

We present with pride the following reprint of an article from our Summer 1974 issue. If you haven't already read this classic article on the management of agreement—and the catastrophes that result when it is mismanaged—you're in for a treat. If you have read it, you're in for another treat: Harvey's epilogue, which immediately follows the article, and commentaries by Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Arthur Elliott Carlisle, immediately following the epilogue. Together, the commentaries by Kanter and Carlisle form, in effect, an "Abilene Defense"—or ways to fend off an Abilene Paradox.

No actual silver stake is recommended, just some canny advice on how to maneuver to keep people from rushing into agreement—out of politeness, a misguided sense of the "lay of the land," or ignorance—on something that none of them really wants to do or should do. On and off the job, we have all faced our own Abilene Paradox—several times at that. Now we have some ways to face it down.

The Abilene Paradox: The Management of Agreement

Jerry B. Harvey

JOHN HUEHNERGARTH The July afternoon in Coleman, Texas (population 5,607) was particularly hot—104 degrees as measured by the Walgreen's Rexall Ex-Lax temperature gauge. In addition, the wind was blowing fine-grained West Texas topsoil through the house. But the afternoon was still tolerable—even potentially enjoyable. There was a fan going on the back porch; there was

cold lemonade; and finally, there was entertainment. Dominoes. Perfect for the conditions. The game required little more physical exertion than an occasional mumbled comment. "Shuffle 'em," and an unhurried movement of the arm to place the spots in the appropriate perspective on the table. All in all, it had the makings of an agreeable Sunday af-

ternoon in Coleman—that is, it was until my father-in-law suddenly said, "Let's get in the car and go to Abilene and have dinner at the cafeteria."

I thought, "What, go to Abilene? Fifty-three miles? In this dust storm and heat? And in an unairconditioned 1958 Buick?"

But my wife chimed in with, "Sounds like a great idea. I'd like to go. How about you, Jerry?" Since my own preferences were obviously out of step with the rest I replied, "Sounds good to me," and added, "I just hope your mother wants to go."

"Of course I want to go," said my mother-in-law. "I haven't been to Abilene in a long time."

So into the car and off to Abilene we went. My predictions were fulfilled. The heat was brutal. We were coated with a fine layer of dust that was cemented with perspiration by the time we arrived. The food at the cafeteria provided first-rate testimonial material for antacid commercials.

Some four hours and 106 miles later we returned to Coleman, hot and exhausted. We sat in front of the fan for a long time in silence. Then, both to be sociable and to break the silence, I said, "It was a great trip, wasn't it?"

No one spoke. Finally my mother-

in-law said, with some irritation, "Well, to tell the truth, I really didn't enjoy it much and would rather have stayed here. I just went along because the three of you were so enthusiastic about going. I wouldn't have gone if you all hadn't pressured me into it."

I couldn't believe it. "What do you mean 'you all'?" I said. "Don't put me in the 'you all' group. I was delighted to be doing what we were doing. I didn't want to go. I only went to satisfy the rest of you. You're the culprits."

My wife looked shocked. "Don't call me a culprit. You and Daddy and Mama were the ones who wanted to go. I just went along to be sociable and to keep you happy. I would have had to be crazy to want to go out in heat like that."

Her father entered the conversation abruptly. "Hell!" he said.

He proceeded to expand on what was already absolutely clear. "Listen, I never wanted to go to Abilene. I just thought you might be bored. You visit so seldom I wanted to be sure you enjoyed it. I would have preferred to play another game of dominoes and eat the leftovers in the icebox."

After the outburst of recrimination we all sat back in silence. Here we were, four reasonably sensible people who, of our own volition, had just taken a 106-mile trip across a godforsaken desert in a furnace-like temperature through a cloud-like dust storm to eat unpalatable food at a hole-in-the-wall cafeteria in Abilene, when none of us had really wanted to go. In fact, to be more accurate, we'd done just the opposite of what we wanted to do. The whole situation simply didn't make sense.

At least it didn't make sense at the time. But since that day in Coleman, I have observed, consulted with, and been a part of more than one organization that has been caught in the same situation. As a result, they

have either taken a side-trip, or, occasionally, a terminal journey to Abilene, when Dallas or Houston or Tokyo was where they really wanted to go. And for most of those organizations, the negative consequences of such trips, measured in terms of both human misery and economic loss, have been much greater than for our little Abilene group.

This article is concerned with that paradox—the Abilene Paradox. Stated simply, it is as follows: Organizations frequently take actions in contradiction to what they really want to do and therefore defeat the very purposes they are trying to achieve. It also deals with a major corollary of the paradox, which is that *the inability to manage agreement is a major source of organization dysfunction*. Last, the article is designed to help members of organizations cope more effectively with the paradox's pernicious influence.

As a means of accomplishing the above, I shall: (1) describe the symptoms exhibited by organizations caught in the paradox; (2) describe, in summarized case-study examples, how they occur in a variety of organizations; (3) discuss the underlying causal dynamics; (4) indicate some of the implications of accepting this model for describing organizational behavior; (5) make recommendations for coping with the paradox; and, in conclusion, (6) relate the paradox to a broader existential issue.

SYMPTOMS OF THE PARADOX

The inability to manage agreement, not the inability to manage conflict, is the essential symptom that defines organizations caught in the web of the Abilene Paradox. That inability to manage agreement effectively is expressed by six specific subsymptoms, all of which were present in our family Abilene group.



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1. Organization members agree privately, as individuals, as to the nature of the situation or problem facing the organization. For example, members of the Abilene group agreed that they were enjoying themselves sitting in front of the fan, sipping lemonade, and playing dominoes.

2. Organization members agree privately, as individuals, as to the steps that would be required to cope with the situation or problem they face. For members of the Abilene group "more of the same" was a solution that would have adequately satisfied their individual and collective desires.

3. Organization members fail to accurately communicate their desires and/or beliefs to one another. In fact, they do just the opposite and thereby lead one another into misperceiving the collective reality. Each member of the Abilene group, for example, communicated inaccurate data to other members of the organization. The data, in effect, said, "Yeah, it's a great idea. Let's go to Abilene," when in reality members of the organization individually and collectively preferred to stay in Coleman.

4. With such invalid and inaccurate information, organization members make collective decisions that lead them to take actions contrary to what they want to do, and thereby arrive at results that are counterproductive to the organization's intent and purposes. Thus, the Abilene group went to Abilene when it preferred to do something else.

5. As a result of taking actions that are counterproductive, organization members experience frustration, anger, irritation, and dissatisfaction with their organization. Consequently, they form subgroups with trusted acquaintances and blame other subgroups for the organization's dilemma. Frequently, they also blame authority figures and one another. Such phenomena were illustrated in the Abilene group by the "culprit" ar-

gument that occurred when we had returned to the comfort of the fan.

6. Finally, if organization members do not deal with the generic issue — the inability to manage agreement — the cycle repeats itself with greater intensity. The Abilene group, for a variety of reasons, the most important of which was that it became conscious of the process, did not reach that point.

To repeat, the Abilene Paradox reflects a failure to manage agreement. In fact, it is my contention that the inability to cope with (manage) agreement, rather than the inability to cope with (manage) conflict, is the single most pressing issue of modern organizations.

OTHER TRIPS TO ABILENE

The Abilene Paradox is no respecter of individuals, organizations, or institutions. Following are descriptions of two other trips to Abilene that illustrate both the pervasiveness of the paradox and its underlying dynamics.

Case No. 1: The Boardroom.

The Ozyx Corporation is a relatively small industrial company that has embarked on a trip to Abilene. The president of Ozyx has hired a consultant to help discover the reasons for the poor profit picture of the company in general and the low morale and productivity of the R&D division in particular. During the process of investigation, the consultant becomes interested in a research project in which the company has invested a sizable proportion of its R&D budget.

When asked about the project by the consultant in the privacy of their offices, the president, the vice-president for research, and the research manager each describes it as an idea that looked great on paper but will ultimately fail because of the unavailability of the technology required to make it work. Each of them also acknowledges that continued support of the project will create cash

flow problems that will jeopardize the very existence of the total organization.

Furthermore, each individual indicates he has not told the others about his reservations. When asked why, the president says he can't reveal his "true" feelings because abandoning the project, which has been widely publicized, would make the company look bad in the press and, in addition, would probably cause his vice-president's ulcer to kick up or perhaps even cause him to quit, "because he has staked his professional reputation on the project's success."

Similarly, the vice-president for research says he can't let the president or the research manager know of his reservations because the president is so committed to it that "I would probably get fired for insubordination if I questioned the project."

Finally, the research manager says he can't let the president or vice-president know of his doubts about the project because of their extreme commitment to the project's success.

All indicate that, in meetings with one another, they try to maintain an optimistic façade so the others won't worry unduly about the project. The research director, in

particular, admits to writing ambiguous progress reports so the president and the vice-president can "interpret them to suit themselves." In fact, he says he tends to slant them to the "positive" side, "given how committed the brass are."

The scent of the Abilene trail wafts from a paneled conference room where the project research budget is being considered for the following fiscal year. In the meeting itself, praises are heaped on the questionable project and a unanimous decision is made to continue it for yet another year. Symbolically, the organization has boarded a bus to Abilene.

In fact, although the real issue of agreement was confronted approximately eight months after the bus departed, it was nearly too late. The organization failed to meet a payroll and underwent a two-year period of personnel cutbacks, retrenchments, and austerity. Morale suffered, the most competent technical personnel resigned, and the organization's prestige in the industry declined.

Case No. 2: The Watergate

Apart from the grave question of who did what, Watergate presents America with the profound puzzle

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of why. What is it that led such a wide assortment of men, many of them high public officials, possibly including the President himself, either to instigate or to go along with and later try to hide a pattern of behavior that by now appears not only reprehensible, but stupid? (The Washington Star and Daily News, editorial, May 27, 1973.)

One possible answer to the editorial writer's question can be found by probing into the dynamics of the Abilene Paradox. I shall let the reader reach his own conclusions, though, on the basis of the following excerpts from testimony before the Senate investigating committee on "The Watergate Affair."

In one exchange, Senator Howard Baker asked Herbert Porter, then a member of the White House staff, why he (Porter) found himself "in charge of or deeply involved in a dirty tricks operation of the campaign." In response, Porter indicated that he had had qualms about what he was doing, but that he ". . . was not one to stand up in a meeting and say that this should be stopped. . . . I kind of drifted along."

And when asked by Baker why he had "drifted along," Porter replied, "In all honesty, because of the fear of the group pres-

sure that would ensue, of not being a team player," and ". . . I felt a deep sense of loyalty to him [the President] or was appealed to on that basis." (*The Washington Post*, June 8, 1973, p. 20.)

Jeb Magruder gave a similar response to a question posed by committee counsel Dash. Specifically, when asked about his, Mr. Dean's, and Mr. Mitchell's reactions to Mr. Liddy's proposal, which included bugging the Watergate, Mr. Magruder replied, "I think all three of us were appalled. The scope and size of the project were something that at least in my mind were not envisioned. I do not think it was in Mr. Mitchell's mind or Mr. Dean's, although I can't comment on their states of mind at that time.

Mr. Mitchell, in an understated way, which was his way of dealing with difficult problems like this, indicated that this was not an "acceptable project." (*The Washington Post*, June 15, 1973, p. A14.)

Later in his testimony Mr. Magruder said, ". . . I think I can honestly say that no one was particularly overwhelmed with the project. But I think we felt that this information could be useful, and Mr. Mitchell agreed to approve the project, and I then notified the parties of Mr. Mitchell's approval." (*The Washington Post*, June 15, 1973, p. A14.)

Although I obviously was not privy to the private conversations of the principal characters, the data seem to reflect the essential elements of the Abilene Paradox. First, they indicate agreement. Evidently, Mitchell, Porter, Dean, and Magruder agreed that the plan was inappropriate. ("I think I can honestly say that no one was particularly overwhelmed with the project.") Second, the data indicate that the principal figures then proceeded to implement the plan in contradiction to their shared agreement. Third, the data surrounding the case clearly indicate

that the plan multiplied the organization's problems rather than solved them. And finally, the organization broke into subgroups with the various principals, such as the President, Mitchell, Porter, Dean, and Magruder, blaming one another for the dilemma in which they found themselves, and internecine warfare ensued.

In summary, it is possible that because of the inability of White House staff members to cope with the fact that they agreed, the organization took a trip to Abilene.

ANALYZING THE PARADOX

The Abilene Paradox can be stated succinctly as follows: Organizations frequently take actions in contradiction to the data they have for dealing with problems and, as a result, compound their problems rather than solve them. Like all paradoxes, the Abilene Paradox deals with absurdity. On the surface, it makes little sense for organizations, whether they are couples or companies, bureaucracies or governments, to take actions that are diametrically opposed to the data they possess for solving crucial organizational problems. Such actions are particularly absurd since they tend to compound the very problems they are designed to solve and thereby defeat the purposes the organization is trying to achieve. However, as Robert Rapaport and others have so cogently expressed it, paradoxes are generally paradoxes only because they are based on a logic or rationale different from what we understand or expect.

Discovering that different logic not only destroys the paradoxical quality but also offers alternative ways for coping with similar situations. Therefore, part of the dilemma facing an Abilene-bound organization may be the lack of a map—a theory or model—

that provides rationality to the paradox. The purpose of the following discussion is to provide such a map.

The map will be developed by examining the underlying psychological themes of the profit-making organization and the bureaucracy and it will include the following landmarks: (1) Action Anxiety; (2) Negative Fantasies; (3) Real Risk; (4) Separation Anxiety; and (5) the Psychological Reversal of Risk and Certainty. I hope that the discussion of such landmarks will provide harried organization travelers with a new map that will assist them in arriving at where they really want to go and, in addition, will help them in assessing the risks that are an inevitable part of the journey.

ACTION ANXIETY

Action anxiety provides the first landmark for locating roadways that bypass Abilene. The concept of action anxiety says that the reasons organization members take actions in contradiction to their understanding of the organization's problems lies in the intense

anxiety that is created as they think about acting in accordance with what they believe needs to be done. As a result, they opt to endure the professional and economic degradation of pursuing an unworkable research project or the consequences of participating in an illegal activity rather than act in a manner congruent with their beliefs. It is not that organization members do not know what needs to be done—they do know. For example, the various principals in the research organization cited *knew* they were working on a research project that had no real possibility of succeeding. And the central figures of the Watergate episode apparently *knew* that, for a variety of reasons, the plan to bug the Watergate did not make sense.

Such action anxiety experienced by the various protagonists may not make sense, but the dilemma is not a new one. In fact, it is very similar to the anxiety experienced by Hamlet, who expressed it most eloquently in the opening lines of his famous soliloquy:

To be or not to be; that is the question:
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles
And by opposing, end them? . . .
(*Hamlet*, Act III, Scene II)

It is easy to translate Hamlet's anx-

ious lament into that of the research manager of our R&D organization as he contemplates his report to the meeting of the budget committee. It might go something like this:

To maintain my sense of integrity and self-worth or compromise it, that is the question. Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the ignominy that comes from managing a nonsensical research project, or the fear and anxiety that come from making a report the president and V.P. may not like to hear.

So, the anguish, procrastination, and counterproductive behavior of the research manager or members of the White House staff are not much different from those of Hamlet; all might ask with equal justification Hamlet's subsequent searching question of what it is that

makes us rather bear those ills we have than fly to others we know not of. (*Hamlet*, Act III, Scene II)

In short, like the various Abilene protagonists, we are faced with a deeper question: Why does action anxiety occur?

NEGATIVE FANTASIES

Part of the answer to that question may be found in the negative fantasies organization members have about acting in congruence

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with what they believe should be done. Hamlet experienced such fantasies.

Specifically, Hamlet's fantasies of the alternatives to the current evils were more evils, and he didn't entertain the possibility that any action he might take could lead to an improvement in the situation. Hamlet's was not an unusual case, though. In fact, the "Hamlet syndrome" clearly occurred in both organizations previously described. All of the organization protagonists had negative fantasies about what would happen if they acted in accordance with what they believed needed to be done.

The various managers in the R&D organization foresaw loss of face, prestige, position, and even health as the outcome of confronting the issues about which they believed, incorrectly, that they disagreed. Similarly, members of the White House staff feared being made scapegoats, branded as disloyal, or ostracized as non-team players if they acted in accordance with their understanding of reality.

To sum up, action anxiety is supported by the negative fantasies that organization members have about what will happen as a consequence of their acting in accordance with their understanding of what is sensible. The negative fantasies, in turn, serve an important function for the persons who have them. Specifically, they provide the individual with an excuse that releases him psychologically, both in his own eyes and frequently in the eyes of others, from the responsibility of having to act to solve organization problems.

It is not sufficient, though, to stop with the explanation of negative fantasies as the basis for the inability of organizations to cope with agreement. We must look deeper and ask still other questions: What is the source of the negative fantasies? Why do they occur?

REAL RISK

Risk is a reality of life, a condition of existence. John Kennedy articulated it in another way when he said at a news conference, "Life is unfair." By that I believe he meant we do not know, nor can we predict or control with certainty, either the events that impinge upon us or the outcomes of actions we undertake in response to those events.

Consequently, in the business environment, the research manager might find that confronting the president and the vice-president with the fact that the project was a "turkey" might result in his being fired. And Mr. Porter's saying that an illegal plan of surveillance should not be carried out could have caused his ostracism as a non-team player. There are too many cases when confrontation of this sort has resulted in such consequences. The real question, though, is not, Are such fantasized consequences possible? but, Are such fantasized consequences likely?

Thus real risk is an existential condition, and all action do have consequences that, to paraphrase Hamlet, may be worse than the evils of the present. As a result of their unwillingness to accept existential risk as one of life's givens, however, people may opt to take their organizations to Abilene rather than run the risk, no matter how small, of ending up somewhere worse.

Again, though, one must ask, What is the real risk that underlies the decision to opt for Abilene? What is at the core of the paradox?

FEAR OF SEPARATION

One is tempted to say that the core of the paradox lies in the individual's fear of the unknown. Actually, we do not fear what is unknown, but we are afraid of things we do

know about. What do we know about that frightens us into such apparently inexplicable organizational behavior?

Separation, alienation, and loneliness are things we do know about—and fear. Both research and experience indicate that ostracism is one of the most powerful punishments that can be devised. Solitary confinement does not draw its coercive strength from physical deprivation. The evidence is overwhelming that we have a fundamental need to be connected, engaged, and related and a reciprocal need not to be separated or alone. Everyone of us, though, has experienced aloneness. From the time the umbilical cord was cut, we have experienced the real anguish of separation—broken friendships, divorces, deaths, and exclusions. C. P. Snow vividly described the tragic interplay between loneliness and connection:

Each of us is alone; sometimes we escape from our solitariness, through love and affection or perhaps creative moments, but these triumphs of life are pools of light we make for ourselves while the edge of the road is black. Each of us dies alone.

That fear of taking risks that may result in our separation from others is at the core of the paradox. It finds expression in ways of which we may be unaware, and it is ultimately the cause of the self-defeating, col-

lective deception that leads to self-destructive decisions within organizations.

Concretely, such fear of separation leads research committees to fund projects that none of its members want and, perhaps, White House staff members to engage in illegal activities that they don't really support.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL REVERSAL OF RISK AND CERTAINTY

One piece of the map is still missing. It relates to the peculiar reversal that occurs in our thought processes as we try to cope with the Abilene Paradox. For example, we frequently fail to take action in an organizational setting because we fear that the actions we take may result in our separation from others, or, in the language of Mr. Porter, we are afraid of being tabbed as "disloyal" or are afraid of being ostracized as "non-team players." But therein lies a paradox within a paradox, because our very unwillingness to take such risks virtually ensures the separation and aloneness we so fear. In effect, we reverse "real existential risk" and "fantasized risk" and by doing so transform what is a probability statement into what, for all practical purposes, becomes a certainty.

Take the R&D organization described earlier. When the project fails, some people will get fired, demoted, or sentenced to the purgatory of a make-work job in an out-of-the-way office. For those who remain, the atmosphere of blame, distrust, suspicion, and backbiting that accompanies such failure will serve only to further alienate and separate those who remain.

The Watergate situation is similar. The principals evidently feared being ostracized as disloyal non-team players. When the illegality of the act surfaced, however, it was nearly inevitable that blaming, self-protect-

tive actions, and scapegoating would result in the very emotional separation from both the President and one another that the principals feared. Thus, by reversing real and fantasized risk, they had taken effective action to ensure the outcome they least desired.

One final question remains: Why do we make this peculiar reversal? I support the general thesis of Alvin Toffler and Philip Slater, who contend that our cultural emphasis on technology, competition, individualism, temporariness, and mobility has resulted in a population that has frequently experienced the terror of loneliness and seldom the satisfaction of engagement. Consequently, though we have learned of the reality of separation, we have not had the opportunity to learn the reciprocal skills of connection, with the result that, like the ancient dinosaurs, we are breeding organizations with self-destructive decision-making proclivities.

A POSSIBLE ABILENE BYPASS

Existential risk is inherent in living, so it is impossible to provide a map that meets the no-risk criterion, but it may be possible to describe the route in terms that make the landmarks understandable and that will clarify the risks involved. In order to do that, however, some commonly used terms such as victim, victimizer, collusion, responsibility, conflict, conformity, courage, confrontation, reality, and knowledge have to be redefined. In addition, we need to explore the relevance of the redefined concepts for bypassing or getting out of Abilene.

- *Victim and victimizer.* Blaming and fault-finding behavior is one of the basic symptoms of organizations that have found their way to Abilene, and the target of blame generally doesn't include the one who criticizes. Stated in different terms, executives be-

gin to assign one another to roles of victims and victimizers. Ironic as it may seem, however, this assignment of roles is both irrelevant and dysfunctional, because once a business or a government fails to manage its agreement and arrives in Abilene, all its members are victims. Thus, arguments and accusations that identify victims and victimizers at best become symptoms of the paradox, and, at worst, drain energy from the problem-solving efforts required to redirect the organization along the route it really wants to take.

- *Collusion.* A basic implication of the Abilene Paradox is that human problems of organization are reciprocal in nature. As Robert Tannenbaum has pointed out, you can't have an autocratic boss unless subordinates are willing to collude with his autocracy, and you can't have obsequious subordinates unless the boss is willing to collude with their obsequiousness.

Thus, in plain terms, each person in a self-defeating, Abilene-bound organization *colludes* with others, including peers, superiors, and subordinates, sometimes consciously and sometimes subconsciously, to create the dilemma in which the organization finds itself. To adopt a cliche of modern organization, "It takes a real team effort to go to Abi-

lene." In that sense each person, in his own collusive manner, shares responsibility for the trip, so searching for a locus of blame outside oneself serves no useful purpose for either the organization or the individual. It neither helps the organization handle its dilemma of unrecognized agreement nor does it provide psychological relief for the individual, because focusing on conflict when agreement is the issue is devoid of reality. In fact, it does just the opposite, for it causes the organization to focus on managing conflict when it should be focusing on managing agreement.

- *Responsibility for problem-solving action.* A second question is, Who is responsible for getting us out of this place? To that question is frequently appended a third one, generally rhetorical in nature, with "should" overtones, such as, Isn't it the boss (or the ranking government official) who is responsible for doing something about the situation?

The answer to that question is no.

The key to understanding the functionality of the no answer is the knowledge that, when the dynamics of the paradox are

in operation, the authority figure—and others—are in unknowing agreement with one another concerning the organization's problems and the steps necessary to solve them. Consequently, the power to destroy the paradox's pernicious influence comes from confronting and speaking to the underlying reality of the situation, and not from one's hierarchical position within the organization. Therefore, any organization member who chooses to risk confronting that reality possesses the necessary leverage to release the organization from the paradox's grip.

In one situation, it may be a research director's saying, "I don't think this project can succeed." In another, it may be Jeb Magruder's response to this question of Senator Baker:

If you were concerned because the action was known to you to be illegal, because you thought it improper or unethical, you thought the prospects for success were very meager, and you doubted the reliability of Mr. Liddy, what on earth would it have taken to decide against the plan?

Magruder's reply was brief and to the point:

"Conflict is a part of any organization. . . . However, analysis of the Abilene Paradox opens up the possibility of two kinds of conflict—real and phony. On the surface, they look alike. But, like headaches, they have different causes and therefore require different treatment."

Not very much, sir. I am sure that if I had fought vigorously against it, I think any of us could have had the plan cancelled. (*Time*, June 25, 1973, p. 12.)

• *Reality, knowledge, confrontation.* Accepting the paradox as a model describing certain kinds of organizational dilemmas also requires rethinking the nature of reality and knowledge, as they are generally described in organizations. In brief, the underlying dynamics of the paradox clearly indicate that organization members generally know more about issues confronting the organization than they don't know. The various principals attending the research budget meeting, for example, knew the research project was doomed to failure. And Jeb Magruder spoke as a true Abilene when he said, "We knew it was illegal, probably, inappropriate." (*The Washington Post*, June 15, 1973, p. A16.)

Given this concept of reality and its relationship to knowledge, confrontation becomes the process of facing issues squarely, openly, and directly in an effort to discover whether the nature of the underlying collective reality is agreement or conflict. Accepting such a definition of confrontation has an important implication for change agents interested in making organizations more effective. That is, organization change and effectiveness may be facilitated as much by confronting the organization with what it knows and agrees upon as by confronting it with what it doesn't know or disagrees about.

REAL CONFLICT AND PHONY CONFLICT

Conflict is a part of any organization. Couples, R&D divisions, and White House staffs all engage in it. However, analysis of the Abilene Paradox opens up the possibility of two kinds of conflict—real and phony. On the surface, they look alike. But, like headaches,

they have different causes and therefore require different treatment.

Real conflict occurs when people have real differences. ("My reading of the research printouts says that we can make the project profitable." "I come to the opposite conclusion.") ("I suggest we 'bug' the Watergate." "I'm not in favor of it.")

Phony conflict, on the other hand, occurs when people agree on the actions they want to take, and then do the opposite. The resulting anger, frustration, and blaming behavior generally termed "conflict" are not based on real differences. Rather, they stem from the protective reactions that occur when a decision that no one believed in or was committed to in the first place goes sour. In fact, as a paradox within a paradox, such conflict is symptomatic of agreement!

GROUP TYRANNY AND CONFORMITY

Understanding the dynamics of the Abilene Paradox also requires a "reorientation" in thinking about concepts such as "group tyranny"—the loss of the individual's distinctiveness in a group, and the impact of conformity pressures on individual behavior in organizations. Group tyranny and its result, individual conformity, generally refer to the coercive effect of group pressures on individual behavior. Sometimes referred to as Group-think, it has been damned as the cause for everything from the lack of creativity in organizations ("A camel is a horse designed by a committee") to antisocial behavior in juveniles ("My Johnny is a good boy. He was just pressured into shoplifting by the kids he runs around with").

However, analysis of the dynamics underlying the Abilene Paradox opens up the possibility that individuals frequently perceive and feel as if they are experiencing the

coercive organization conformity pressures when, in actuality, they are responding to the dynamics of mismanaged agreement. Conceptualizing, experiencing, and responding to such experiences as reflecting the tyrannical pressures of a group again serves as an important psychological use for the individual: As was previously said, it releases him from the responsibility of taking action and thus becomes a defense against action. Thus, much behavior within an organization that heretofore has been conceptualized as reflecting the tyranny of conformity pressures is really an expression of collective anxiety and therefore must be reconceptualized as a defense against acting.

A well-known example of such faulty conceptualization comes to mind. It involves the heroic sheriff in the classic Western movies who stands alone in the jailhouse door and singlehandedly protects a suspected (and usually innocent) horse thief or murderer from the irrational, tyrannical forces of group behavior—that is, an armed lynch mob. Generally, as a part of the ritual, he threatens to blow off the head of anyone who takes a step toward the door. Few ever take the challenge, and the reason is not the sheriff's six-shooter. What good would one pistol be against an armed mob of several hundred people who *really* want to hang somebody? Thus, the gun in fact serves as a face-saving measure for people who don't wish to participate in a hanging anyway. ("We had to back off. The sheriff threatened to blow our heads off.")

The situation is one involving agreement management, for a careful investigator canvassing the crowd under conditions in which the anonymity of the interviewees' responses could be guaranteed would probably find: (1) that few of the individuals in the crowd really wanted to take part in the hanging; (2) that each person's participation came about because he perceived, falsely, that

others wanted to do so; and (3) that each person was afraid that others in the crowd would ostracize or in some other way punish him if he did not go along.

DIAGNOSING THE PARADOX

Most individuals like quick solutions, "clean" solutions, "no risk" solutions to organization problems. Furthermore, they tend to prefer solutions based on mechanics and technology, rather than on attitudes of "being." Unfortunately, the underlying reality of the paradox makes it impossible to provide either no-risk solutions or action technologies divorced from existential attitudes and realities. I do, however, have two sets of suggestions for dealing with these situations. One set of suggestions relates to diagnosing the situation, the other to confronting it.

When faced with the possibility that the paradox is operating, one must first make a diagnosis of the situation, and the key to diagnosis is an answer to the question, Is the organization involved in a conflict-management or an agreement-management situation? As an organization member, I have found it relatively easy to make a preliminary diagnosis as to whether an organization is on the way to Abilene or is involved in legitimate, substantive conflict by responding to the Diagnostic Survey shown in the accompanying figure. If the answer to the first question is "not characteristic," the organization is probably not in Abilene or conflict. If the answer is "characteristic," the organization has a problem of either real or phony conflict, and the answers to the succeeding questions help to determine which it is.

In brief, for reasons that should be apparent from the theory discussed here, the more times "characteristic" is checked, the more likely the organization is on its way to Abilene. In practical terms, a process for man-

ORGANIZATION DIAGNOSTIC SURVEY

Instructions: For each of the following statements please indicate whether it is or is not characteristic of your organization.

1. There is conflict in the organization.
2. Organization members feel frustrated, impotent, and unhappy when trying to deal with it. Many are looking for ways to escape. They may avoid meetings at which the conflict is discussed, they may be looking for other jobs, or they may spend as much time away from the office as possible by taking unneeded trips or vacation or sick leave.
3. Organization members place much of the blame for the dilemma on the boss or other groups. In "back room" conversations among friends the boss is termed incompetent, ineffective, "out of touch," or a candidate for early retirement. To his face, nothing is said, or at best, only oblique references are made concerning his role in the organization's problems. If the boss isn't blamed, some other group, division, or unit is seen as the cause of the trouble: "We would do fine if it were not for the damn fools in Division X."
4. Small subgroups of trusted friends and associates meet informally over coffee, lunch, and so on to discuss organizational problems. There is a lot of agreement among the members of these subgroups as to the cause of the troubles and the solutions that would be effective in solving them. Such conversations are frequently punctuated with statements beginning with, "We should do . . ."
5. In meetings where those same people meet with members from other subgroups to discuss the problem they "soften their positions," state them in ambiguous language, or even reverse them to suit the apparent positions taken by others.
6. After such meetings, members complain to trusted associates that they really didn't say what they wanted to say, but also provide a list of convincing reasons why the comments, suggestions, and reactions they wanted to make would have been impossible. Trusted associates commiserate and say the same was true for them.
7. Attempts to solve the problem do not seem to work. In fact, such attempts seem to add to the problem or make it worse.
8. Outside the organization individuals seem to get along better, be happier, and operate more effectively than they do within it.

aging agreement is called for. And finally, if the answer to the first question falls into the "characteristic" category and most of the other answers fall into the category "not characteristic," one may be relatively sure the organization is in a real conflict situation and some sort of conflict management intervention is in order.

COPING WITH THE PARADOX

Assuming a preliminary diagnosis leads one to believe he and/or his organization is on the

way to Abilene, the individual may choose to actively confront the situation to determine directly whether the underlying reality is one of agreement or conflict. Although there are, perhaps, a number of ways to do it, I have found one way in particular to be effective—confrontation in a group setting. The basic approach involves gathering organization members who are key figures in the problem and its solution into a group setting. Working within the context of a group is important because the dynamics of the Abilene Paradox involve collusion among group members; therefore, to try to solve the dilemma by

working with individuals and small sub-groups would involve further collusion with the dynamics leading up to the paradox.

The first step in the meeting is for the individual who "calls" it (that is, the confronter) to own up to his position first and be open to the feedback he gets. The owning up process lets the others know that he is concerned lest the organization may be making a decision contrary to the desires of any of its members. A statement like this demonstrates the beginning of such an approach:

I want to talk with you about the research project. Although I have previously said things to the contrary, I frankly don't think it will work, and I am very anxious about it. I suspect others may feel the same, but I don't know. Anyway, I am concerned that I may end up misleading you and that we may end up misleading one another, and if we aren't careful, we may continue to work on a problem that none of us wants and that might even bankrupt us. That's why I need to know where the rest of you stand. I would appreciate any of your thoughts about the project. Do you think it can succeed?

What kinds of results can one expect if he decides to undertake the process of confrontation? I have found that the results can be divided into *two* categories, at the technical level and at the level of existential experience. Of the two, I have found that for

the person who undertakes to initiate the process of confrontation, the existential experience takes precedence in his ultimate evaluation of the outcome of the action he takes.

• *The technical level.* If one is correct in diagnosing the presence of the paradox, I have found the solution to the technical problem may be almost absurdly quick and simple, nearly on the order of this:

"Do you mean that you and I and the rest of us have been dragging along with a research project that none of us has thought would work? It's crazy. I can't believe we would do it, but we did. Let's figure out how we can cancel it and get to doing something productive." In fact, the simplicity and quickness of the solution frequently don't seem possible to most of us, since we have been trained to believe that the solution to conflict requires a long, arduous process of debilitating problem solving.

Also, since existential risk is always present, it is possible that one's diagnosis is incorrect, and the process of confrontation lifts to the level of public examination real, substantive conflict, which may result in heated debate about technology, personalities, and/or administrative approaches. There is evidence that such debates, properly managed, can be the basis for creativity in organizational problem solving. There is also the possibility, however, that such debates cannot be managed, and substantiating the concept of existential risk, the person who initiates the risk may get fired or ostracized. But that again leads to the necessity of evaluating the results of such confrontation at the existential level.

• *Existential results.* Evaluating the outcome of confrontation from an existential framework is quite different from evaluating it from a set of technical criteria. How do I reach this conclusion? Simply from interviewing a variety of people who have cho-

sen to confront the paradox and listening to their responses. In short, for them, psychological success and failure apparently are divorced from what is traditionally accepted in organizations as criteria for success and failure.

For instance, some examples of success are described when people are asked, "What happened when you confronted the issue?" They may answer this way:

I was told we had enough boat rockers in the organization, and I got fired. It hurt at first, but in retrospect it was the greatest day of my life. I've got another job and I'm delighted. I'm a free man.

Another description of success might be this:

I said I don't think the research project can succeed and the others looked shocked and quickly agreed. The upshot of the whole deal is that I got a promotion and am now known as a "rising star." It was the high point of my career.

Similarly, those who fail to confront the paradox describe failure in terms divorced from technical results. For example, one may report:

I didn't say anything and we rocked along until the whole thing exploded and Joe got fired. There is still a lot of tension in the organization, and we are still in trouble, but I got a good performance review last time. I still feel lousy about the whole thing, though.

From a different viewpoint, an individual may describe his sense of failure in these words:

I knew I should have said something and I didn't. When the project failed, I was a convenient whipping boy. I got demoted; I still have a job, but my future here is definitely limited. In a way I deserve what I got, but it doesn't make it any easier to accept because of that.

Most important, the act of confrontation apparently provides intrinsic psychological satisfaction, regardless of the technological outcomes for those who attempt it.

The real meaning of that existential experience, and its relevance to a wide variety of organizations, may lie, therefore, not in the scientific analysis of decision making but in the plight of Sisyphus. That is something the reader will have to decide for himself.

THE ABILENE PARADOX AND THE MYTH OF SISYPHUS

In essence, this paper proposes that there is an underlying organizational reality that includes both agreement and disagreement, cooperation and conflict. However, the decision to confront the possibility of organization agreement is all too difficult and rare, and its opposite, the decision to accept the evils of the present, is all too common. Yet those two decisions may reflect the essence of both our human potential and our human imperfectionality. Consequently, the choice to confront reality in the family, the church, the business, or the bureaucracy, though made only occasionally, may reflect those "peak experiences" that provide meaning to the valleys.

In many ways, they may reflect the experience of Sisyphus. As you may remember, Sisyphus was condemned by Pluto to a

perpetuity of pushing a large stone to the top of a mountain, only to see it return to its original position when he released it. As Camus suggested in his revision of the myth, Sisyphus's task was absurd and totally devoid of meaning. For most of us, though, the lives we lead pushing papers or hubcaps are no less absurd, and in many ways we probably spend about as much time pushing rocks in our organizations as did Sisyphus.

Camus also points out, though, that on occasion as Sisyphus released his rock and watched it return to its resting place at the bottom of the hill, he was able to recognize

the absurdity of his lot and, for brief periods of time, transcend it.

So it may be with confronting the Abilene Paradox. Confronting the absurd paradox of agreement may provide, through activity, what Sisyphus gained from his passive but conscious acceptance of his fate. Thus, through the process of active confrontation with reality, we may take respite from pushing our rocks on their endless journeys and, for brief moments, experience what C. P. Snow termed "the triumphs of life we make for ourselves" within those absurdities we call organizations.



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If you wish to make photocopies or obtain reprints of this or other articles in ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS, please refer to the special reprint service instructions on page 80.

Abilene Revisited: An Epilogue

Jerry B. Harvey

"The Abilene Paradox" was born October 9, 1971 as part of a presentation I gave to the Organization Development (OD) Network about some variations of ideas contained in a paper Dick Albertson and I had written on neurotic organizations. I remember the date not because of the presentation, but because the Texas Longhorns suffered an ignominious 48-27 defeat at the hands of the Oklahoma Sooners; no self-respecting Texan could forget a disappointment of that magnitude.

Two hours before the session, I was "sweating bullets" trying to think of a prototypical example of a neurotic organization, one that had done something blatantly insane. For reasons that remain incomprehensible, I suddenly thought of my family and a trip we took one hot Sunday afternoon across a godforsaken desert to eat an indigestible meal in a hole-in-the-wall cafeteria in Abilene, Texas, and . . .

The audience apparently thought the story itself was great, but they didn't seem to think too much of the remainder of the speech – primarily, I suspect, because I had only a very superficial explanation for why such craziness occurred.

Since, of course, I heard the Abilene story for the first time when I told it, I was equally puzzled about its underlying dynamics. Consequently, soon after I returned home I sequestered myself in my office and, with Dick's encouragement, a great deal of passion, and very little sleep, tried to figure it out. One week and sixty-five pages later, I thought I had.

EARLY REJECTION

Publishers didn't, however. For instance, the editor of a major monograph series in the OD field returned it to me with the comment, "The nicest thing I could say about your work is that it would make a good high school senior thesis." That hurt. Generally I'm not vindictive, but in his case I still harbor the fond hope of suckering him into a meal at the Abilene Cafeteria.

I decided to reduce the manuscript to article length. I felt as if I were applying medicinal leeches to a baby that wasn't sick. In its shrunken state, it was further rejected by a major management journal because it fit "neither the journal's editorial style nor its policy of printing material of proven value to experienced managers." Since then, representatives of the same journal have asked me to produce an article for them *exactly* like the "Abilene Paradox," but on a completely different topic. I guess they have either changed their editorial style or neglected to read Heidegger's observation that most of us human beings have to confine ourselves to developing a single thought.

Running short of courage, I nevertheless sent it to Bill Dowling, then editor of

Organizational Dynamics, and awaited his letter of rejection. Failing to collude with my negative fantasies, he agreed instead to publish it if I would allow him to do some editorial work on it—including the removal of (1) an interview I had conducted with a group of lemmings just before they went over the cliff and (2) the word my father-in-law *really* used when commenting upon our disastrous trip to Abilene.

His argument was persuasive, and though I someday hope to remove the scar tissue from the very minor surgery he performed, I will always be in his debt. God bless Bill Dowling; I am in his debt. He died much too young.

THE PERIPATETIC PARADOX

Once the article was printed, it apparently "took off." In the years since it first appeared, for example, I have been inundated with cards, letters, and telephone calls from people who have described other "trips to Abilene," including couples who have gotten married when they wanted to remain single, couples who have gotten divorced when they wanted to stay married, parishioners who built church buildings none of them wanted, school systems that implemented curricula none of their stakeholders supported, and countries that went to war when their citizens wanted peace.

In a similar vein, I have frequently been thanked and occasionally castigated for facilitating marriages, divorces, promotions, demotions, good business decisions, lousy business decisions, family reconciliations, and family fights.

THE TRANSFORMING PARADOX

McGraw-Hill has seen fit to make a movie about the Paradox. Filmed in the style of *The Waltons*, with me as the narrator, the film has provided me with a number of great learning experiences, one of which occurred not long ago as I walked down the aisle of a plane bound for Dallas. As I passed a rather frumpy-appearing woman, she looked up and shouted for all to hear, "Are you the star of that movie, *The Abilene Paradox*?" Where that gorgeous femme fatale came from, I don't know, but as I modestly replied (in my suavest actor's voice), "Yes, Ma'am, I am," I thought to myself, "Robert Redford, eat your heart out."

Paradoxically, the Paradox has had its dark side, too. For example, a videotape of me (talking about the Paradox) has been reproduced and "bootlegged" literally all over the world without my permission or the permission of the organization that legitimately produced it. Consequently, every time a naïve (and sometimes not-so-naïve) person tells me, "Our organization showed the videotape of your Abilene speech at our training program and we really enjoyed it," my blood boils at the lack of ethics on the part of those who knowingly did (and do) it. I also bridle when I realize the amount of money I might have made had I known how to market it and control its distribution. Ultimately, though, I think

my own sense of greed disturbs me the most because, deep down , I know I have been given a gift which is mine to share, not to hoard.

THE PARADOX AS PHANTOM

All this has occurred despite the fact that, to this day, I cannot prove scientifically that the Abilene Paradox actually occurs. For example, it is altogether possible that my in-laws really wanted to go on the original trip, but changed their stories once we arrived in Abilene and had such a lousy time. All I know for sure is that from the time the trip was first suggested I didn't want to go, and *I drove the Buick*. In that sense the problem, existentially, was mine.

So, given all that has occurred, would I change any of what I wrote? Not really. Oh, I might make a few cosmetic alterations, such as reinserting the interview with the lemmings; stressing the role which anaclitic depression plays in causing the separation anxiety central to trips to Abilene; and exploring in greater depth the ethical, moral, and spiritual aspects of the Paradox.

Still, in Heidegger's terms, those are extensions of the same basic idea. Whether my expression of the idea is flawed or not, I accept it for what it is—my initial effort to do the best I could with the thought that the Good Lord—out of confusion, compassion, appreciation, administrative errors in the Idea Assignment Division, or other reasons beyond the limits of my human comprehension—saw fit to offer me.

An Abilene Defense: Commentary One

Rosabeth Moss Kanter

Public agreement, private disagreement. "The Abilene Paradox" points out that this situation almost inevitably leads to people going along for the ride even when they know better. The result: trouble.

The Abilene Paradox has two parts. The first involves a person's inaccurate assumptions about what others think and believe. This sometimes takes the guise of what social scientists call "pluralistic ignorance"—everybody in a group holds a similar opinion but, ignorant of the opinion of others, believes himself to be the only one feeling that way. The second part of the paradox involves a person's unwillingness to speak up about what she does think and believe. It is easier, more comfortable, or safer to keep quiet and be

swept along by the current. Combine pluralistic ignorance with the path of least resistance and, before you know it, you're in Abilene.

Part one, then, is a problem of data. Part two is a problem of risk. The manager's tasks are to manage communication to allow the data to surface and to manage the organizational context to enhance power and reduce risk.

MANAGE COMMUNICATION

How can communication be managed in this way? Here are some guidelines:

Establish debates. Clearly, the first task for a manager is to set communication norms—and he or she has to go first. Participative management has become a cliché, but the idea of consulting others about possible decisions and genuinely pushing to hear the negatives still makes sense. One way to encourage other people to express what they really think is to frame every issue as a debate between alternatives—a matter of pros and cons. Instead of presenting issues as matters of concurrence—"I'd like to do X, wouldn't you?"—they should be presented as matters for debate: "X has been proposed; let's examine the pros and cons." Instead of considering only one choice, always seek alternative courses of



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action—"What else might we be doing with that money or that time?"—and then evaluate the main choice against the alternatives. Doing this requires actively valuing the additional time that debate can take, but a "bias for action" without considering alternatives can indeed land an organization in Abilene.

Assign gadflies, devil's advocates, fact checkers, and second guessers. There are certain well-established roles whose very definition involves confrontation, contrariness, and argument. Making sure that there is always someone playing the role of questioner ("Is that conclusion accurate?") or prober ("C'mon now, you can't really believe that!") is a way to ensure that contrary opinions will begin to surface. If the role is formally assigned, some of the risk associated with speaking up is reduced, and everyone understands it's nothing personal. Making this into an assigned role also permits rotation, so that everyone gets to play devil's advocate from time to time. Gradually the questioning style will become part of the normal routine. Third parties such as consultants and facilitators often play this role. But think how effective it would be as part of the work group's own repertoire!

Encourage organizational graffiti. My colleague Barry Stein deserves credit for this idea, which he is implementing in a very large company with a tradition of bureaucracy and conformity. The problem: People were not yet ready for open communication about their concerns. What was needed was devices that would allow people to comment on their concerns regularly but anonymously. The solution was to use unattended computer terminals as a site for the corporate equivalent of "graffiti"—remarks of any kind about any issue. Although written surveys and consultant interviews often serve this function, the appeal of organizational graffiti is that it is spontaneous, ongoing, timely, free-form, open-ended, and—as people comment on each other's inputs—interactive.

MANAGE THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

How can the organizational context be managed to enhance power and reduce risk? Here are a few ways.

Make confronters into heroes. Instead of shooting messengers, reward them. Of course, this is really hard. How many of us thank the bearers of bad news? How many whistle blowers on corporate misconduct have kept their jobs, let alone gotten tokens of appreciation? And what rewards go to people who stop the trip to Abilene—a passive result—as opposed to those who push action forward? But still, if managers learn to value the honest expression of concerns because doing so will prevent more trouble later, then there is hope. If the organization provides role models, if the prizewinners and recognition garnerers include people known for their outspokenness rather than for their conformity, then more people can be encouraged to speak up.

Develop a "culture of pride." This is one of the cornerstones of the successful, innovative companies I identified in *The Change Masters*. A culture of pride builds collective self-esteem through abundant praise and recognition. People are made visible; they are valued for their accomplishments. Standards of high performance are communicated over

and over again. Thus when collective pride is high, individual self-esteem is also high. Self-identified winners feel more secure psychologically and find it easier to take risks.

Create empowering structures. If people are informed and well-connected, they can more readily exercise independent judgment and speaking up is less risky. Organizational power comes from access to information, political support, and resources; powerlessness, in contrast, means not only a lack of access to, but also a dependence on, the boss to provide everything. Some of the structures that provide power include networks of peers who provide political backing and a forum for communication; sufficient employment security so that the job is not on the line every time the person speaks up; and affiliations with more than one work unit or reporting relationships with more than one boss, so that the person always has an alternative set of ties.

CHECKPOINTS AND MILESTONES

Surfacing data and empowering people are good ways to *help* prevent starting out for Abilene, but they do not always *guarantee* that organizations won't begin some troublesome trips anyway, without full discussion of the consequences. Sometimes that's because no one really understands the consequences yet, or feelings and opinions really are not that strong. The organization can find itself partway to Abilene before anyone knows they were headed there. This situation is increasingly common as decisions become more complex.

Even harder than preventing bad decisions from being implemented is turning them around halfway to their destination. So my final thought is this: All organizational trips should include some checkpoints to permit the travellers to pause, regroup, and consult the map one more time.

If you don't want to go to Abilene after all, it's never too late to take a road to somewhere else.

An Abilene Defense: Commentary Two

Arthur Elliott Carlisle

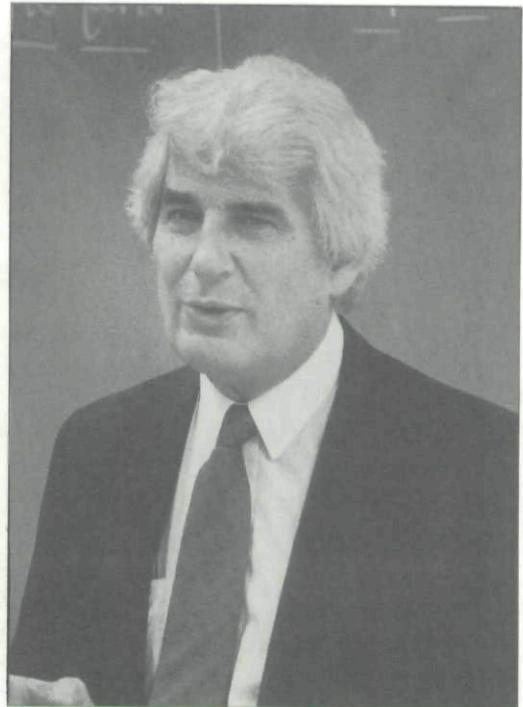
In educating his nephew Wormwood in the wiles of temptation, the old devil Screwtape talks of the discord that can be engendered by urging people to argue in favor of what they believe (often incorrectly) other people want to do; this in spite of their own desire to do exactly the opposite. The net result is, of course, that no one's wishes are fulfilled and attempts to develop mutually satisfying and successful joint ventures fail.

The participants become angered by their frustration and, in this particular case, a discussion on whether to have tea in the garden or in the house results in not having tea at all (C.S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, pp. 133 and 134). This oft-recurring theme provides the basis for many literary comedies of manners and, fortunately, Jerry Harvey made it operational for managers in the "Abilene Paradox."

The behaviors described by Professor Harvey are reenacted all too frequently in decision-making sessions where managers must jointly determine courses of action that are often of vital importance to their organizations. They are important symptoms—symptoms that cannot be ignored, because they demonstrate an inability to manage an organization in a truly professional manner. Indeed, they reflect deep-seated organizational problems that go far beyond questions of conflict or agreement. Effective management requires the setting of clear objectives—where possible by consensus, but occasionally by edict—after hearing *all* sides and positions.

CLIMATE OF FEAR: A FAILURE OF MANAGEMENT

A failure of management occurs when a climate exists in which organization members are unwilling to express conflicting opinions whether the boss is present or not. This reluctance



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results from the fear of being viewed by both peers and superiors as someone who is not a team player or as someone who does not support the boss's known pet projects. Furthermore, when being a "yes-(wo)man" is believed to be the best route to promotion, something is profoundly wrong. This sort of behavior at best results in reduced organizational effectiveness and at worst leads to organizational decline or even dissolution.

In Western industrialized countries management has entered a new era, one in which business organizations are facing substantially increased competition—not only from abroad, but also from domestic firms seeking new markets with fundamentally different products. For example, the invasion of the electronic calculator from outside the industry caught traditional manufacturers like Marchant and Friden with a line of outmoded products. There is every reason to believe this pattern will continue. Organizational survival now requires a level of expertise beyond what has been needed in the past, and this expertise is often available only at lower organizational levels.

To an ever-increasing extent, subordinates are better-trained in analytical and technical skills than are their superiors. Both domineering and charismatic leadership have become truly dangerous as a general modus operandi. An attitude at lower levels that "(s)he may not always be right, but (s)he's always the boss" or an all-consuming desire to be viewed as a team member at whatever cost can result in the loss of contributions by truly talented personnel who could improve organizational performance.

Avoiding the Abilene Paradox requires, first, recognition of its potential as a trap—recognition at the highest organizational levels, including the members of the board of directors. (Directors are often guilty of "Abilene" behavior.) The next phase involves *both* management training *and* organization development. Managers must be reminded of their responsibility to communicate and gain commitment to the attainment of multiple objectives. Organization development is essential for maintaining a climate in which the Abilene Paradox cannot flourish, let alone survive.

THE RIGHT KIND OF CLIMATE

Managers tend to pattern their leadership styles after those of their superiors; therefore, managers at the highest levels must make it clear, by their own example, that *all* the organization's managers are responsible for creating a healthy organizational climate. This climate is one in which:

- Members are not afraid to express their opinions and, when they feel it appropriate, to challenge those of others when they have the facts.
- The "Kill the messenger who brings the bad news" syndrome is no longer part of the organizational canon.
- Dissent, if backed up with data and analysis, does not brand the dissenter as a loner, a troublemaker, or someone who is not a team player; instead, it is recognized as a *professional responsibility* and rewarded.

- Changing one's mind, particularly after new information or argument is presented, is not seen as a sign of weakness, but rather of strength and self-confidence.
- Attainment of realistic group and individual objectives, rather than pleasing the boss or being a good team member, is the basis for organizational reward and advancement.

An organization that is to avoid the destructive consequences of an Abilene Paradox requires one additional ingredient: Management training and organization development are not enough if the necessary raw materials are lacking. At managerial and technical levels, hiring and promotional practices must seek self-confident, sensitive (but *not* supersensitive), non-risk-aversive men and women, competent enough to be readily hired elsewhere. Such individuals do not play Screwtape's "Let's have tea in the garden" game.

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