build its own solution, whether it be one global religion or many diverse local ones.

The Community Quality Cabaret – A tool for communities to mesh clashing cultures, strengthen weakening ones, and invent new ones

I developed the Community Quality Cabaret (CQC) over the 8 years between 1988 and 1996. It is designed for use in any community in the world. It can be used as an annual event in such communities, although with some modifications of procedure more frequent use is possible.

The CQC has the following five fundamental characteristics:-

- (1) It is a combination of many arts; those traditional to a community, those threatening to the community through mass media or enticed youth, and arts utterly unknown in the community that it might learn from experiencing them;
- (2) It uses dual packaging – packaging traditional meanings and images in a wrapping of modern art forms, and packaging modern art forms in a wrapping of traditional images and values;
- (3) It is participatory in that major portions of a community design the cabaret, set it up, hold it, perform in it, and follow it up;
- (4) It is multi-dimensional, a microcosm of the entire community, having economic, political, cultural, and institutional aspects and performances. (It is usual that the entire populations of communities attend the performances of CQC.); and
- (5) Most importantly, it is targeted.

The CQC invents arts, acts and performances that will have a particular intended effect. Although not 'instructive' art, it is also not 'pure entertainment'. It inserts new images where they are needed; some of them 'stick' while others turn out to be useless. It is based on a thoroughgoing analysis of the economic, political, cultural, and foundational needs of a community. The clash of cultures in those domains is illuminated in detail, and images helping the community blend, mesh and transit among them are invented, then delivered in the CQC's performances.

A synopsis of the three phases of conducting CQC

There are three celebrations within any one CQC:

- (1) within the set up process;
- (2) within holding the CQC (often for entire populations of a community in successive performances); and
- (3) within following-up the CQC.

The various arts and acts within holding the CQC are matched by arts and acts within setting it up and following it up. As the event is repeated over time, increasingly more art, artifice and act spill over from the performance content of holding a CQC into the set up and follow up processes. For example, where ticket sales may start out in the

first set up of a first CQC as ordinary people selling tickets, in a second set up for a second CQC, costumed actors representing new images of the community's future or new images of its recent past will sell tickets in street theatre events. In this way the art and imagery of the CQC infiltrate a community until performances are simply more central focussed points within a continual symbolic presence within daily life of the community.

The set up process involves an elaborate analysis of the hard alternatives in any community, in terms of issues, opportunities, images, feelings, moods, morale, and the like. This spirit analysis is usually at first done on behalf of the community by a small core group, but in later repetitions of the CQC process, it becomes distributed widely throughout existing organisations of the community. They perform the analysis on themselves, turning the results over to the crew setting up the CQC.

The follow up process involves inserting the images, stories and happenings of the CQC performances into appropriate places and processes in the community, to guide thought and action. At first, word of mouth personal diffusion processes are employed, but more systematic dispersal of images are devised over time, as subsequent CQCs take place.

Holding a CQC involves choosing one of two strategies. Either to insert a 'package' of new or modern contents within traditional community festivals, celebrations, or rites, or, inserting inside a modern cabaret of many arts a performance 'package' of traditional festival, celebration, or ritual elements from the community's traditional repertoire. Either way works.

After this decision has been made, acts are designed. The method reported on here is based on four acts, each dominated by one theme in a four-theme sequence such as: liberty, freedom, historic dream, foundation (from Hannah Arendt's model of revolution); or mystery, consciousness, care and tranquillity (from monastic Buddhism); or challenge, chapterise, replicate, sell out (from environmental politics theory of movement building).

The community spirit analysis produces tensions between or among certain alternatives, traditional practices being undermined or challenged by modern social forces, innovations proving pointless or worse than past practices, and so on. These suggest songs, poetry, dramas, comedy, puppetry, shadow theatre, audience quizzes, magic, dances, choral antiphonies, and similar works of art that capture the human, personal, emotional, social

experience and significance of the dilemmas the community finds itself in.

Within each of the four acts, either the same theme sequence (as used to order the acts) is used or a different one selected, so there is a logical and locally relevant flow of meaning as each art work in each act is encountered by the audience. Finally, within each work of art—comedy, drama, song, etc.—the same or a different pattern of theme sequences is used. That makes for a three-layer fractal nature of the themes within each performance.

Particular on-going roles throughout the performance glue together the works of art in each act and the acts themselves. These roles are those of the master of ceremonies, audience jester (actor pretending to be a displeased or weird audience member), displaced stranger (actor pretending to be the phone, gas, water man or some other normal role from daily life somehow interrupting the performance), table service performers (waiters and waitresses who burst into dance, song, comedy), chorus, band, inappropriate magician (actor pretending to be a magician whose tricks do not work but whose quotidian preparations are tricks), and others. These roles constitute a second audience so there is a three-part structure: performers, cross-act roles as audience commenting on the performance, and actual audience of attendees.

CQC performances are usually scheduled so that all members of the community eventually see a performance. That may involve one performance in small communities or weeks of performances at various sites for large, dispersed communities or corporate workforces. Unlike usual performances, the community is encouraged to copy, mimic or improve on any arts and acts seen in these performances. The purpose, after all, is to offer new images for general use in helping the community navigate a future among clashing cultures, value sets and interests.

Synopsis of the community spirit analysis of the first phase of CQCs

Targeting arts and human image invention at key focal points in the emotional life of a community of people is anything but easy. Most societies depend on happenstance insights from disaffected, detached artists, who for their own reasons and at their own times burst forth with works of art that inform a community, make it conscious, raise its interests, rouse its passions, or deflate its pomposities.

But the CQC method assumes that arts themselves, however developed, are not enough. Communities need regular, thoroughgoing self-

analysis of the emotional substrata underlying confidence, action, hope, and despair. Such an analysis, if done by academics or researchers, fails to reach or excite ordinary populations. But if done by members of the community themselves and embodied by them in arts they devise, it becomes part of the life of the community, and can achieve widespread, deeply felt dissemination (often by word of mouth among related friends and family).

The analysis process examines every part of society, guided by a social process model. Groups of people are assigned each of 64 different social processes in society, to brainstorm the following topics:

- How are people feeling about this part of their lives?
- What happened in the past year here?
- What anxieties or failings are appearing in our society here?
- What opportunities are appearing before us here?
- What are our capabilities here?
- What should be we capable of here?
- What images from the forces challenging us appear here?
- What images from our traditions help here?
- What images from our traditions get in our way here? and
- What do we need here?

Characterisations are made of the past year, both its good and bad aspects and people's hopes and despairs, along with anticipatory characterisations of 'us next year', giving images of how we have suffered and grown, struggled and won, struggled and lost, or learned and become wise. How the styles, practices, habits, values, visions, associations of everyone have evolved in order this next year to handle its challenges better than we handled this year's challenges is specified anticipatorily through 'future perfect tense thinking' (we 'will have done X', we 'will have felt Y').

There is a lot more detail, but more is not necessary for this article. The above description suffices to make the point that a rich database gets handed to the team responsible for inventing arts, acts, and images of the performance of the CQC itself (see Figure 1 on next page).

Some principles of the CQC's way of operating

Structural principles:

1. The actors, singers, band, and all other performers of the CQC are pairs of people—one with previous experience or talent and the other wishing to learn. This prevents the CQC from becoming a boring repetition of the same old over-famous, overly-seen, overly-talented faces, such as permeate Western industrial nation entertainment industry events and products. People are coming not to see talent but to see effort rewarded, learning rewarded, and the spread and development of new talent.
2. The forces at conflict in the community—all of them—are parodied, named, characterised, transmogrified, and otherwise turned into talkable and visible entities, instead of remaining as latent, unconscious and unadmitted forces. This prevents shame, deep community biases and the hiding of problems and bad behaviours by power structures from. This is the pain of all art: bringing reality into the phony world of daily life's pretensions. Obviously a certain courage is required. If, however, artful comedy, song and the like are used, much of the sting can be mitigated in enjoyment, laughter, tears of passion and similar cathartic experiences.
3. Audiences at conflict are also joined in CQC's, so that arts expressing the latent and overt conflicts among them are offered to provide images of transition from zero-sum mindsets to win-win mindsets. Stakeholders at conflict in communities, hoping to ignore how side-effects of their actions harm families and individuals in related stakeholder communities can be brought together in CQCs, so that shared suffering and frustration becomes the basis of inter-stakeholder cooperation and joint action.

Analytical principles:

1. Demythologisation and remythologisation via CQCs

Communities take their myths too literally, over time. The CQC articulates the daily life events of consciousness that elements of any tradition are highlighting and pointing to, helping ground the tradition in human experience instead of blind obedience to a part no one understands very well. Remythologisation takes new elements of contemporary experience and refines them into the crucial events in consciousness they represent. It then invents new images to add to the tradition to

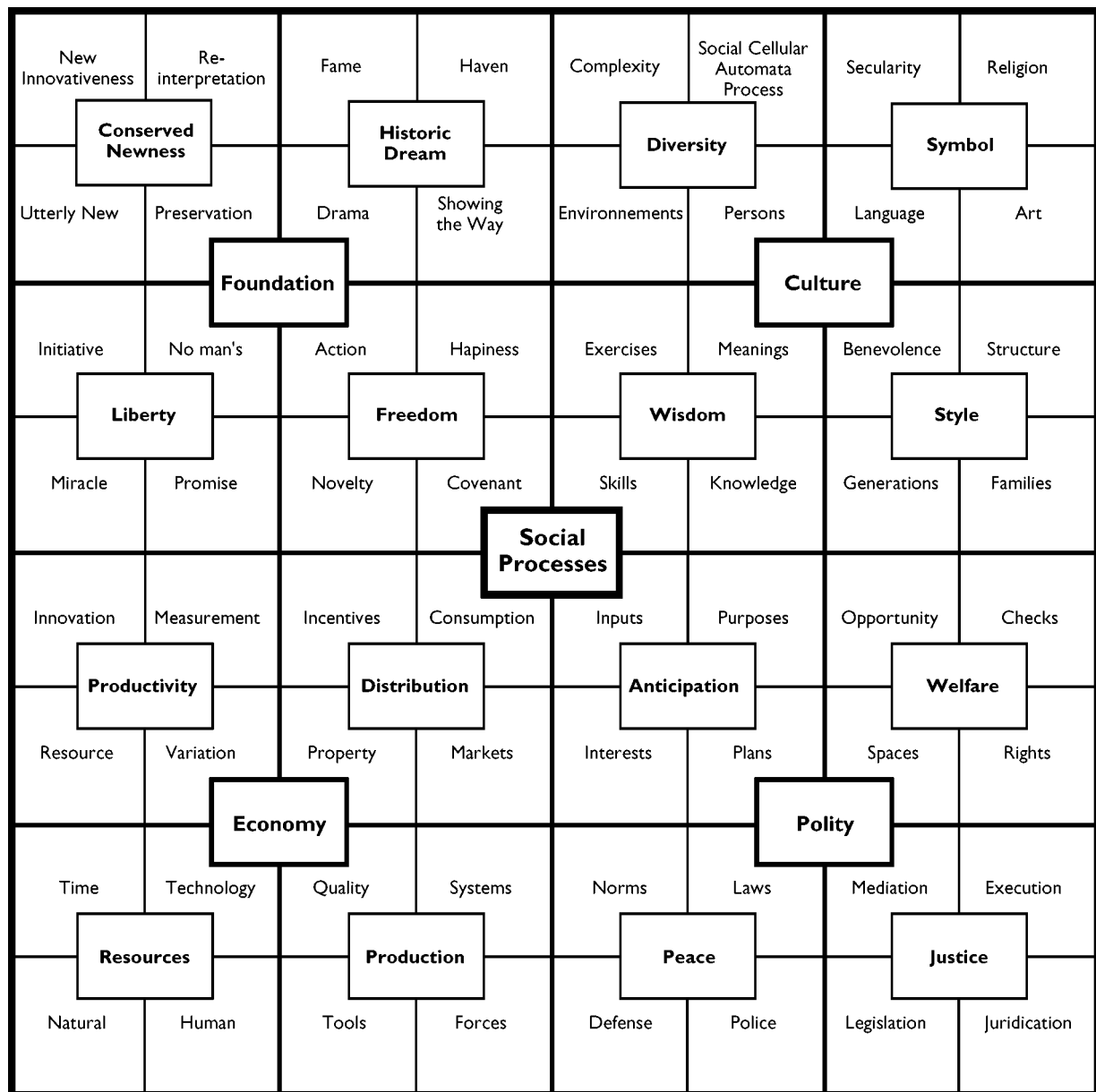


Figure 1

84 social processes organised on three levels of 4, 16 and 64 for elaborating community imagery issues

expand it to include the best elements in contemporary experience.

2. Demystification and remystification via CQCs

Communities over time accept and obey things out of habit rather than out of intelligent, realistic self-interest and self-care. Such unconscious giving over of oneself to ideas and authorities without real choice, reason and reflection helps to sustain injustice and political stability in communities. Demystification makes conscious such unwitting 'givings over' to powers and authorities, and

resurrects live choice of such commitments as what is basic and real. Remystification gets communities to choose to focus, to rehearse, to remind, to advertise images that transition them into the kind of next year they want. It self-consciously commits the community to what they otherwise might unconsciously and blindly commit to.

3. De-mass-ification and re-mass-ification via CQCs

In all too many cases, mass production, mass entertainment, mass retailing, and other multinational production systems that invade and make

claims on local communities have substituted the most banal uniformity and least-common denominators for richer local practices and beliefs. De-mass-ifying society in CQCs occurs along with a kind of re-mass-ification of entirely local cultural inventions and images, propagated by each CQC into wider areas and communities.

The case of Majuro

In the mid-1980s, 302 people in a corner of the mid-Pacific island of Majuro experienced three successive CQCs in three successive years, along with pre-test and post-test data on impact on various aspects of the community. The target population consisted of 14 extended families in a close-knit community on Majuro, which still fished for a living, rather than accepting the welfare that had degraded and demoralized most of the island.

This community was chosen because it seemed to be a cultural sub-unit of some intangible substantiality among the decay around it. It was hoped that the CQC process would capture and reveal the subtle shared values and imagery underneath the community's coherence, while helping the community invent new imagery to assist it in dealing with the rampant materialism and commercialism around it.

The first year, a usual end-of-year celebration, part religious ceremony of members of the community who were Christian, and part indigenous rite of the fishing community, was amplified into a CQC. A lone outsider visited the community for a month to study its traditions. After a month of ambulatory conversations throughout the community, he was incorporated into a fishing unit of two families who shared ownership of a deep-sea trawler. After a month of work on the boat, he began meeting leaders of the men's group that informally ran the community and that monitored its relations to the surrounding communities. The pride of this close group of families in their coherence compared to the welfare state of much of the rest of Majuro was noticeable.

He described to the leaders his idea of a community-spirit analysis done by him, assisted by members of the community, leading to additions to the year-end festival week. The leadership agreed and appointed three middle-aged men and two women to help conduct the community-spirit analysis. To cut a long story short, this committee of six set up a CQC that was 2 hours long, had 4 acts of 6 art-forms each, involved 60 members of this 302 person community as performers, and 33 members as follow-up personnel, to inject imagery from the CQC into other, later community events and processes.

The largest available facility in the area comprised 4 open-sided garages that happened to face each other across an alley. This was traditionally turned into a giant tent area for the community's end-of-year festival week, and the CQC was fitted into this overall week of traditional celebratory activity. The CQC was offered four nights during the week, with people who had not attended given the better seats, without excluding repeat attendees.

Second-year and third-year repetitions of this process included some changes. There was a great increase in people wanting to perform, so that the spirit analysis team members, 60 performers, and 33 follow-up personnel of the first year, were replaced by entirely new people the second, and again the third year (to the extent possible, given 302 in the entire target community). All the 302 members of the community were involved in setting up, performing, or following up the CQC—with the exception of 2 elders who were too frail in their opinion to accept roles offered to them (often importunistically by family members).

Pre-test, post-test results summary

Measures of which values the community shared, how widely they were shared, and how deeply they were held within the community were made via a paid questionnaire (people completing it were paid the modest honorarium of US\$ 25), before any outsider entered this community of 302. The same measures were made six months after the CQC, for each of the three years that it was held. Included in the questionnaire were items measuring how people viewed their personal, family and community prospects in the coming year, and what they expected would be different in the coming year from the present one. The most frequent responses are shown in Table 1.

The Majuro case: cost benefits

Despite its incompleteness, Table 1 reveals a significant change in self-imagery in response to random sampling of the 302-person target population after four two-hour performances of community quality cabarets. There is evidence in Table 1 that latent pride in their community became stronger and more articulated as CQCs were held. Such evolution in imagery six months after a two-hour performance is impressive in cost-benefit terms. However, there were costs other than simply the work of community-spirit analysis, and holding CQCs.

One such cost was the emergence of disaffected subgroups within the 302-person community which, encouraged by the mood unleashed by the CQC, made something of a nuisance of themselves.

This at first was not attributed to the CQC but later it was, reducing enthusiasm for continuing it.

Another such cost was that the enthusiasm right after each performance and lasting for a few weeks dissipated because community conduits were too undeveloped and too lethargic to respond. This frustrated the most deeply moved participants. Follow-up activities in future CQC administrations need to examine carefully how to widen such community conduits for newly interested or engaged people.

One benefit appeared that was not directly intended. Two factions in the community, not immediately apparent to outside observers, ended up creating together new images of cooperation as they worked together in set-up teams. Competitive fishing between them was replaced by cooperative fishing, after the second CQC. This demonstrated the power of the CQC experience to mesh values of conflicting stakeholders.

Managing by events – New ways to deliver management functions

The CQC is one event type in a whole menu of events. Management by events is a theory of how to replace use of a social class of 'managers and leaders' to deliver management functions with events wherein people apply managing functions to themselves. In addition to the CQC the following event types (among others) have been widely applied: problem-finding workouts, cause-finding workouts, solution-finding workouts, implementation-starting workdays, research assemblies, participatory town meetings, and problem-solving workouts. By taking functions that in the past were performed by elite leaders or staff experts and getting hundreds to do those functions much faster in mass workshop events, organizational learning is enhanced and the power distances between social roles is reduced (Greene, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997a, 1997 b, 1998).

Table 1: Change in self-imagery on Majuro

Most frequent responses	Before 1st CQC	After 1st CQC, before 2nd	After 2nd CQC, before 3rd	After 3rd CQC
Value behind most admired person of the present year	Friendly	Friendly	Friendly	Friendly
Value behind most abhorred person of the present year	Untrustworthy	Untrustworthy	Resists change	Resists change
Value most adaptive for community's biggest challenge	Peace of mind	Love	Unity	Coordinated effort
Value most mal-adaptive for community's biggest challenge	Disharmony	Unrewarded effort	Unrewarded effort	Conservatism
Personal prospects image	As usual	As usual	Maybe some opportunity will appear	Projects with my friends
Family prospects image	Up and down	Up and down	Up and down	Up and down
Community prospects image	Nothing going on	Nothing going on	Nothing going on	Get your act together
Habits of community in the way of what the community needs	Being a king of a shrinking pond is better than uncertain effort and future	Blaming everybody else for one's own troubles	Letting bad ideas from general society get established inside our community	Letting bad ideas from general society get established inside our community
Habits of community helping the community meet its current needs	None or no response	Helping out other boats when help is needed	Rejecting ideas from outside	Setting higher standards for us than those around us use

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