

**Trust in the Museum:
aligning the internal and external values of the organisation**

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Abstract

Little is known about the impact of undertaking social justice work on museums and their staff. The consideration of staff is central to my research, as current scholarship positions social justice in museums as an outward-facing concern, something to be done with communities ‘out there’ rather than ‘in here’. Museums are social places and catalysts for interaction with other humans across time and space and culture. The research therefore critiques the ethics of, and the value we place on, relationships with ourselves as well as our communities, and whether we recognise *staff* as a community. If not, this thesis argues that we diminish trust in the museum.

Using the frame of critical community practice, the thesis explores how social justice values intersect between organisational and staff group constructs, and the individuals that comprise them, and their connection to trust as a critically conscious practice. The thesis encompasses many elements of key change management theories, and attributes of the learning organisation, within a social justice frame. In the museum specific context of this research, citizens and communities are conceived as employees and organisations. Is trust actively and consciously considered as a workplace practice, and do we fully understand the role trust has in organisational learning to support social change? The research examines the lived experiences of practitioners in two organisations: St Fagans at National Museums Wales and the Social Enterprise Academy, Scotland. The qualitative research is supported by a background survey identifying differences in how values are perceived across organisations.

The research contributes an understanding of the collective actions that foreground people, human qualities and behaviours across internal and external relationships. Its findings endorse the concept of systems thinking, enabling museums to actively work with staff as a community and so build trust in the museum.

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In the words of Howard Gardner et al. (2001, p.256): “Carrying out Good Work would not be possible without role models who inspire us to think boldly and to reach beyond our comfort zones.” I have been fortunate to have role models who have inspired, encouraged and cajoled me and indeed this research would not have been possible without them. I hope, in some way, my thesis is a reflection of their support and a contribution to Good Work.

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*“People help the people
And if you’re homesick, give me your hand and I’ll hold it.”*

Simon Aldred, 2007

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List of abbreviations

DHG	Diversity in Heritage Group
EWB	Engineers Without Borders Canada
FIHRM	Federation of International Human Rights Museums
GoMA	Gallery of Modern Art, Glasgow
HMP	Happy Museum Project
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex
MA	Museums Association UK
NML	National Museums Liverpool
NMW	National Museums Wales
SJAM	Social Justice Alliance of Museums
St Fagans	St Fagans National History Museum, Cardiff
The Academy	Social Enterprise Academy Scotland

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The origins of the research

Little is known about the impact of social justice work on museums and their staff. An exploratory study I undertook at Glasgow Museums identified key themes for further research: concepts of trust, and alignment of values within organisational structures. The exploratory study highlighted the emotional impact experienced by staff during a programme of social justice work (Hollows 2013, pp.35-53).¹ It also revealed the gap in understanding – a lack of alignment – between working practice in terms of staff responsible for delivery (practitioners) and the corporate position of the organisation's leaders (senior managers) when faced with an ethical dilemma: how to address the conflicting opinions of communities affected by the programme's content.

The experience of this ethical dilemma – a double-bind (Banks et al. 2013) – led to more than one interviewee describing feelings of trust and betrayal, affecting motivation and performance. My research analysis revealed the dominant psychological contract for staff at all levels, whether leaders or practitioners, was with their external relationships. Prioritising *external* relationships created a vacuum of communication, understanding and trust *internally*, leading to distinct sets of defensive actions and behaviours being exhibited by, and between, staff groups.

The exploratory study also showed that, in a traditionally hierarchical organisation, there seemed to be few options for practitioners to influence decision-making or to maximise the social change potential when experiencing this double-bind scenario. Despite frequent differences of opinion, opportunities for dialogue and emotional responses were closed down by the dominant (traditional, managerial) cultural 'norms', limiting individual and group reflection and the potential for organisational learning (Argyris and Schön 1996; Senge 1990; Banks et al. 2013). Yet, in working with participants on social justice, museum staff spend a long time building

¹ The social justice programme was based at the Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA) in Glasgow, 2009. Titled *sh[OUT] – Contemporary Art and Human Rights*, it was the fourth in a series of biennial social justice programmes. *sh[OUT]* explored LGBTI rights and identities. The exploratory study investigating the impact on staff was featured in *Museum Management and Curatorship* as '*The performance of internal conflict and the art of activism*', 2013; 35-53).

relationships and trust, working with individuals who collectively navigate, respect and accept their differences, in effect to build community. For staff, this is an on-going process of learning and reflexive practice; being, or becoming, aware of their ethical responsibilities. Are these values mirrored inside the organisation? Or is our work with communities always considered as something ‘other’: ‘out there’ rather than ‘in here’? Richard Sandell (2012, p.374) argues that for museums to address their role in social justice they will have to renegotiate their role with society. I propose that this renegotiation is also required within their organisations and governing structures.

1.2 Defining the research questions

I began my research as a means of reflecting on the social justice programmes I developed as a practitioner at Glasgow Museums. One of the most successful, yet heavily criticised programmes – *sh[OUT]* – caused significant friction between staff at different levels in the organisation’s hierarchy. *sh[OUT]* forms the basis for the exploratory study, which I present in chapter two. How trust operates within organisations working for social justice became a pressing question, particularly if there is a lack of alignment between organisational values expressed for external communities and those experienced by internal communities. If the values for internal and external communities are not aligned, I suggest that social justice work is at risk from a lack of credibility, confidence and ultimately, trust in the museum. The impact of social justice work on staff, trust as a conscious practice, and the potential for a lack of value alignment within organisations, are the interests that form the central premise of my research.

To address these interests, I established the following research question:

In working for social justice, how do we practice trust within the workplace aligning internal and external values as part of a broader set of organisational processes?

I use the lens of critical community practice to guide my research. It is defined by Banks et al. (2013, p.v) as a radical approach to working in and with communities, emphasising the importance of understanding, and working with, the political context

to challenge power structures and promote social justice. Banks et al. cite the need for new research to investigate how organisational learning theories applied to community practice might strengthen the relationship between senior managers and practitioners to address the type of double-bind scenario experienced in *sh[OUT]* (ibid. p.196).

To address my overarching research question, I identified five sub-questions:

- What are the ethics of relationships and working practices in organisations undertaking social justice work?
- Where do critical community practice and organisational learning theories intersect?
- How do staff emotionally and professionally invest?
- How do we understand staff as a community?
- How can we conceptualise and map trust?

1.3 The scope of the research

In the post-2008 economy, the museum sector is faced with a radically altered socio-political and economic landscape. There are twin demands for museums to operate more efficiently whilst being effective agents for social justice, varyingly responding to local, national and even global contexts. These two needs led me to explore management change models and community engagement processes, where and how they might intersect, and whether they suggest alternatives to traditional hierarchical operating structures that can risk the development of trust and value alignment in organisations. The thesis therefore explores the dynamic relationships between organisations and the individuals who make up those organisations, and the blockers and drivers for trust that underpin such relationships, through the frame of a network system. The thesis explores internal power-knowledge interactions within a museum context and how it is possible to transform them through dialogical exchange, careful listening, ethical thinking and action.

The thesis has a strong ethical dimension, particularly as the exploratory study raises the question of trust and the implications of asymmetric power relations within a hierarchical organisation. If a hierarchy enables people to own the truth on behalf of

others, what happens to trust? Truth is not an objective quality (although is often mistaken for ‘fact’) and trust implies a belief in the truth of someone or something. The resulting dynamic between people and the impact on the psychological contract between them will ebb and flow according to the subjective interplay of these exchanges. The thesis will argue that values are potentially a stabilising factor for the network system and the agents within it.

I employ Schwartz’s (1994) theory of ten core value sets that consistently motivate actions and behaviours of human beings across the world (Holmes et al. 2011). The value sets can generally be divided into extrinsic values (self-orientated, status and wealth concerns) and intrinsic values (care for others, the environment, concern for social justice). In terms of my research question, I explore whether and how there are different value sets operating in the relational intersection between organisation, staff groups and individuals in the network system.

I review literature on the history of social justice – defined by Durham University (n.d.) as “fairness, equality and participation” – and its practice in museums; organisational change and learning theories; and trust. I utilise Rousseau et al.’s (1998, p.395) definition of trust as “the intention to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another”. As trust is constructed emotionally and psychologically, I was drawn to thinkers who embrace the relational intersection between organisation and people within management change theories such as Senge (1990), Putnam and Mumby (1992), Argyris (1990) and Argyris and Schön (1996). I found a particular resonance with my own experience of social justice practice through the model of critical community practice developed by Butcher et al. (2007). Here, the term ‘critical’ refers to practitioner attributes defined by Brechin (2000, pp.26-47) and which I have found echoed throughout the literature reviews and the exploratory study. These attributes are:

- an open minded, reflective and thoughtful approach,
- an ability to tolerate uncertainty,
- a foundation of values and assumptions including a fundamental commitment to social justice,
- a reflective and reflexive practice.

Critical community practice embraces a whole system, collective approach to addressing social justice. It rejects a mechanistic, rational approach where individual agencies break down 'problems' into "component elements, and change strategies" designed on a 'top-down' basis (Butcher et al 2007, pp.107-108). Pratt et al. (2005) quoted in Butcher et al. (2007, p108) says of this approach:

We reasoned that it might be more fruitful to think of [complex problems] as issues for an interconnected system to tackle together...shifting attention from the parts to the whole, and thus to the connections between parts – and how things fit together.

Critical community practice is concerned with active citizenship, democratic participation in decision-making, institutional change, and values such as emancipation, social justice and empowerment. None of these are seen as the responsibility of any one group, organisation or occupation. Its reference to values in its core dimension of critical consciousness reflects a belief that practitioners must move beyond a prescribed approach to "conceptualise their value commitments...in a manner compatible with a 'non-directive' stance" and that, in so doing, they should consider what assumptions they hold about the nature of human beings that will inevitably inform their practice (Butcher et al. 2007, pp.12-13). I use the model as the theoretical framework for my fieldwork to support the foregrounding of people through network systems and shared thinking, to forge new or alternative ways of being and doing, and to challenge the traditional notion of hierarchical structures and the impact on trust.

Very little has been written on trust in terms of management theories or values specifically for the museum sector. It suggests a gap in scholarship at a time when, post 2008, public trust has been challenged in a number of UK contexts and institutions; for example, the banking sector, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the police force, politicians, public transport (PwC 2015-2017). Yet scholars have identified the crucial role trust plays in high performing organisations and thriving communities as a competency and the "one thing that changes everything" (Covey 2006, p.1; Kramer and Cook et al. 2004). Whilst daily we will all make responses,

decisions, and act towards others based on trust, I argue that we are not sufficiently ‘critically conscious’ of trust as an organisational resource (both an input and output), its relational practice² with, and responsibility to others, to enable us to best respond to the challenges we collectively face.

There is also little scholarship to understand the museum staff as a community in a social justice frame. Research has tended to centre on how, as a profession, we work with communities for social justice. Yet if we believe and work for social justice, I argue that we cannot have (false) boundaries between whom we work with and how we work with them, regardless of whether they are identified as staff or public. As we understand better the impact we each have on one another and on the earth’s resources in wider social debates, the thesis argues that museums must similarly understand themselves as complex systems, acting (whether consciously or not) within a still larger, social, cultural and environmental network. At the root of this belief must be the acknowledgement of *people* across the system, and recognition that their presence is all too often lost through abstract concepts of organisations, museums, society and communities.³

Whilst some museums (and actually what we mean by museums is the collective approach of people, ‘museums’ only exist as social constructs) might become aware of their agency in addressing issues of social justice, for individual museum staff the agenda is complex, depending on their working environment. They risk the accusation of complicity in “oppression and exclusion” working within the existing power structures (O’Neill and Silverman 2012, p.xx). They also face scrutiny from political governors, funders and communities who may contest particular issues and the individual agency staff bring to their work. Museums do not just reflect, they are not merely objective, they do not simply offer space for debate. They are not neutral. As

² I define relational practice as an approach that foregrounds human interrelationships.

³ I acknowledge that the term ‘community’ is often contested and difficult to use. However, in the absence of an alternative to describe a group of people with shared or contested interests, I use the term community in reference to staff as a group of people whom, I argue, sometimes lack the same consideration, recognition, and care due as people of our wider society who, as well as being part of an employment community, may at the same time, inhabit many other ‘community’ ‘identities’. Thus, the term is consistent with practices such as community engagement, critical community practice and a recognition of ‘other’ groups, enabling comparisons and analysis to be connected throughout this study.

part of our world, our network system, whether we partake of museums or not, whether museums actively choose to engage in justice or rights issues or not, by being part of the system they have an effect and therefore a role and set of responsibilities. Their choice, our choice, is whether to be consciously active in this and to understand that this action (or non-action) will have positive or negative impacts. As Sandell (2012, p.212) states:

The decisions and choices [museums] make have social and political effects and consequences that, whilst sometimes diffuse and difficult to trace, nevertheless impact individuals' lives and influence more broadly the relations between mainstream and marginalised constituencies.

Do we fully appreciate the (widening) gap between these constituencies? Essentially, it is museum staff who are encountering and acting on a myriad of choices as the people who collectively animate the construct of the museum. They, in turn, are also part of the wider social network, and so the implications here are enormously complex. What is the boundary (if there is one) between policy and morality, between *employment* and morality, and how do we (should we) expect staff to navigate or even cross it (Hollows 2013)?

1.4 Research approach

Critical community practice offers a useful framework to my fieldwork research because it supports the belief that everyone in an organisation purporting to work for social justice is a critical community practitioner, regardless of position within the structure. Its dimension of critical consciousness recognises the significance of practitioner values in creating change. Working with an online survey and two organisational case studies, these characteristics of critical community practice underpin my fieldwork based on the following key areas: trust and organisational values; trust and staff group values; trust and individual values.

My research identifies a primary principle of foregrounding people and human values (defined as caring for, relating to, affecting people) across internal and external relationships. Organisations are a human construct with people at the core. Therefore,

the research question is equally concerned with individual agency in building trust as well as any perception of it being an organisation's responsibility. Boundaries between internal and external relationships are also constructed, which can disguise personal agency and an ability to see and understand the wider system we inhabit. My fieldwork is an analysis of the relationships between agency, structure and change, acknowledging staff as the critical agents connecting (or with the potential to connect) the network system.

My hypothesis suggests that when an organisation's internal and external values, or an individual's personal and professional values, are not aligned, the consequence is a negative impact on authenticity and ultimately trust. Authenticity in this context is defined as the philosophical basis on which people are consciously aware of, and faithful to, their internal values and life positions. I argue that for museum organisations concerned with social justice, authenticity and trust in the museum are dependent on how closely the institution aligns the values they use in working with 'external' communities with their 'internal' staff community. My argument is based on the belief that no distinction should be made between people 'outside' or 'inside' the museum through the construct of being an organisation. For museums focused on social justice, there is no case to be made to treat some people less well than others.

Treating people equally – the concern for social justice – is something that has been increasingly questioned by many museums and their governing authorities over the last 20 years as they have considered the role of museums in the contemporary civil landscape. Despite the history of social justice practice in museums, there is a more urgent, seismic change required now in the post-2008 economy to navigate new socio-economic and political terrain. However, views on museums' treatment of others have remained largely as a discussion of 'other'. Far from a more open public resource, one could argue that such dialogue has created a museum-centric scenario that has only served to emphasise otherness to those on the 'inside'. Why are these groups of people articulated so separately? If museums separate their perceptions of people 'out there' and 'in here', how does that affect the way museums conduct relationships with them? For museums concerned with social justice, are they treating staff in the way they are

committed to treating the communities they serve? What power relations are at play between the two and within the staff body – the organisation of the museum – itself?

I want to expand the interest in museum social justice practice to museum staff. How do we build trust with ourselves? How do the lived experiences, knowledge and voices of staff build museum practice to benefit us all? I argue that not only are some communities marginalised but staff groups are also misrepresented, silenced and excluded. Front of house staff are a typical example, particularly in large-scale organisations where hierarchy can easily silence them. How can we work with organisational structures so that they are not counter-productive to social justice, trust and learning that generate change?

To address my research interests I developed a methodology with two distinct elements: a quantitative online survey and qualitative research strategies situated in two organisational case studies. The online survey seeks to identify broad patterns of value alignment and trust between individual staff, their roles and their employment context, particularly where there is an association of working with social justice principles. More specifically, and forming the bulk of my fieldwork, I examine the dynamic between these elements in practice through the two case studies. The case studies were carried out on site at St Fagans National History Museum, Cardiff (St Fagans) and the Social Enterprise Academy Scotland, Edinburgh (the Academy). These organisations were selected as suitable for research in that they both strongly associate with values of social justice, they vary in scale and history, and the Academy offers the opportunity to assess my research questions within a non-museum context. I believe this is an important element of the fieldwork, to assess what we might learn from outside our own sector in a non-profit organisation that, through its learners and tutor groups, also represents a wider network system of people supporting social justice.

As a result, the thesis will argue that learning processes and consequential trust enables new modes of operating to develop as alternatives to traditional hierarchies. Alternative structures depend on the quality and ability to form interpersonal relationships based on trust in order to challenge dominant power relations. These

ideas have already been debated for communities' empowerment and developing new audiences (Banks et al. 2013, Golding and Modest 2013, Sandell 2012); however, my research examines these factors in terms of museum staff. The emerging theory for practitioners as a result of this research is that developing critical consciousness is a process of building trust through the following sub-processes:

- generating a high trust organisational culture,
- creating change through relationships, values and structures,
- working for social justice as a primary personal and professional investment,

and that the degree of value alignment across all three sub-processes impacts on trust. Within my analysis of each key area, I map the drivers (and blockers) for trust demonstrated through the case study organisations to illustrate the interconnectivity, and therefore network system thinking, that must be considered and developed to support social justice practice in museums.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is presented in eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, chapter two presents the research context for the thesis and establishes the role my professional practice has played in the development of my research interests. Specifically, it outlines the findings of the exploratory study in Glasgow. Following my doctoral research proposal on the ethics of social justice practice in museums and whether there were boundaries to such practice, the exploratory study helped me to focus in on my overarching research question and the five sub-questions outlined earlier in this chapter.

Chapter three reviews the literature surveyed in three areas: the history of social justice and its practice in museums, organisational change and learning theories, and trust. The theoretical framework and the rationale for the specific research strategies employed for data generation and analysis, using both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, are outlined in chapter four. I present the role of critical theory as a meta-theory utilising critical community practice as the specific framework through which I explore theory-in-action. A review of the research design for the online survey is discussed as well as the qualitative methods used with, and selection criteria for, the two organisational case studies.

Chapters five to seven cover the analysis and discussion of the findings. They are labelled in accordance with the key areas articulated above: trust and organisational values; trust and staff group values; trust and individual values. The analysis is nonlinear and many properties that define the main categories appear in more than one chapter. I use these analysis chapters to highlight where and how these ideas of trust and values intersect with organisational learning theory and critical community practice. I reflect on what meaning can be conceptualised as a result of my study to define the emerging theory of trust in museums.

Finally, chapter eight presents my concluding arguments to support the emerging theory. It will be argued that practitioners must invest authentically, aligning their values to actively participate across the system using a relational practice to build trust through critical consciousness, and that the ability to build relationships and trust is central to social justice work (Hollows 2013, p.40). The contribution of the thesis is a rethinking of museums' social justice practice in relation to staff as a community, linking practice and theory.

Chapter Two: Research Context

2.1 Introduction

The focus for my research interest stems from my professional practice in social justice within the museum sector and a particular point in my career that caused me to reflect on the potential limitations of social justice practice for museums more widely.

I have worked as a museum professional for over twenty years and the majority of this time with Glasgow Museums in Scotland, the largest civic museum service in the UK. Glasgow Museums has a long history of pioneering work underpinned by the principle of inclusiveness and a commitment to promoting social cohesion through learning and participation. Managed by Glasgow Life on behalf of the city council, Glasgow Museums aims to address the city's social inequalities. Now a member of the senior leadership team for the service, my career history with Glasgow Museums includes a number of years as museum manager for its Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA) during which time I was responsible for the development of a major series of social justice programmes.⁴

From 2001, GoMA developed a unique approach to social justice work using the power of contemporary art to raise awareness of, and encourage public engagement with, a range of diverse and challenging human rights themes with local and global resonance. These themes included asylum seekers and refugees, violence against women, and sectarianism. For many years this approach to social justice took the form of an extended biennial programme. GoMA developed a distinctive, integrated approach to its activities, reflecting Glasgow's commitment to artistic quality, to public engagement and to social justice and equality (Bruce and Hollows 2007) which saw attendance figures increase year on year, including more visitors with diverse backgrounds than ever before (Janes 2009, p.134). Sandell et al. (2010, p.3) described the programmes as making "a very valuable and unique contribution to a broader process of social change by providing a space (with particular qualities and

⁴ My motivation as the manager of GoMA, and subsequently as Senior Museum Manager for Glasgow Museums, is to actively contribute to the theory and practice of social justice through a process of learning, and a commitment to challenge and be challenged.

characteristics) within which challenging issues pertaining to human rights can be openly debated.”

GoMA is one of ten museums managed by Glasgow Museums. Like many UK-based museum services, Glasgow Museums is a publicly funded organisation and operates in a highly politicised context. Whilst Janes makes the point that perhaps only government funded spaces, reliant on the tax payer, are able to address such issues as social justice (2009, p.134), political governance is complex, often risk averse and frequently contradictory. In 2009 GoMA presented *sh[OUT]* – the fourth in its series of Contemporary Art and Human Rights programmes⁵ – to promote respect of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) human rights. Like the previous three themes it included a major exhibition programme, outreach projects and their associated exhibitions, educational and community workshops, arts events, acquisitions and artist residencies. Unlike the previous three, it gave rise to significant controversy through a specific element of outreach work exploring faith and sexuality.⁶

2.2 The exploratory study

The negative connotations that came to be associated with *sh[OUT]* from this point on contrast with the findings of the external evaluation of the programme undertaken by the University of Leicester. “[Although] the scale and tenor of the press controversy might be taken to imply widespread public opposition ... detailed evaluation offers evidence to the contrary, with greater than 70% of visitors in support” (Sandell et al. 2010, p.18). However, at the time of the public conflict Glasgow Life senior management undertook a forensic re-examination of the remaining programme, resulting in adjustments to elements that were still to be delivered. It led to complaints from the LGBTI communities in response to what they perceived as unfair treatment

⁵ Previous programmes were *Sanctuary* (2003) addressing issues for asylum seekers and refugees; *Rule of Thumb* (2005) addressing violence against women, and *Blind Faith* (2007) addressing sectarianism and divided communities. For more detailed information see Bruce, K. and Hollows, V. (2007) *Towards an Engaged Gallery*, Glasgow: Culture and Sport Glasgow (Museums).

⁶ *Made in God's Image* was a work shown in a community outreach exhibition. It was created by a Metropolitan Community Minister to explore “the place of LGBT people in sacred history” (Clarke 2009, par. 1).

in terms of equalities, and from many artists who accused Glasgow Life of censorship and self-censorship.

Relatively little is known about the social and political effects of museums' increasing engagement with social justice and, more specifically, how museum staff negotiate the associated ethical dilemmas (Sandell 2012). Are we really honest about these experiences? Possibly, if they are generally viewed as having gone well. But what if they are complex, new and not readily understood? If we are unable or unprepared to have dialogue and risk conflict, what do we learn? Surely the issues that call museums to develop socially purposeful work, by their definition won't be issues that society at large readily agrees on. Only by working through different perspectives and challenging our deepest held assumptions about the world and ourselves, can we envisage new ways of working, living, being. Yet if we can't even bring ourselves to talk about them, what more powerful way could there be to suppress change (Hollows 2013)?

Although what led to the *sh[OUT]* controversy itself has been addressed through an internal review and other papers,⁷ the impact on individuals and the organisational learning from an emotional perspective was not. My interest was due to my own lack of knowledge of what happened, having been absent for significant parts of the programme's development and delivery due to pregnancy and maternity leave. Coming back into the organisation I found a vacuum of information, uncertainty about the future of social justice work and a nervousness amongst colleagues to discuss or plan for it. I did not recognise this environment as the organisation I worked for, that had created a "model for building dialogue between communities and generating awareness and understanding of ... challenging and widespread issues" (Vulliamy in

⁷ Three evaluations were carried out to look at how the exhibition was managed:
O'Neill, M. (2010a) 'Question of Responsibility', in Farrington, J. and Lehrer, N. (eds.) *Beyond Belief: Theatre, Freedom of Expression and Public Order – A Case Study*, London: Sage, pp. 56-59.
O'Neill, M. (2011) 'Religion and cultural policy: two museum case studies', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 17(2), pp.225-243.
Sandell, R., Dodd, J. and Jones, C. (2010) *An Evaluation of sh[OUT] – The social justice programme of the Gallery of Modern Art, Glasgow 2009-2010*, University of Leicester, Research Centre for Museums and Galleries.

Bruce and Hollows 2007, p.77); that had partnered with over a hundred organisations, worked with thousands of participants and presented exhibitions to hundreds of thousands of visitors (Hollows 2013).

It was damaging to relationships – with our governing structures, with each other and with the participants we worked with. There were strong differences of opinion about the situation and how it was handled – and/or controlled – by the organisation. The description of the experience was a negative one for staff – something had gone ‘wrong’ – without querying whether in fact it was part of the ethical landscape of values around LGBTI we had been engaging with.

Having reflected on the nature of GoMA’s evolving social justice practice through the previous programmes in response to sector specific recognition and the preparation of associated conference papers, as I returned to work in this new environment I found myself seeking answers to a number of questions. I wanted to ask what the organisational learning had been. Was it as simple as improving processes to avoid potential pitfalls and to be more risk averse? If so, are there limits to how far we can take social justice work and are these limits, therefore, possibly inevitably, self-imposed? At the same time, an increasing number of sector-wide questions were being debated about museums’ role in civil society and the democracy of that role. I felt concern that in some of these discussions, what we say and what we do are sometimes two different things. To paraphrase the writer Alan Bennett (1994), are museums a version of life rather than the stuff of it?

Together, these questions formed the basis for my PhD proposal and shortly afterwards I was asked to contribute to an issue of *Museum Management and Curatorship* exploring internal conflict.⁸ I took the opportunity to conduct a number of in-depth interviews to examine the impact on a diverse range of staff associated with the production, management, delivery and support of *sh[OUT]* as an exploratory study⁹ to underpin the focus for my doctoral research. As Marstine (2011) and Sandell

⁸ Hollows, V. (2013) ‘The performance of internal conflict and the art of activism’, in *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28(1), pp. 35-53.

⁹ An exploratory study provides insight into a given situation, gathering preliminary information to help define problems and suggest hypotheses (Kotler and Armstrong 2006).

(2012) have written, we don't have a clear understanding of the impact for museum staff working with social justice and its associated ethical dilemmas. What happens if we recognise staff as participants in socially engaged work? If faced with conflict as GoMA was, how does an organisation (even one that prides itself on strong community engagement and its sensitive handling of difficult subjects) recognise and address *itself* as a vulnerable community? Whilst we acknowledge and reference the role of trust with external participants (Brekke 2013) and we may also recognise a reflective dimension within these engagements, neither were mirrored inside the organisation, considered here by a Glasgow Museums member of staff:

I think sometimes the way I work, with my team and the communities, it's very different to that of the organisation; it's like two different worlds, the way that they work and the way that they treat people and include people. I do feel that I operate at the edges of two completely different worlds.

The staff member succinctly describes the gap in alignment between external and internal methodologies, implying a working reality of 'out there' versus 'in here'. I believe this gap highlights the contrast between community methodology and traditional hierarchical business models, between emotion and corporate processes as proposed in Figure 1. Is it possible to bring these elements together? How can we align our values internally and externally? In exploring the gap in alignment, staff prioritise their external relationships. Figure 2 illustrates how the motivation to protect them created a vacuum inside Glasgow Life's organisation; a vacuum of communication, information, understanding and trust, which generated defensive actions. In contrast, adopting a methodology of community practice that questions assumptions and suggests alternatives to underlying cultural values could significantly enhance the organisation's learning capacity – known in organisational theory as double-loop learning (Argyris and Schön 1996). Double loop learning is a fundamental, values-based change over the long-term by engaging in organisational learning. A short-term, process-based change to improve an immediate situation, for example, is a type of single-loop learning.¹⁰

¹⁰ Argyris and Schön's double-loop model is considered in more detail in chapter three.

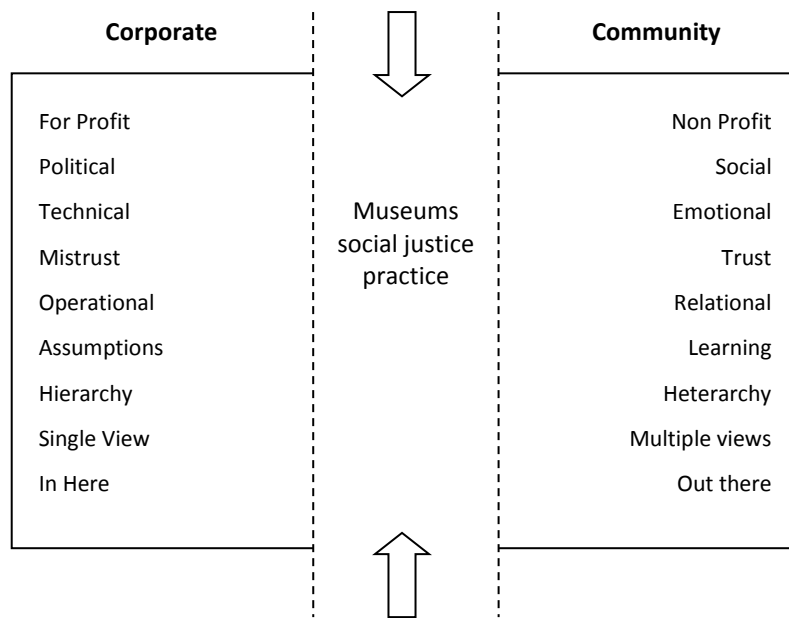


Figure 1 – The gap in alignment between internal and external methodologies (Hollows 2013).

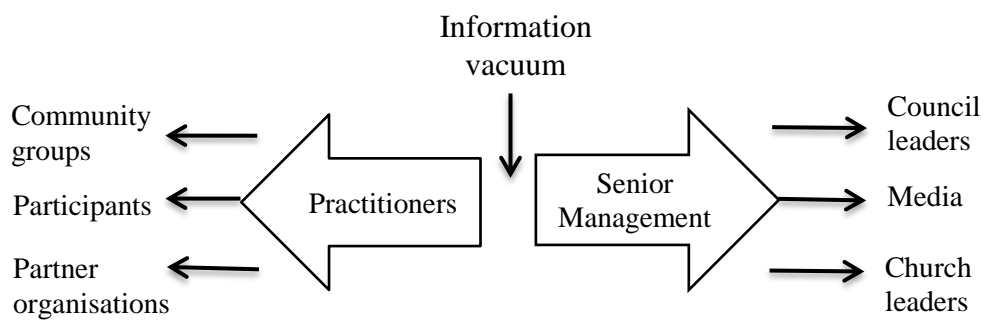


Figure 2 – Prioritising external relationships creates an information vacuum.

Working with external groups and individuals is an award-winning skill set for Glasgow Museums, yet have we considered whether we apply these skills internally? I suggest that unless the ethics of external and internal relationships are aligned and as long as goals, values and plans remain operationalised rather than questioned (Smith 2001), the potential for the organisation to meet its social agenda is inhibited. Relationships are a key feature of human experience for every individual. I want to focus on the understanding and care of relationships within a social justice frame of museological practice for staff.

The exploratory study effectively showed how different people or groups have different views of the same situation. The numerous examples of this in action reflect my concern about what the organisation had missed in terms of learning through self- and shared-knowledge. It also raises questions around democratic pluralism and where power lies in terms of the potential to change, or not, particularly in a large hierarchical organisation. In challenging decisions taken by other colleagues, trust emerged as a significant theme amongst the exploratory study's interviewees, powerfully articulated by this staff member who says: "I think both my professional and personal values were betrayed by the company [Glasgow Life]. Because the work that we do, to build up trust, you have to invest something of yourself."

The notion of trust became a focal point in this early study for all that it represented in terms of personal, emotional impact and the seesaw connection between trust and betrayal. As practitioners we might talk of trust but, I would argue, rarely question whether we understand it as a workplace concept. That is, how trust distinguishes itself in our practice, whether we consciously consider the dynamic role it has in our practice and on our multiple relationships and circles of influence. In the quote above, the staff member describes building up trust as her *work*, as a process of *investing of herself*. That is a deeply personal and ultimately unique endeavor. How does a museum guide itself through this maze of individual and often unpredictable forces that may not sit so easily in a procedural manual? As this senior Glasgow Life manager asserts, "what we have is people, is an institution where people make individual decisions about the meaning of an event ... there isn't an agreed interpretation on which action is taken."

During *sh[OUT]*, the perceived switch in direction and withdrawal from communication by senior managers dramatically impacted on the internal relationships, where practitioners often felt betrayal of their trust. The impetus for senior managers behind this perceived betrayal is emotional safety and survival, as described by this senior manager:

The context you're working in is "Oh my God there's another complaint, oh my God I've got another 20 complaints today, oh my goodness when is this going to stop", so what happens is it becomes about how soon we can stop this rather than actually how we can use this as part of the process.

Again, this quote succinctly describes the difference between single- and double-loop learning. Furthermore, aside from the question of missing the organisational learning, in this scenario the practitioners and their work have become the collateral damage within the situation, even though they were not intentionally targeted (McDowell 2012). The psychological nature of this conflict can be explored further through the theory of the psychological contract, a theory that is increasingly being used in understanding organisational employment behaviours, as well as other types of relationships.¹¹

The conflict that emerged through this exploratory study reinforces that professionally we prioritise our *external* relationships, which of course are significant and bound up with funding and reputation. However, it once more highlights the profound gap in how we relate to each other *internally*. As one senior manager put it, "We've got a job to do to look after the organisation and therein the conflict often lies", and so these competing demands create further ethical dilemmas (Besterman 2005) in terms of which (and whose) values are ultimately prioritised.

Social justice issues include pressures that may be outside the direct control of the organisation itself, as well as those that emerge through the chosen subject of the

¹¹ The psychological contract is characterised by respect, compassion, trust, empathy, fairness and objectivity. It is an unwritten 'contract' concerned with "social and emotional aspects of the exchange" (Sparrow 1999), that is, the relationship. The psychological contract can expand and contract, as virtuous or vicious circles.

programme, if contested. For a traditionally hierarchical public sector organisation within a political context this will be deeply challenging, even if, as in the case of the Glasgow study, the nature of the subject matter was directly responding to equalities legislation.¹² Some organisations have both the flexibility and inclination to address this balance of responsibilities, some will have neither, but where the balance is set strongly in favour of, as in this example, political stakeholders or funders, practitioners are less likely to perceive fairness in the psychological contract.

If there is a disconnect between internal participants, feedback from Glasgow practitioners indicated this was due to the lack of any perceived humanity on the part of senior managers in the process of understanding what was happening. In short, this is where the ‘they’ phenomenon comes into play; that universal, disembodied reference to those in, or perceived to be in, authority and power. As well as addressing the role of emotion within the workplace, the challenge also lies in revisiting organisational structures to reflect the negotiated sharing of authority amongst participants in social justice work as a way of aligning internal and external methodologies; and to articulate the value of heterarchies¹³ that can and do operate within an overall hierarchical structure (Stephenson 2009). Not only that, if trust and communication are present, the potential exists to spread the weight of responsibility in the event of a rapidly changing situation. A Glasgow Life senior manager describes the pressure they felt:

I can tell you it wasn’t a ‘them and us’, it may have felt like that to some folk. There was huge support in the directorate. They absolutely defended the right to host work like that and the right to do so going into the future. But it was the sheer volume of work associated with dealing with that that perhaps made people feel like directorate were distancing themselves. It absolutely wasn’t the case. It took over people’s lives on the fifth floor for weeks and weeks and weeks.

¹² The Equality Act 2010 bans unfair treatment of people because of protected characteristics.

¹³ The Collins English Dictionary (2016) defines heterarchy as a formal structure of connected nodes without any single, permanent, uppermost node. Heterarchy is not listed in all dictionaries, for example Oxford English.

If this pressure were shared, communication and trust would have the potential to grow, establishing a virtuous circle. A virtuous circle in the psychological contract supports trust and communication creating a positive impact on individuals' emotions increasing resilience and flexibility, enabling them to adapt when circumstances require it (Hollows 2013, p.45). Perhaps now more than ever we recognise change and uncertainty as the constants we work with on a daily basis, but an open flow of information – internally as well as externally – and an honest approach gives people the opportunity to absorb, respond and contribute to a challenging situation.

More collaborative methods offer all participants (and for the purpose of this thesis, *staff* participants) essential practice in ethical deliberations and decision-making, exploring and debating alternative perspectives (Janes 2011). Diverse perspectives have been shown to benefit the tasks of problem solving and prediction because diversity is known to outperform homogeneity (Page 2007). The term diversity in this study should be understood as difference in the broadest terms – knowledge, politics, education, personality, life position, as well as gender, race or any of the protected characteristics provided for in the UK's 2010 Equalities Act.

Staff participants can be insightful and innovative yet without this collaborative process, adopted as an ethical exchange of ideas supporting broader business practice, these qualities may never be translated into institutional reality (Janes 2011) and therein lies one of the biggest risks to social justice. A Glasgow Museums practitioner describes working on *sh[OUT]* with “the most respectful open group” and how, despite differing personal politics, the way that the group included all their voices was perceived in stark contrast to the way that differences were dealt with at the corporate level. If we apply this inclusion of differing voices respectfully and openly amongst internal communities, then the act of reciprocity could become a compelling vehicle to support relationships, learning, and an alternative, power-sharing structure within the organisation itself, mirroring as it does, and aligning with, the outside world (Marstine 2011).

Yet traditionally in the public sector decisions are often made by the very few, and information about how people come to those decisions (and the opportunity for others

to contribute, if it is possible) is rarely available; instead it's often tightly held. For *sh[OUT]*, however, this description can be applied to both staff groups, demonstrating that any devolved authority can be just as tightly held onto by practitioners, perhaps with the best of intentions and, I would suggest, as a result of the psychological contract that supports the interrelationships between staff and the organisation being thinly stretched by the impact of the controversy.

The organisational structure was foregrounded in many staff comments, with references to the 'higher areas' of the organisation and the perceived distance between opposite ends of the structure creating a lack of understanding of each other's work. Consequently, practitioners perceive managers to be barriers to the creative potential of their work. But what are the challenges within organisational contexts where aside from the 'professional and personal investment' (the vocation for many museum staff) relationships are also defined by employment contracts and political pressure? Can we express our views confidently in front of managers, or even get the opportunity? Is it possible to build a framework of interdependency to create the relationships, trust and space to debate, that can transcend a vertical staff grading or governance structure (Hollows 2013)?

How do we move towards these more ethical approaches if not through self-reflection? Reflection is a critical part of community methodology (Breachin et al. 2000; Butcher et al. 2007) and organisational learning (Schön 1983). It has been a central process to evolving and improving GoMA's practice (and skills) of working with participants over many years; supporting a move from a material-based practice to a relational-based practice. Space for public reflection is created through supported sessions, feedback walls, research groups, collaborative films and public displays. However, reflection was something that interviewees universally acknowledged they found little or no time for, despite everyone recognising its importance (and its absence).¹⁴ Furthermore, what is also missing in terms of any reflection on *sh[OUT]* is

¹⁴ An event organised in 2010 by Glasgow Life senior management, facilitated by Index on Censorship was expressed as "disappointing" by practitioners, summed up here: "There should have been more of an internal process and I don't really know why that didn't happen. The Index event happened the following year and I suppose it was a time for reflection but... it maybe diminished the immediacy and strength of those

the emotional impact for staff, which the organisation and individuals within it seem ill at ease to discuss (Hollows 2013). Instead the traditional business processes dominate, as illustrated by staff comments about the organisation as a whole trying to solve the problem in a technical manner. What was generated was a process-led understanding of the situation, without the opportunity to reflect or discuss options about how it was being dealt with. Roger Gill (2006) helpfully articulates how treating threats, problems and failures as opportunities to learn can be a source of great inspiration among staff so that, rather than diminishing confidence, it is part and parcel of creating a ‘can-do’ mentality.

The opportunity to ask staff participants to reflect on *sh[OUT]* was a privilege for me and at times a powerful experience for others; ‘cathartic’ as one senior manager described it. They often revealed a mixture of latent emotion, some interviewees admitting a ‘fossilised’ memory of events, others using the opportunity to revisit their views and progress their thinking on what actually happened. During this process I have been witness to the power of the opportunity to reflect, where individuals’ perspectives of a situation have shifted, opened up, during the course of a single interview. What then, might the potential be for organisational learning if we could really find the time and methodology to reflect? What might the impact be on organisational change to better prepare us for future work? Where might this quality of learning take us in further contributing to social justice (Hollows 2013)?

Like many things, it will take time, practice and, of course, trust. Professionally we encourage people to be open and tell their stories, their very personal stories, which we believe have a place in the museum or the collections. Museums are extraordinarily powerful places that can include or exclude. If we don’t practice *with each other* what we are highly skilled at with partners and external participants, how can we claim these skills or the integrity to work with those external participants? The effect will not only impact on the confidence of staff, but also the confidence the wider public has in the organisation. Trust that allows debate in the workplace is

experiences.”

“I don’t know if the reason for not having more [internal] evaluation was part of that wanting to move on... [a] kind of “that was really messy let’s just move on.” And if you don’t think about what you’ve done and why you’ve done things then what do you learn?”

crucial. Not only as part of a broader set of processes – in effect to create an ethical framework for these processes – but because without it, social justice work will be limited by the invisible boundaries of repetitive behaviour and defensive actions. More than resources and funding, this is the greatest risk in taking socially responsible work forward (Hollows 2013).

2.3 Concluding thoughts

It is possible to start imagining, then, the extraordinary and complex pressures that are the very nature of social justice work for museums and their staff, particularly in the UK public sector. A constantly evolving, shifting practice where ethical dilemmas and their associated discussions would ideally, I suggest, be played out as part of navigating new social and ethical terrain. However, the Glasgow study shows that in a traditionally hierarchical organisation, such as a local authority structure, there seem to be few options for who has ownership of ‘the truth’ and control over the potential to change and navigate this new terrain, or not.

From my original concern to theorise the potential limitations of social justice practice in museums, my research interests have developed to include elements of psychology; specifically trust and organisational learning. Within these meta-themes the experience of people, ethical leadership and the psychological contract emerge as particular focal points as well as the use of community methodology in social justice and how these areas can knit together in museums. The other foregrounded subject is the idea of hierarchy in museum organisations and the strength (and scale) of the structure’s influence on practice. As artist Anthony Schrag (2017) wrote in his blog when working with GoMA on the 2007 social justice programme exploring issues of sectarianism:

Word of advice, in ANY bureaucratic system (Local Authorities especially):
Go straight to the top, to the highest person you can go to and get their approval... This is the truth of the matter when trying to meld the ordered and rigid system of councils with the fluid and changing system of art. They may not understand you, your project or even your intentions, but they do understand hierarchy.

If ethical discourse can challenge the assumptions of power relations and hierarchy, then we have the opportunity to move from a conflict of differences to being able to identify the values we share, as well as sharing the decision-making processes. We all have agency; activism is not something that just happens ‘out there’. We have the responsibility to challenge the prevailing norms *within* our organisation as well as in the wider world: to think of activism, not just as something that happens *for* the organisation, but also *with* the organisation (Hollows 2013). Thus in considering my research question the emphasis is firmly on the word ‘how’, how we actively connect theory with practice.

The exploratory study was a vital part of my research journey in developing this thesis, primarily through two key benefits. Firstly, it enabled me to focus my doctoral research in a) trying to understand the role of trust in relationships between internal staff – the *individuals* – who emotionally and professionally invest in social justice work, and b) how we align the values of the work we do with communities with the internal working of the museum – the *organisation*. Secondly, in addressing questions specific to my immediate professional environment, I have been able to move away from that particular context to consider my research questions in new settings, working with other case studies to inform theory about trust and the relational ethics of the institution.

Chapter Three: Literature Review and Emerging Ideas

3.1 Introduction

If the ability to build relationships and trust is central to social justice work (Hollows 2013), a greater understanding of relationships – where a whole range of unspoken assumptions, motivations, commitments, skills, intuitions and traditions inform and shape our decisions (O'Neill 2006, p.99) – must become foregrounded to support organisational learning and change. To develop this proposition and inform my research, the literature review covers three areas responding to the themes emerging from the exploratory study: social justice, organisational learning and change, and trust. These areas usefully divide the chapter into three sections.

For each area I have focused specifically on writers and thinkers whose research connects most closely with the questions arising from the exploratory study and the qualities of critical community practice, which is also where the overlaps between each area converge. In chapter one I presented a brief outline of critical community practice and I will unpack it in more depth as part of the methodology detailed in chapter four. However, as a guide to the reader, the principle characteristics of critical community practice are concerned with: the foregrounding of people through shared thinking to forge new or alternative ways of being and doing, and the challenge to the tradition of hierarchical structures through a network system approach (Butcher et al. 2007).

I have developed a growing interest in systems thinking as a central idea;¹⁵ particularly in the way it is considered by Peter Senge (1990) that bringing human values to the workplace is essential (Smith 2001). Systems thinking is a management discipline that evolves an understanding of a system by examining the linkages and interactions between the components that comprise the entirety of that defined system (Tate 2009). The focus on systems thinking in organisational learning suggests to me a number of symbiotic concerns between broader corporate and social values and the

¹⁵ System here is defined as an interconnecting network, a positive engagement between all agents, ensuring connection, commitment, and action through joint participation, learning and reflection, rather than a negative term sometimes used to imply a form of control through a mechanised structure.

museum sector. I believe it offers significant scope as a central part of my research for the preparation of a methodology that can interrogate how social justice impacts on staff within complex organisational structures, and how we can more closely align internal and external organisational values.

The following two references, drawn from organisational learning theory and the museum sector, have helped me to locate these particular areas of interest. They also reflect a concern with human values. Firstly, in writing the foreword for Richard Sandell's *Museums, Equality and Social Justice* (2012), Mark O'Neill and Lois Silverman (2012, p.xxi) present the following statement (emphasis original):

Museums and the people who work in them are in the throes of profound, difficult and exciting *learning* that belies any sense of easy progress. The kind of organisational learning required to engage with the rights revolution poses a fundamental challenge for all expert institutions, including museums, perhaps because it is both collective and highly personal... All museum visitors, all citizens, and all the people who created the museum objects must now be seen as fully human.

For Senge, learning is also about getting to the heart of what it is to be human and applying this to individuals and organisations (Smith 2001). Senge views people as agents, able to act upon the structures and systems of which they are a part. His thinking is "concerned with a shift of mind from seeing parts to seeing wholes, from seeing people as helpless reactors to seeing them as active participants in shaping their reality, from reacting to the present to creating the future" (Senge 1990, p.69).

Both quotes challenge more traditional views of museums as the cultural authority, and organisational leaders as power-holders. Both are concerned with the interconnection of individual and collective agency, with generating new ways of thinking and utilising a larger systems approach. They refer to humanising practice, whether specific to the museum sector or a more general organisational, corporate context. The reference to both the collective and personal in these quotations also suggests values and perceptions operating at different levels. To develop the context

for my research, I will now focus on the first area of literature, which relates to social justice.

3.2 Social justice practice

Richard Sandell accepts that there are “different ways of understanding the social agency of the museum” (2002, p.xix). Over the past 20 years, language has moved from social exclusion to inclusion to social justice and more recent conversations incorporate concepts of wellbeing. A discussion on social justice, highlighted by comments in response to the Museums Association online article *Social Justice vs. Wellbeing* (Davies 2013), reveals the contested nature of these terms with respect to ethical principles and moral obligations, how they play out in practice, and whether they are oppositional – red/green, left/right, hard/soft, state intervention/civil activism, for example – or situated on a spectrum.

It is therefore difficult to make a clear assessment of the full role and impact of museum work labelled social justice or any other of the ‘social’ derived terms. Lola Young warns us not to “simply reach for off-the-peg terms”, stating that, although the intention may not be maligned, she has seen some “fanciful abuses” (2002, pp.210-211). Yet practitioners may be using the term ‘social’ as a label for their work without fully realising the implications, or without being able to fully express what they mean by it. They may not describe their work in these terms at all. In the worst-case scenario, staff may be laying claim to social justice values when, if put to the test (however that might be assigned), their work would not stand up to scrutiny (Mason et al. 2013; Lynch 2011; Iervolino 2013).

Theories of justice have been part of the mainstream of western political thought since the times of Classical Greek philosophers (Jordon 1998, p.4). The concept of social justice is concerned with equality and solidarity and an absence of barriers (United Nations 2011). It has roots in many world religions and western philosophy including Kant’s *Metaphysics of Morals* (1785), the political philosophy of John Rawls (1971) and early classical liberalism of John Locke (1991). Some criticisms are that it is impossible to define and agree set standards, that it is an abstract or subjective concept (Hayek 1973), and that in the later 20th century it became closely associated with left-

wing politics (Bankston 2010). Whilst its precise nature is hard to establish (Miller 1978), definitions and descriptions of social justice typically make direct reference to equality/inequality, fairness/disadvantage, and integration/marginalisation. For the purpose of this thesis I utilise the definition “fairness, equality and participation” (Durham University n.d.) as it incorporates the essence of these terms.

A review of current references to social justice, whether drawn from political (Department of Work and Pensions 2012; Scottish Executive 1999), social (The Centre for Social Justice n.d.;¹⁶ Paul Hamlyn Foundation n.d.¹⁷), academic (Durham University n.d.) or museum-specific sources (Nightingale and Sandell 2012), reveals the complexity of interrelationships around present-day social inequalities.¹⁸ Rather than being addressed as individual issues, inequalities require an approach based on networked systems and knowledge sharing (Durham University n.d.) which has proved challenging to museums.

Museums have been criticised by scholars for isolating their practices and themselves from civil concerns. Robert Janes (2009, p.27) suggests “the salient question for museums is whether they can transcend their commitment to the stewardship of collections and embrace broader societal issues?” Others, for example Anderson (2012), Fleming (2012), O’Neill (2010b) and Young (1990), reflect that museums can no longer consider themselves a benign institution when in fact they act in the interests of dominant groups, thereby perpetuating inequalities. Declan McGonagle (2007, p.4) critiques the “...neutrality or innocence which is the pretense of white box galleries or museum spaces – a pretense that art and its experience exist outside of the social” describing a modernist consumer-led approach, whilst Keith (2012) argues that museums’ default self-image is object-orientated rather than people-orientated. How do we (can we?) align these symbols of wealth and status (power) with a social justice ethos driven by equality and fairness?

¹⁶ Although based in Ontario, The Centre for Social Justice is an advocacy organisation that works internationally.

¹⁷ The Paul Hamlyn Foundation was established to help people overcome inequalities of opportunity and realise their potential through the arts.

¹⁸ Articulated by the Department of Work and Pensions (2012) as education, health, employment, income, social support, housing and local environment that people may move in and out of throughout their lives.

In the run-up to the UK's 2012 Museums Association annual conference, a journalistic debate posed the question of whether social justice is a "luxury museums can no longer afford" (Kendall 2012, par. 2). Set in the post-2008 economy, the question of financially affording something is a commonplace topic. So, too, is the question of what we can ethically afford *not* to do, as the wider social impacts of the economic downturn (Peachey 2013) provide potent counterpoints in building the argument for the social role of museums.

These arguments are often positioned as defining the 'margins' and the 'core' of museum practice as if only viewed in a mutually exclusive dynamic. It suggests a polarisation, of one thing prevailing over another. In effect, this articulates otherness. Put another way "what masquerades as core is all too often simply 'powerful'" (Younge 2012, p.109). McGonagle (2007, p.2) argues that "value and power in our culture are derived from and conferred by access to means of distribution not by access to means of production". The danger for museums is that people are seen as consumers rather than participants, as if living in an economy rather than a culture (ibid.).

Lois Silverman advocates that changing the world, or even a dominant culture, requires changing how things are done "one relationship at a time", making human relationships "the fundamental agents of well-being and social change" (Silverman 2010, pp.109-110). In what she describes as human social work, Silverman explores museums' role in social cohesion by examining their influence on individuals, groups and more complex relationships both at an individual and larger societal level (ibid.). Newman and McLean (2002, p.64) echo this network based theory and its capacity to support the concept of citizenship.

Whilst such scholarship begins to articulate a strong case for relational (human) practice, a key challenge during the past 20 years is that social justice in the UK came to be strongly aligned with New Labour politics (Jordon 1998). In parts of civil society where these were not welcome, accusations of 'dumbing down' abounded. 'Blairism on the walls of Kelvingrove' (Dawber 2007) was one headline accusation in

response to Glasgow's major redisplay.¹⁹ However, Blair²⁰ was operating "in line with the liberal tradition" (Jordon 1998, p.18) to make the case that the fundamental political, economic and social institutions of our society "can determine citizens' opportunities and constraints, and hence set ethical parameters around their roles and responsibilities" (ibid.). An associated short-term view of party politics restricts thinking about, and the potential for (and possibly limitations on), longer-term social development that is not about values-changed-to-order by policy diktats, but a broader social movement that Hein calls the "prevailing moral spirit" of society as a whole (2000, p.92).

It is an argument that has become ever more prescient since the global banking crisis of 2008 and the world entered a new age of uncertainty. The resulting economic downturn has triggered a rise in unemployment and cost of living, whilst many workers are experiencing wage cuts in real terms and record levels of in-work poverty (Tinson et al. 2016).²¹ During this time the UK's welfare system has also been re-drawn (Peachey 2013) and the uncertainty caused by the recent UK referendum decision to leave the EU means that, for many disadvantaged members of society, these impacts are exacerbating their fragile circumstances still further (Oxfam 2016). Ever greater numbers are now at risk of exclusion in one or more of its forms, developing a vicious circle because "excluded people not only don't make a full contribution to the economy, but in fact they are an expensive drain on it" (O'Neill, M. 2002, p.37).

It is this longer-term, paradigmatic shift happening around us that Sandell argues is what museums have mostly been failing to keep pace with (2002, p.18). Social justice can be perceived in positions of tension, split between a government-prescribed application versus a wider, values-driven application: policy versus moral duty, short-term versus long-term. For museums, this tension may translate to critics of social

¹⁹ Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum is Glasgow Museums' largest venue and the fifth most visited museum in the UK. In July 2006, following a three-year, £27.9 million refurbishment, it reopened utilising a flexible, story-based display method. In the 10 years since it reopened it has welcomed over 14 million visitors.

²⁰ Tony Blair, leader of the Labour Party 1994-2007 and UK prime minister 1997-2007.

²¹ Joseph Rowntree Foundation's *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion 2016* reports a record high of 55% of people in poverty in the UK are in working households.

justice as museums being *obliged* to change, versus advocates recognising that museums *self-determine* change, as “part of a living culture” (O’Neill, M. 2002, p.39). Some museums (or their staff) may argue that they hold material *for* the community, others think of themselves as *of* the community (Lane and Hollows 2012), suggesting a critical distinction in relational dynamics.

The dialogue around inequality and fairness is interchanged with references to social and political democracy, the role of trust within the social contract and justice as an exchange process. In modern times we also have the principles of human rights within which to frame these concerns and which have inspired the struggle for justice globally over the past 70 years (Silverman and O’Neill 2004). Human rights are commonly understood as the inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being (Sepulveda et al. 2004). However, Onora O’Neill (2002, p.28) criticises the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a passive view of human life because it does not define who should do what. It does not offer answers for the active citizen.

There are few who openly describe their museum work within a human rights frame, and even less who would actively describe that work as taking a stand. David Fleming is a notable exception and he writes about the campaigning role National Museums Liverpool (NML) has taken through the International Slavery Museum (2012, p.80) that Fleming describes as “unchartered territory for a museum service”. Richard Benjamin, director of the International Slavery Museum confirms NML’s view that museums should be “an active supporter and vehicle of social change and indeed political campaigner in the field of human rights” (2010, p.4). Fleming has shown leadership in establishing international networks of museums – the Federation of International Human Rights Museums (FIHRM)²² and the Social Justice Alliance for Museums (SJAM)²³ – museums and partner organisations linked through their work to fight for human rights and advance social justice. He believes in being proactive and

²² FIHRM was established to encourage museums engaging with difficult and controversial subjects to work together, share new thinking and ideas in a supportive environment (fihrm.org 2010).

²³ SJAM aims to recruit museums and individuals to sign up to a social justice charter, to campaign and promote best practice (sjam.org 2013).

that social justice and human rights “are best confronted collectively rather than individually” (Fleming 2012, p.82).

The shifting political and socio-economic landscape of the last decade has seen a transition in attitudes, confidence and expectations of museums. Like NML, some clearly state their position to function as places where the rights, interests, and viewpoints of diverse communities can be represented and debated (Sandell 2012). However, Silverman claims that museums are “generally not abiding by a formal and sustained commitment to human rights, social justice, or other key social work ethics and values” (2010, p.147). High profile activities are frequently one-off with little evidence of learning or sustained commitment, the museum returning instead to their status quo (Keith 2012, p.51) in what Younge critiques as mistaking “equal opportunities” for “photo opportunities” (2012, p.109).

Such inconsistency (or worse, a superficial approach) is explained by academic discourse focusing more on rights than obligations (Newman and McLean 2002, p.60). Byrne (1999) criticises a focus on individuals rather than the collective action of communities, thereby giving room for museums to decline to act on broader issues of social justice. Golding and Modest (2013, p.3) argue for museums to take an activist role in social cohesion and embrace the complexity of community identities, “working creatively and collaboratively *with* diverse communities” (Golding 2013, p.26, emphasis original). For those who believe in the museum’s potential to provide a space “in which complex and contested rights issues can be explored and publicly debated” (Sandell 2012, pp.211) here is where the tension between Silverman’s articulation of museums’ potential and the limitations of the reality can start to be unpacked.

The 20th century saw the rise of the museum sector’s professionalisation (Wilkinson 2013; Janes 2013) and shift into a corporate world (Salamon 2003) where the increasing demand for accountability has led to greater scrutiny of publicly funded services and museums working hard to imitate business operating models (Birnbaum 1988; Janes 2013). A modernist, consumer-led approach to museums and culture evolved, undoubtedly influenced by wider social-economic developments and market

forces following the fall of communism at the end of the 1980s (Gardner et al. 2001). Steiner (1971, pp.82-83) notes: “Already a dominant proportion of poetry, of religious thought, of art, has receded from personal immediacy into the keeping of the specialist”, shifting concepts of ownership and access. The behavioural changes reflect wider social trends with the growing emphasis on the finished product; a materialist, aesthetic ‘Grand Designs’ style of approach.²⁴

The resulting aestheticisation of displays and practice reflects the growing professionalisation of museums, the lack of diversity within the workforce (Museums Association 2016) and certainly the rise in consumer-led culture (McGonagle 2012) within which we now operate. These approaches sit uneasily with values of social justice or the increasing ethics discourse. David Anderson specifically asks if museums are to be regarded as “corporate citizens” and goes on to say, “If so, many have been poor citizens. Many have been thoroughly modernist, believing themselves free from any wider integrating framework of social responsibility” (Anderson 2012, p.224). Working from McGonagle’s (2007) notion of the total art process in which participation, engagement and commonality are foregrounded, the total *museum* process should emancipate rather than disempower the citizen. In this scenario, the emphasis is on reciprocation and participation, rather than production and consumption (ibid.) defined by the cul-de-sac of commodity and consumerism (McGonagle 2012), or what Janes refers to as the “tyranny of the marketplace” and a belief in capitalism and economic growth (2013, p.56). Yet the impact of the post-2008 economy highlighted tension and difference of opinion within the museum sector about its role in social justice, illustrated by discussions on the Museums Association’s website (Kendall 2012) with museums taking different approaches to the resulting financial contraction. O’Neill (2010b par. 11 and 12) posits that:

Social justice museums, if they have to downsize, retain audience as well as collections expertise as both are part of its definition of core... In the social

²⁴ Grand Designs is a British television series broadcast on Channel 4 that follows home build projects typically emphasising an elaborate, highly aestheticised finish.

justice model [of museums],²⁵ engagement with people is recognised as being the responsibility of all staff, is strategically integrated into the structure.

In contrast, as Fleming (2012, p.75) states, “those that could so easily let go of anything resembling social justice work have merely been paying lip-service to its values whilst Labour were in power and ‘the political climate was favourable’.” However, if, as Sandell (2002, p.4) suggests, “*all* museums and galleries have a social responsibility” (emphasis original) then we must seek alternative models to harness this capacity, in a way that creates space for new ways of thinking and being. Fleming (2012, p.79) refers to “the engagement of all parts of the organisation” and is dismissive of structures that reflect a hierarchy of museum activities, where, for example, collecting activities are prioritised over education or marketing. Instead, he advocates seeking an organisational mindset that embraces the principle that meeting public needs and expectations is the core purpose of museums as a whole. Similarly, O’Neill’s ‘social justice model’ (2010b, par. 9) posits that:

...museums, like all social institutions, are embedded in society and have responsibilities to that society to meet its standards of justice. It recognises the historic and contemporary links between museums and structures of power... The values of universal human rights are embedded in its view of the world... Collecting, research and display are not carried out for their own sake, but for human purposes which relate to wider societal objectives...

Chiming with critical community practice, the idea of social justice as a whole organisational undertaking connects with what Lynch (2011, p.9) refers to as the “through and through” approach where the entire organisation shares the responsibility and the principles to contribute in whatever way possible to the social work of museums. By discarding the “authoritative voice in favour of multiple voices” (Sandell 2002, p.20) museums can learn to see the needs of “hitherto invisible people, refusing to write off entire sections of the population as non-visitors” (O’Neill, M.

²⁵ Mark O’Neill wrote a critique of what he described as welfare and social justice models of museums in an unpublished article for the conference *Heritage, Regional Development and Social Cohesion*, presented in Östersund, Sweden, June 2010.

2002, p.38). Equally, the idea of invisible people may also include staff groups. Social justice, therefore, cannot be an aspect of provision, it must be integral to the whole way a museum is organised, and activated in a way that commitment to learning is sustained.

The issue of sustainability has long been debated, particularly over museum projects that claim to deliver to a social agenda (Lynch 2011). If it is not sustainable, why bother? If we position museum social work as playing our part in a wider civil landscape of agents contributing to the same end goal of equality and fairness, then our contribution surely still counts? However, the sustainability question has been particularly pertinent during the past 20 years when much of museums' additional funding (note: not delivered as 'core') has been through short-term projects (Museums Association 2009). Relationships cannot be labelled and stored in an archive box if a staff member leaves at the end of a project. Short-term projects and constant investing in contract staff does not support sustainability in terms of a relational-based practice for the organisation. Neither does it support the learning within the organisation, or foster the collective wisdom amongst the people that make up that organisation. It is the knowledge equivalent of the economic leaky bucket (Okun 1975). Sustainability is one of the key principles for socially responsible work in current discourse in museum practice, particularly within the wellbeing and community resilience agendas. We should also consider *staff* as communities that require resilience and sustainability.

In striving for a model based on sustainability, Nancy Fuller (1992, p.361) describes the museum as:

[An] instrument of self-knowledge and a place to learn and regularly practice the skills and attitudes needed for community problem solving. In this model the museum functions as a mediator in the transition from control of a community by those who are not members of the community to control by those who are.

The challenge in relational-based practice is that staff can only understand the reality of exclusion by working with representatives of excluded groups. Yet the reality for most museums is that these relationships are formed almost exclusively by roles

described as Learning, Education, Outreach and Access, and which are usually at most financial risk and often found at ‘the margins’ of the organisational structure. As Keith (2012, pp.50-51) states:

[It] is often individual practitioners who establish organizational relationships... Remove the individual and the collaborative effort could be reduced to an objectified quantitative output, and the museum’s narrative may continue to be drawn from its traditional position of authority, steeped in colonial and empirical tropes.

I would also argue that such dominance includes ‘professional’ museum staff othering traditionally non-professional staff, for example front of house staff groups, rather than recognising our own subjectivity and accepting ourselves as part of the community, of society. Echoing the proposition of the total museum process, Nightingale and Mahal (2012, p.24) indicate the need for a “whole museum approach” where it is possible to enable relationships to be forged with people across and through the organisation, including at senior level, benefitting both the museum and its external partners. If we read the ‘whole museum approach’ as embracing the wider *system*, the system can be perceived in different forms: from the museum as part of the wider civil, social and political landscape, to a system based on the museum and its external partners and stakeholders, to a system based on the network of staff within the museum’s structure and governing body.

The structural style influencing the operational governance of many UK museums is significant particularly because so many exist through local authority provision. In 2002, Fleming described the debilitating effects of departmentalism, suggesting museums were becoming less rigidly hierarchical. I would argue that, for some, the intervening decade has increased hierarchy and that departmental debilitation has been negated by the super-structures of centralised organisations in the search for operational efficiencies. The reality is that many museums simply will not have the independence to operate in new structures without the commitment and wider system support of their broader governing bodies to a social justice agenda. The tension behind this lack of independence is highlighted by Lynch (2013, p.3) and her work

exploring conflict, where she discusses the potential for a social justice approach “in which the museum is seen as a site for dialogue and debate [but which] must also recognise that such processes of democratisation are inevitably going to create new spheres of conflict and potential resistance” of the type experienced in Glasgow. She goes on to say (and I would include staff groups in this statement as well), “Those citizens who were formerly kept quiet under hidden linkages of domination will eventually become animated” (ibid.).

Can such democratisation and animation be translated through organisational change? What learning could dissolve the difference between ‘margins’ and ‘core’, not only in relation to museums and communities, which, as Onciul (2013, p.81) asserts, “are not homogenous, well-defined, static entities”, but also in relation to museums and their internal organising structures, their internal communities? Like researchers, staff are human and therefore cannot be objective, yet we expect them to be. The exploratory study in Glasgow highlights how staff members themselves were participants, but that the organisational structure did not account for this, nor did it offer them the same support or inclusion in the process.

Rethinking organisational structures raises questions for leaders. Senge (2006, p.6) quotes Edgar Schein (n.d.) in describing organisations as “coercive systems”. Senge goes on to say:

[Organisations] tend to enforce a party line, either overtly or subtly. Listening to the periphery, those who do not share the views of the management mainstream, is a skill that more and more leaders will need because, more and more, the management mainstream will only have limited understanding at best of the forces shaping change (ibid.).

This ‘periphery’ is important because, looking at it another way, in museums this ‘periphery’ will typically represent a greater proportion of the staff resource and infrastructure. Also potentially ‘socially excluded’, some staff may have few opportunities for educational and career advancement, being on the lower rungs of a

hierarchical staffing structure that denies them full participation in decision-making processes (Young 2002, p.204).

If, in social justice practice, the museum is a setting for shared transformation within the wider neighbourhood (Wood 2013), then there are also possibilities here in how we consider staff. Do we consider the life experience of staff in social justice practice? If we recognise meaning-making as learning, shouldn't we also acknowledge staff insight and knowledge in every role? This type of staff knowledge is often not formerly recognised or written up, despite it being the type of evidence required in competency-based interviews favoured by many organisations. If museums do not acknowledge these lived experiences of staff, do they disguise staff power? Is it a deceit of knowledge, or simply knowledge that is wasted?

Echoing the concept of the network system, the circular economy promotes the idea of circular systems where there is no 'waste' (Senge 2006). The circular economy seeks global waste prevention and, at its most fundamental level, identifies waste as food. The Ellen MacArthur Foundation further argues circular systems are needed within and beyond our cultural organisations so that people can have more than just a chance to be heard, but also the political agency to make a difference (Ellen MacArthur Foundation 2015). I propose that in museum practice we should recognise waste as knowledge and seek waste prevention of knowledge across the network. The circular economy has further resonance to the discussion on social justice practice by describing the 'real world' as fundamentally non-linear and complex. Like critical community practice, the circular economy "requires systems thinking and being able to live with uncertainty" (ibid.). Describing the circular economy as challenging to "humans schooled in specialism, self-interest and the instrumental" (ibid.), this critique could equally be ascribed to aspects of the museum sector.

With project planning methods typically expected to consider and legislate for all potential outcomes and associated risks, how do we carve out a path for new and expanded dialogue, to 'live with uncertainty'? There is a psychological consideration revealed in the "overriding pressure to represent the work to governing bodies and funding agencies in a purely positive light" (Lynch 2011, p.10). It is another example

of the aestheticisation of practice or, put another way, the overwhelming desire for public services to be impervious to failure. Consequently, museums “remain relatively conservative in their choices to portray difficult topics” (Wood 2013, p.217) and are frequently restrained. Social justice themes are usually found in smaller one-off projects rather than larger, more visible museums taking on a fundamental approach to social justice engagement across the full range of their activities and service (ibid.), despite on-going and well documented social challenges requiring change and a rebalancing of power relations (Golding 2009).

What might our work look like if we adopted the opportunity to fail as part of our practice, reflecting the messiness, the ‘stuff of life’ (Bennett 1994)? Could we learn from other sectors where, for example, in an effort to maximise learning for social change Engineers Without Borders Canada (EWB) produces an annual Failure Report,²⁶ a practice that explicitly says, “If you have no failure to discuss you are not being honest or you are not being innovative” (Good 2012, section 5, par.5). Failure is described as a paradigm shift in turning the concept of performance on its head: “you’re not underperforming if you fail; you’re underperforming if you don’t admit failure” (ibid.).

Even those organisations that are signed up to social justice beyond the political remit are challenged by existing power structures and organisational architecture. Abstract concepts they may be, but they are also built on a series of human-to-human relationships and psychological connections. In a networking project where case studies from UK museums were used to reflect on conflict, Lynch (2013, p.4) concludes, “none of [the organisations] are designed to support this way of working.” A greater understanding of organisational learning and change is therefore required and are the subjects under review in the next section.

²⁶ EWB began producing a Failure Report in 2008 to inspire innovation and learning across an organisation of c.45,000 members. The practice inspired a spin-off social enterprise – Fail Forward – at which Ashley Good is head of failure.

3.3 Organisational learning and change

Returning for a moment to the exploratory study of Glasgow Museums, a senior manager describes two levels of learning from *sh[OUT]*, one conscious and the other subconscious. The conscious story is to go on working for social justice. The subconscious and emotional learning is to want never to have that experience again. Whilst there is a great deal written on change management theories in general (Todnem 2005; Fernandez and Rainey 2006), there is significantly less on the ethical or emotional aspects associated with the type of scenario described throughout the exploratory study. If museums are to renegotiate (i.e. change or re-learn) their relationships with society and their governing organisations, an assessment of what models may support this process is required. The focus of this section, therefore, is to explore theories, frameworks and models that examine organisational change and learning with an emphasis on those that recognise the human and emotional dimensions and associated complexity (Grobman 2005).

Kurt Lewin (1946) is recognised as one of the founders of modern psychology and acknowledges the human aspect of organisational change (Marrow 1969). His work is underpinned by strong moral and ethical beliefs in democratic social values to address social conflict, stemming from his background as a German Jew in the early 20th century (Burnes 2004). He is known for his three-stage process (Schein 1988) – unfreeze (preparing for change through necessity or urgency), change (the transition process), freeze (embedding new relationships and routines). Lewin's three-stage model has been criticised for its apparent linear simplicity (Burnes 2004; Kanter et al. 1992), one of the main drawbacks being that whilst it is essentially a feedback loop, without sufficient time or scope, learning and change become limited and technically focused like the behaviours identified in the exploratory study. Lewin's model is therefore often linked to smaller, more iterative changes (how can we solve this now), rather than larger, fundamental ones (the long term view).

However, Lewin does emphasise the need to allow sufficient time for the change to bed in, and for new behaviours, structures and systems to be reinforced. If not, we risk defaulting back to earlier, pre-existing systems and defensive behaviours (Oreg 2003). As individuals in society we all have agency to be proactive about the world that we

live and work in, but whether we have the awareness that our actions may be restricted to familiar patterns is a critical question (Burnes 2004). Individuals construct organisations and are part and parcel of shaping the values expressed on an organisational level and ultimately at a societal level (Dent and Goldberg 1999).

Silverman and O'Neill (2004, p.40) also warn against adaptations that avoid fundamental change as, whilst such superficial adjustments seem to “provide safety and an illusion of control, in reality the divisions [they create] help foster an inaccurate, unproductive, and stifling atmosphere.” The authors clarify that they do not “advocate complexity for its own sake, but in the belief that embracing complexity might allow museums to do their best possible work” (ibid.). The issue of complexity is one that can be easily overlooked and feared, not just within the organisation itself, but also in critiquing the potential of organisational change models (Marshak 2016). I believe complexity should be embraced if we accept that social justice issues mirror the complexity of real life, rather than a sanitised, museum version of it. Given the extraordinary issues facing us all locally and globally, “this discomfort is a necessary part of the process that leads us to learn by inquiring about the circumstances that shape our experiences” (Sears and Cairns 2010, pp.xiv-xv).

Developing his work further, Lewin proposes a ‘force field analysis’ (1951) that can help us consider the more complex dynamics of the various forces influencing our potential and ability to change (or not) at an individual and organisational level (Schein 1988). Changing environments, political affiliation and personal circumstances are all potential, opposing forces that create a unique dynamic (Lewin 1946). By visualising these and assessing the balance of power, we have the opportunity to consider the best way to approach and influence stakeholders. Such analysis implies a relationship with external elements and suggests a framework of interdependency potentially linking with the concept of reciprocity, a key principle of community methodology (Maiter et al. 2008).

Whilst the scope of my research is to explore the impact on museum staff and stakeholders, to remain internally focused would offer only partial understanding of the pressures of social justice work and stakeholder framework, both of which by

definition imply complexity and an outward-focused perspective (Pettigrew and Whipp 1991). As the majority of museums are based within the public sector, external factors clearly have a significant influence. It is therefore vital to continually scan the external environment for issues affecting the organisation and to be able to recognise what these are (Burke and Litwin 1992). If there are dominant organisational cultures such as may be found in a traditionally patriarchal local authority, how might these cultures distort or filter the consideration of, or response to, critical external factors? And what might be the impact on organisational performance?

Burke and Litwin (ibid.) prioritise external factors, echoing the approach taken by practitioners and senior managers in the exploratory study, yet this distorts the overall system, limiting the potential to recognise forces at work *inside* the organisational structure. In exploring change models, therefore, questions arose around what was driving the change in museums (Visser 2014). Is change always planned or enforced; for example, to make efficiencies, or change the direction of focus? Or, is it responding to something unplanned, such as controversy arising from within an existing programme of work? For the socially focused museum, both conditions may apply, in which case it may find itself facing greater challenges in the day-to-day delivery of this work from its wider stakeholders, *and* its staff body, that require a deeper questioning of fundamental organisational elements.

In conclusion, it is difficult and simplistic to view any one theory in isolation (Van de Ven et al. 1995), considering the multiple entities within the organisational superstructure, and the unpredicted, or novel, forces pushing for change. Responses to social justice issues or new challenges to social 'norms' are driven by varying conceptual motors at different levels within an organisation, representing different sequences of change events. Moving on to consider the characteristics of a learning organisation, therefore, becomes particularly resonant as a dynamic concept that emphasises the continually changing nature of organisations (Dodgson 1993). In museum practice we are already familiar with individual learning (Hooper-Greenhill 1999). As individuals ultimately (in)form the organisation, how do we transfer this knowledge to develop organisational learning and ultimately to facilitate change?

Organisational learning is more than a sum of the parts of individual learning (Dodgson 1993). An organisation should not feel a loss from its learning capacity when people leave. Organisational learning should contribute to organisational memory, which is the sum of organisational knowledge collected throughout its history (Dewey 1938; Argyris and Schön 1996). It is also important to understand that learning systems not only influence current staff but future staff, due to the accumulation of organisational experiences, norms and stories. Equally important is the creation of an *unlearning* organisation, essentially to be able to forget some of its past, to allow the learning of new ways to occur (Dodgson 1993) rather than defaulting to “how we do things around here” (Butcher et al. 2007, p.113). A tension, therefore, exists between building the long-term memory and culture of the organisation and its ability to adapt going forward.

Chris Argyris and Donald Schön (1996) have made a significant contribution to learning theory in thinking about relationships between people and organisations, organisational learning and action research, by reflecting critically upon theory-in-use versus espoused theories – what we say we do, versus what we actually do. Like Lewin, Argyris and Schön frame organisational learning as feedback loops. They recognise ‘single-loop’ learning as defensive behaviour, technically processed, that adds to the knowledge base without altering the fundamental values of the organisation, but go on to add ‘double-loop’ learning, which does. Figure 3 visually illustrates the characteristics of the two loops and how they differ in their impact on organisational learning. They characterise double-loop learning as a dialogical process and shared leadership that questions existing norms, procedures, processes and objectives resulting in a change in the values of theory-in-use (Argyris and Schön 1996, p.21). I believe this additional dimension has greater resonance with community methodology principles, in particular, critical consciousness. I suggest there is also some analogy to be made here with the growing scholarship on mindfulness. Mindfulness is concerned with paying attention, and directing intention, rather than relying on our automatic pilot (Wax 2016). Furthermore, Gilbert (2009, quoted in Wax 2016, p.137) evidences how mindfulness supports people to develop greater levels of compassion.

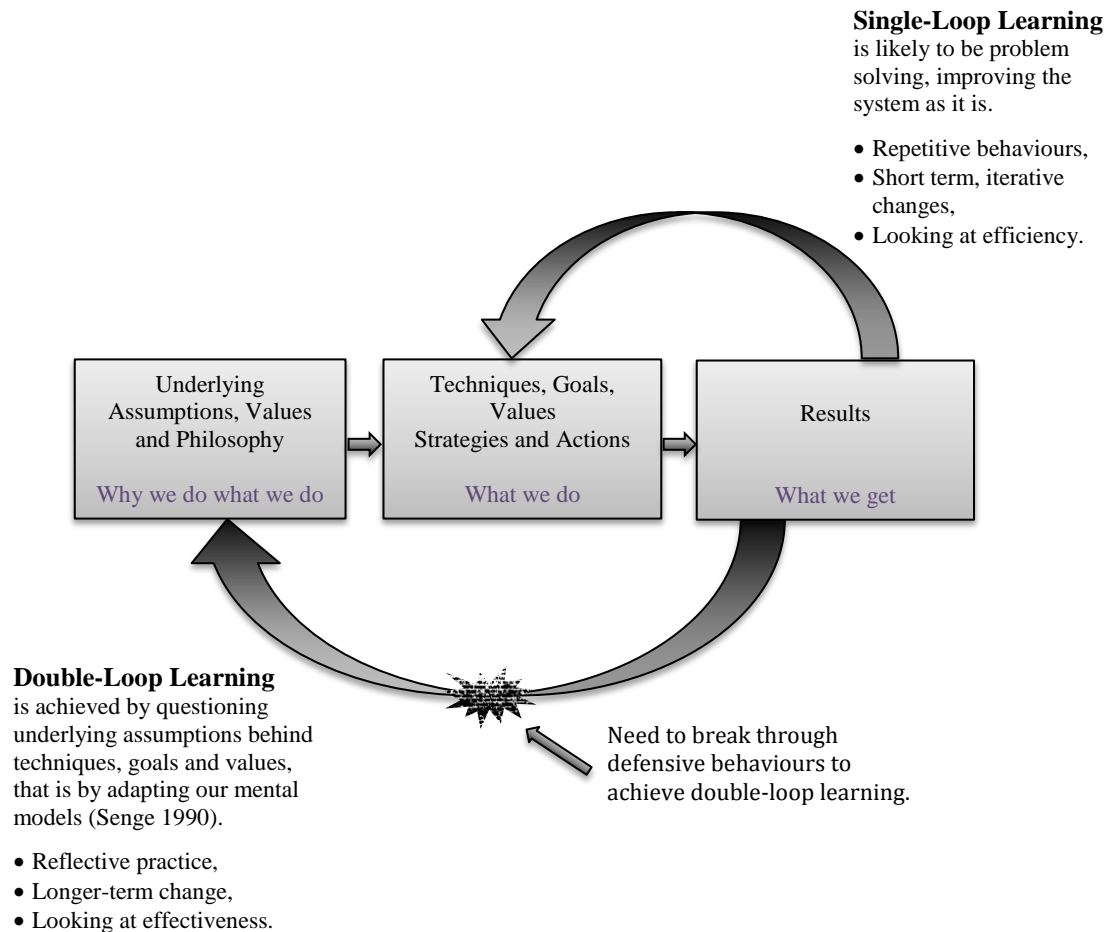


Figure 3 – Single- and Double-Loop Learning, after Argyris and Schön (1996).

What I particularly like about Argyris and Schön (1996) is that they refer to organisational learning as the organisational capacity to set and solve problems and to design and redesign policies, structures and techniques in the face of constantly changing assumptions about self and environment. Recognising defensive behaviour as an action frequently used by people to resist change is important because it undermines the potential to transition from single-loop to double-loop learning, where potentially change could have greater benefit. Defensive routines can be difficult to spot and extremely resistant (ibid.). Often justified as ‘tried and tested’ methods, they can manifest through actions or policies that act as substitutes for thinking and learning. They need to be recognised for what they are: blockers for change driven by emotion (Bovey and Hede 2001). From the models of organisational change this is the

stage best defined as Lewin's need to 'unfreeze'. Common (2004) also highlights how many public sector organisations remain stuck in a pattern of repetitive, single-loop learning, because more fundamental changes are seen as the prerogative of political leaders instead of drawing on the knowledge of the wider system.

Furthermore, Janes (2011) questions museums' organisational self-knowledge as they increasingly focus on business operating models, resulting in a clash of non-profit and for-profit values. He also highlights "the widespread disconnection between individuals who work in a museum and the manner in which the museum functions as an organization" (Janes 2011, pp.55-56). A key theme of my research is questioning the dichotomy of organisations as mechanistic, frequently hierarchical constructs and the human, freethinking individuals that populate them (Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995). The risk of only focusing on technical approaches is that they "can be presented as being separate from theory and as value free" (Henderson 2007), but learning to think and do things differently is imperative in today's world of constant change. As Alvin Toffler (1998) has said, "society needs all kinds of skills that are not just cognitive; they're emotional, they're affectional."

In considering the relationship between individuals and organisation, Senge (1990) proposes that teams of individuals (staff groups) are central to organisational learning, thriving on the shared sense of being part of something greater than themselves (ibid.). Senge's framework for organisational learning consists of the following five elements, which should be integrated into an individual's practice, principles and essence of what they do (Smith 2001):

- Systems thinking – the need to recognise the organisation as a dynamic process. Senge is critical of changes based on simple models applied to complex systems, which risk short-term improvements at the expense of long-term benefits. Systems thinking is the cornerstone of Senge's model (1990) that integrates the following elements to form a coherent, holistic approach.²⁷

²⁷ Senge's holistic approach articulated through systems thinking is what he terms the 'fifth discipline' the title of his 1990 publication *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of The Learning Organization*.

- Personal mastery – a journey rather than a destination, where people live in a continual learning mode, continually checking in with a shared vision and the way it is impacted by the environment.
- Mental models – understanding the “deeply ingrained assumptions, generalisations, or even pictures and images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action” (Senge 1990, p.8) which tie closely with the risk of defaulting to familiar patterns of behaviour (Dewey 1938; Dodgson 1993; Argyris and Schön 1996) and call for reflection practices.
- Building shared vision – supporting the long-term journey, reinforced through dialogue and shared innovation, rather than something imposed (Smith 2001).
- Team learning – where the dialogue of the group can achieve more than individuals alone, whilst also learning to recognise patterns of behaviour that can inhibit the learning process (Senge 1990).

Senge’s thinking responds to gaps in the more traditional change models. Whilst the five elements do not appear to express concern for the external factors affecting the organisation, to some extent he incorporates these by mapping vicious and virtuous circles as loops of cause and effect in the system. Systems thinking preferences long-term outcomes over short-term gains, echoing the learning loop theories of Lewin and Argyris, where acting on a short-term view may effect a quick win but will not immediately reveal the (potentially negative) amplifying effect of this action over the long-term. We also need to transfer learning from teams to the organisation as a whole to avoid individual teams operating as sub-organisations with parallel cultures, values, assumptions and systems.

Senge’s approach is dependent on all agents in the system being committed to working in this way, having the ‘discipline’ to master the elements over the long-term (Smith, 2001). Activating the agents in the system can be addressed by Argyris’ interpretation of organisational learning as action research (1990). Reflecting critically on espoused theories versus theory-in-use is important as a way to differentiate between individual learning and individuals *participating* in learning (Gherardi et al. 1998). These ideas have been influential in my thinking around behaviour patterns, psychological blockers and drivers for change and the relational intersection between

organisation and people. The intersection can be described as vertical and horizontal capacities (Lederach 2005) and as hierarchies and heterarchies (Putnam and Mumby 1992).

In the Glasgow exploratory study, I presented an understanding of the intersection and associated tensions using the theory of the psychological contract. It is an evolving business philosophy responding to the changing expectations of the workforce in contemporary society and how people interpret promises and commitments (Rousseau and Wade-Benzoni 1994, quoted in Chapman n.d.). As a “dynamic and reciprocal deal”, it represents the “social and emotional aspects of the exchange” (Sparrow 1999) in relationships and is characterised by respect, compassion, empathy, fairness and trust, resonating with museums’ work in social justice.

The psychological contract is useful in placing and understanding emotion within the working environment (Morrison and Robinson 1997). It particularly helps to visualise the vacuum of information and communication, which placed individual staff working on *sh[OUT]* at a significant psychological distance from their colleagues. These distances contract and expand depending on the quality of the psychological contract within those relationships, impacting on trust, because psychological contracts represent how both parties in the same employment relationship can perceive things differently (Rousseau and Wade-Benzoni 1994, quoted in Chapman n.d.).

Rousseau defines the psychological contract as “[encompassing] the actions employees believe are expected of them and what response they expect in return from the employer” (Rousseau and Greller 1994, pp.385-401). However, Wellin reframes the psychological contract as the “personal deal” (2007, p.3) whereby he aims to focus more on the actual relationships between people (or staff groups) rather than with the artificial construct of the organisation. This latter conception is why, in Wellin’s view, the psychological contract has had limited practical value to date. Within the frame of relational practice, I believe the notion of the personal deal is particularly relevant.

Under any conditions an organisation is filled with the emotions expressed by those who work there – commitment, ambition, excitement, envy, passion, concern for

others. Even in those models that refer to the importance of people during change, there is frequently still a disconnect when it comes to understanding the role of emotion in the workplace as a natural, human experience. Instead, emotion is often perceived as negative or destructive behaviour (Kreamer 2011). Theorists like Krantz (2001, p.18), however, embrace even the ‘destructive’ behaviour because, as he observes, “in wishing away the destructive impulses and debilitating conflicts that are elicited by membership in work organisations, important generative forces also get overlooked, since the unconscious is the source of creativity as well as of destructiveness.”

Overall, organisational learning strikes a chord with how museums endeavour to deliver social justice programmes because inequality is complex, non-linear and in constant change (Burnes 2004). The central characteristic is also the human presence, often omitted in discussions of abstract constructs like organisations or museums. If a learning organisation perceives staff as participants, what effect would this have on the psychological contract, or our understanding of the role of emotions in shaping our work? The exploratory study clearly demonstrated that conflict is emotional with the potential for deep, long lasting, positive or negative influences, stabilising or destabilising effects (Klarner et al. 2011). Yet both Argyris (1990) and Senge (1990), like Krantz (2001), argue learning occurs through creative tensions and *productive* conflicts, managing the gap between vision and reality. However, organisations are typically poor at examining emotion, focusing instead on more traditionally logical, rational and structural processes, limiting learning and change to single-loop models. Further limitations may be experienced in larger organisations because of the number of potentially divergent emotional preferences (Martin et al. 1998).

Bounded emotionality is conceived by Putnam and Mumby (1992, p.474) as “an alternative mode of organising in which nurturance, caring, community, supportiveness, and interrelatedness are fused with individual responsibility to shape organisational experiences”. Echoing critical community practice, Putnam and Mumby propose an organisation should exhibit flexible, heterarchical goals and values as normal and acceptable (Meyerson 1998), so it would “alternate unpredictability in a coordinated arrangement” (Putnam and Mumby 1992, pp.474-

475) rather than, for example, prescribing specific outcomes. The Collins English Dictionary (2016) defines heterarchy²⁸ as a formal structure of connected nodes without any single, permanent, uppermost node. I find this particularly interesting as a framework that reflects Senge's systems approach and challenges traditional hierarchies where people are ranked according to importance or their ability to control. Putnam and Mumby describe hierarchical structures as forms of patriarchal, bounded rationality – limitations on decision making and leading (Simon 1956; Manktelow 2000) – that reinforce traditional organisational thinking:

Within a system governed by bounded rationality... hierarchical goals and values function in a linear and fixed way to provide a constant set of organisational outcomes that are not easy to change. When organising is framed in terms of bounded emotionality, heterarchical goals and values are flexible and they alternate unpredictability in a coordinated arrangement. (Putnam and Mumby 1992, p.475)

Bounded Rationality	Bounded Emotionality
Organisational limitations, conforming to single view	Awareness of intersubjective limitations and multiple responses
Reduction of ambiguity through satisficing – decisions that will satisfy and suffice	Tolerance of ambiguity – ability to withstand uncertainty and contradictory feelings
Hierarchy-means-end-chain and control	Heterarchy of goals and values that are flexible
Mind-body dualism, emotions kept separate	Integrated self-identity – authentic self-expression
Fragmented labour	Community generation
Gendered and occupational focus	Relational focus

Table 1 – A comparison of bounded rationality and bounded emotionality.

²⁸ Heterarchy is not found in the Oxford English Dictionary.

Table 1 compares the two approaches. Whilst presented as ‘oppositional’, Putnam and Mumby recognise that “organisations do not need to sacrifice or lose sight of technical efficiencies” (1992 p.479). Considered with Senge’s system disciplines (1990, p.5), these two theories provide significant scope for alternative structures to support organisational learning aligned with values of social justice.

As a counterpoint, Krantz (2001, p.17) warns against what he refers to as “the new, utopian conceptions of organisational life” that are, as he views them, “built around utopian and unrealistic images of humanity”. Citing Charles Handy (1996) who describes the learning organisation as “built upon an assumption of competence that is supported by four qualities: curiosity, forgiveness, trust and togetherness”, Krantz presents a psychodynamic framework of contrasting human characteristics and emotional behaviour that can occur during change (2001, p.17):

- Projection – seeing in others what we don’t like in ourselves,
- Denial – pretence that things are not as they really are,
- Reaction formation – dealing with an unacceptable impulse by expressing its opposite,
- Defensive Splitting – in one’s mind defining who is good and who is bad,
- Projecting – the good onto self and the bad onto other (attribution errors).

These characteristics are harder to own. In order to recognise and value the human within the workplace (Smith 2001), we also need significant and critical self-awareness – critical consciousness – to navigate new ethical terrain without inadvertently closing down or defaulting to negative behaviour patterns or objectification of others.

Finally, in recognition of the underlying theme of complexity, I return to the view that change cannot easily be described by simple models, or in linear or logical progression, because of a number of factors that can be summarised as follows:

- The paradox of emotion, as discussed above (Krantz 2001),
- The size and scale of the organisation,
- Multiple and non-linear interactions between people,
- Multiple reactions of staff,
- The range of external influences (acting/reacting with the organisation).

If we examine change as a complex system, viewing the organisation as a network connected by both positive and negative factors (Krantz 2001, Lewin 1951 and Senge 1990) with an increasing number of variables and interrelations, it seems that a meaningful answer becomes ever more distant. Plesk and Greenhalgh (2001) accept there may be issues we may never be able to understand and manage due to the complexity of ever-present paradoxes and unpredictability of forces. They claim that the traditional approach of trying to break the problem down into manageable change models and using these to try to solve the issue is fatally flawed.

At this point, the term ‘edge of chaos’ may seem appropriate. Indeed, it has become a widely used metaphor in both science and management to describe the point between order and an area of randomness, or chaos (Stacey et al. 2002). In the context of organisational change, it is the point where an organisation moves away from equilibrium but stops short of chaos (Brown and Eisenhardt 1997). In Lewin’s terminology it would remain constantly unfrozen. It produces volatile and uncertain environments that require a much more fluid management theory. Figure 4 shows the edge of chaos as the ‘bifurcation zone’²⁹ (Van de Ven and Poole 1995), the period where the change is in chaos and enters a critical stage of evolution, when even small alterations can have large and dramatic impacts on the direction of the change. From the bifurcation zone two realities can emerge. One where the change has not been successful (path 1), where there is an initial improvement, perhaps through short-term problem solving, but eventually the organisation or change process declines unless it can change and adapt again – a version of single-loop learning. The other reality (path 2) is where the organisation declines after the change, however this is only whilst new principles and behaviours are established (refreezing), ultimately leading to more progressive change – a form of double-loop learning in action.

Whilst none of the models specifically recommend a period of chaotic instability, if we accept complexity within our endeavours then perhaps recognising it (to some degree) as an inevitable part of change can support our journey to more fundamental, double-loop learning changes.

²⁹ The bifurcation zone is the dividing point into two separate paths.

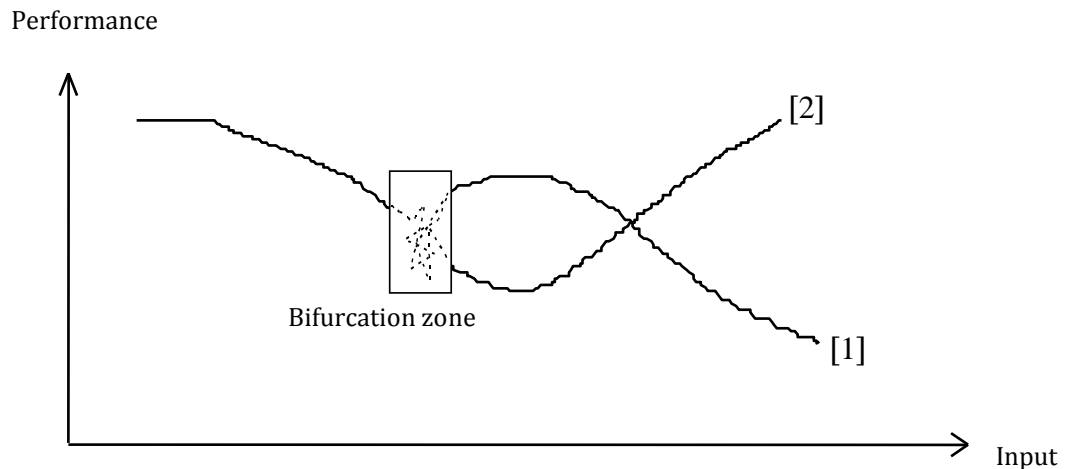


Figure 4 – The bifurcation zone and the ‘edge of chaos’.

3.3.1 Concluding thoughts

The literature review on organisational change and learning highlights significant factors for my research. In particular, the recognition of complexity; the psychological dynamic of relationships, between staff members but also between individuals and the organisation itself; and a foregrounding of human emotions that are ever-present, but which are often overlooked, under-estimated, or under-valued. The models that support a rethinking of underlying assumptions, values and structures to support change, such as bounded emotionality, systems thinking and double-loop learning influenced my preparation of a methodology for the fieldwork.

Putnam and Mumby’s bounded emotionality (1992) struck a chord with its mirroring of social justice practice and community methodology, by which I mean a ‘participants’-based dialogical model. I am interested to explore this within an organisational structure whilst heeding Krantz’s warnings about utopian ideals and the darker side of emotions (2001). However, both sets of theorists suggest there is potential for creative solutions. In looking toward potential case studies, the literature review on organisational change and learning led me to consider examples that offer difference in organisational scale within the wider research.

We are all keenly aware of the rapid changes in the post-industrial economy. Fuelled by technological advances and the boom of the late 20th century, these changes have

been followed in more recent times by the banking crisis of 2008, global recession and resulting austerity, the increasing concern for climate change, massive social and political upheaval, and changes to equality legislation. What was surprising in the literature review, therefore, was the absence of the term 'ethics'. In recent times, this is a word increasingly used day-to-day in many aspects of our lives. Perhaps it has become a symbol for a time of rapidly changing values, particularly in Western countries fuelled by technology and social media (Weinstein 2010), which, metaphorically speaking, are ever more difficult to keep a foothold with, in an increasingly uncertain and shifting landscape.

The other missing factors from the organisational change and learning review are the specific conditions under which the organisation functions, the cultures staff inhabit and whether there is the environment for all staff to contribute in a collective endeavour. "The notion of speaking up for oneself and the possibility of being heard by others is complicated and bound up with power inequalities" (Mason et al. 2013, p.164) and so literature on trust in the workplace is reviewed in the next section.

3.4 Trust

The purpose of this section is two-fold: to review the literature on trust, with an emphasis on how it plays out within a workplace context; and to define the markers for trust that will act as the criteria for understanding what I observe in the field. Whilst the literature reviews have focused on organisational change and learning alongside the concept and practice of social justice in museums, eliciting many crossover areas in terms of human values, few have referenced the concept of trust. In texts exploring psychology, motivation and moral imperatives, trust is also frequently absent. The area that has come closest in terms of the implication of trust has been the psychological contract. It became a central area of interest for me following the exploratory study based in Glasgow, in which trust was strongly indicated as a personal and professional motivation for social justice practitioners (Hollows 2013).

Despite the lower number of texts in relation to trust compared to organisational change and learning, scholarship on trust has been steadily increasing over the past 20 years (Hardin 2006). During this same period, sociologists have documented a

substantial decline of societal trust (Halpern 2009), giving rise to publications such as *The Tipping Point* (Gladwell 2000), *The Spirit Level* (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010), *Bowling Alone* (Putnum 2000) and *The Hidden Wealth of Nations* (Halpern 2009). I have noted in earlier chapters that this time period also fostered significant developments in museum practice with regard to socially purposeful work, mirroring greater socio-political interest in understanding the patterns and effects of social interactions.

One of the central areas of interest in my research study is to question how staff are understood as a community and if this is reflected in the alignment of organisational values both internally and externally. Whether reviewing trust as written specifically within a workplace context, or in terms of broader society, I have not found clear references to people within the construct of an organisation being simultaneously conceived as both internal and external actors. What can models of trust offer in terms of understanding how trust is conceived and what are its central characteristics? What are the implications for individuals, groups and the workplace context and how does trust function across organisational (hierarchical, vertical) structures as well as flatter networks?

3.4.1 Defining trust

In earlier iterations of my research proposal I defined trust as the belief that actions will be in the best interest of others. After further exploration of the literature, several scholars posit the notion of vulnerability as critical to the concept of trust (Jones and George 1998; Luhmann 1988); that is, vulnerability shown by the ‘truster’ to the actions of another party, the ‘trustee’ – the party in whom trust is placed – and that “trust has to be placed without guarantees” (O’Neill, O. 2002, p.6). What is also significant in such definitions is the reference that such positive expectations exist irrespective of the ability to monitor or control the other party (Mayer et al. 1995, p.712; Rousseau et al. 1998, p.395).

For the purpose of my research I have adopted the definition of trust defined by Rousseau et al. (1998) as it fully encompasses all these ideas. They define trust as “a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based on positive

expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party” (ibid., p.395). Rousseau is also associated with the development of the psychological contract, and although both concepts inhabit similar aspects of the socio-psychological nature of human relationships, such as perceptions, they are not the same (Simons 2002). However, the psychological contract may offer a useful framework to map trust – and trustworthiness (Hardin 2006) – within and across organisations in the field. Katherine Hawley (2012, p.98) states “rich interpersonal trust is bound up with commitment. Trusting people involves relying upon them to meet their commitments” and that equally, in terms of ourselves, “trustworthiness involves matching our actions to our commitments” (ibid.). As the psychological contract is characterised by its potential to expand and contract through vicious or virtuous circles, it offers a useful mechanism to visualise the levels of trust (in others) and trustworthiness (of others and self).

From Rousseau’s definition we can unpack types of trust, with a particular emphasis on the workplace context, and the potential markers for mapping them in the field.

3.4.2 Types of trust

Scholarly writing on trust reveals a number of ways it can be conceived, that is to say it is not a uni-dimensional concept (McAllister 1995). Scholars largely express dual aspect trust concepts, often with consistent and overlapping characteristics. The main examples are cognitive- and affect-based trust (Aryee et al. 2002; Dirks and Skarlicki 2007; McAllister 1995; Whitener et al. 1998); and calculational and non-calculational trust (Darley 2007).

In the dual cognitive /affect concept, cognitive-based trust generally refers to the perception by one party of the other party’s capability (for example, to do the job), their reliability and dependability. Do they turn up on time? Do they deliver what they say they are going to? In the exploratory study, the perception of Glasgow Life reneging on its commitments to LGBTI communities by withdrawing elements of the programme is an example where levels of trust (and in this case, distrust) and responses are made on a cognitive basis, that is, what those individuals know and whether they identify someone as being trustworthy (Hardin 2006). On the other hand,

affect-based trust refers to the nature of the interpersonal relationship between the two parties, how far they demonstrate mutual care and benevolence to one another (Aryee et al. 2002). Again, using the exploratory study as an example, affect-based trust was felt most strongly between individuals working with a relational practice prioritising their community partners.

The second dual concept of calculational/non-calculational trust can be seen as echoing these traits, but the language used conceives trust as having consequences in the calculational dimension (Darley 2007). Consequences relating to calculational trust can be rather coldly described as counting on the other party because there is the understanding of negative sanctions if they do not fulfil the other's trust (for example, in an organisational context, the potential for disciplinary action). The notion of consequences suggests the potential for coercive or possibly threatening behaviour. Conversely, non-calculational trust again refers to the relational nature between the parties in which each party has the other's best interests at heart, without recourse to reward or punishment (ibid.).

Sheppard and Tuchinsky (1996) outline a more nuanced three-stage model of trust, progressing from deterrence- to knowledge- to identification-based trust, which is further detailed by Lewicki and Bunker (1996). In Sheppard and Tuchinsky's 3-stage model, deterrence-based trust aligns with Darley's calculational trust which he defines as the "common first stage of trust [which] is possible when there are negative sanctions for failing to act in a trustworthy fashion and the other party will not risk being penalised by those sanctions" (2007, p.139). At the other end of their model, Sheppard and Tuchinsky's identification-based trust (1996) aligns with non-calculational trust. It defines the position at which both parties empathise with each other to the point that, as Darley (2007, p.139) says, "the other identifies with my goals. If this kind of relationship has been established, one can allow the other to act as one's agent, knowing that the decisions made are ones we would make for ourselves." As such, there is an implied alignment of values or goals that was perceived as missing from the exploratory study in Glasgow (Simons 2002).

However, before reaching this non-calculational equivalent, Sheppard and Tuchinsky (1996) also identify an intermediate stage referred to as knowledge-based trust. Knowledge-based trust evolves after a number of positive experiences demonstrating the other party's trustworthy behaviour (the deterrence stage), enabling a growing understanding of the other party's perspective to the point that this knowledge enables the prediction of likely behaviour by the other person. The addition of this intermediate stage suggests time is an important factor in the development of trust. Early interactions between parties do not provide sufficient opportunity to gain adequate knowledge of each other's perspectives to anticipate (trustworthy) behaviour. Therefore, early interactions are likely to be based on the "common first stage" (Darley 2007, p.139) of calculational or cognitive-based trust.

How, then, does trust progress to the more advanced, relational stage? Experiencing repeated interactions over time allows knowledge and understanding of each other to accumulate and be assessed (Lewicki and Bunker 1996; Hardin 2006). Whether this enables one to transfer to the non-calculational or affect-based trust, or recognise arrival at an intermediary stage on the way, or even a retrenchment of trust levels between agents, these interpersonal interactions are under constant psychological assessment. To describe the activity of this assessment, Kramer (1996) offers the concept of the intuitive auditor to express how we each 'keep score' of trustworthy or untrustworthy interactions. For example, while knowledge-based trust is developing, the task of the intuitive auditor moves on from monitoring outcomes associated with the early deterrence stage to search instead for the underlying disposition of the other person (Darley 2007), which usefully connects with values and their role in trust development.

Kramer's intuitive auditor echoes the process that occurs within the psychological contract, which is characterised by its potential to expand and contract through vicious or virtuous circles. "Judgments about others' trustworthiness (or lack of it) are largely history-dependent processes" (Kramer 1996, p.218). As seen in the exploratory study, "trust thickens or thins as a function of the cumulative history of interaction between interdependent parties" (ibid.). It is therefore possible to see how one may progress across what I describe as a 'trust arc' (see Figure 5) from calculational to non-

calculational, or across Sheppard and Tuchinsky's 3-stage model (1996), which is how I conceptualise these scholars' contributions to trust as a progression. In doing so, Kramer's intuitive auditor will make assessments that may advance (thicken) or reverse (thin) this progress depending on the auditor's assessments.

In terms of the workplace, how do these trust concepts transpose into an organisational setting that is often defined by contractual agreements and financial incentives, yet is also inhabited by a network of psychological contracts across individual and team relationships?

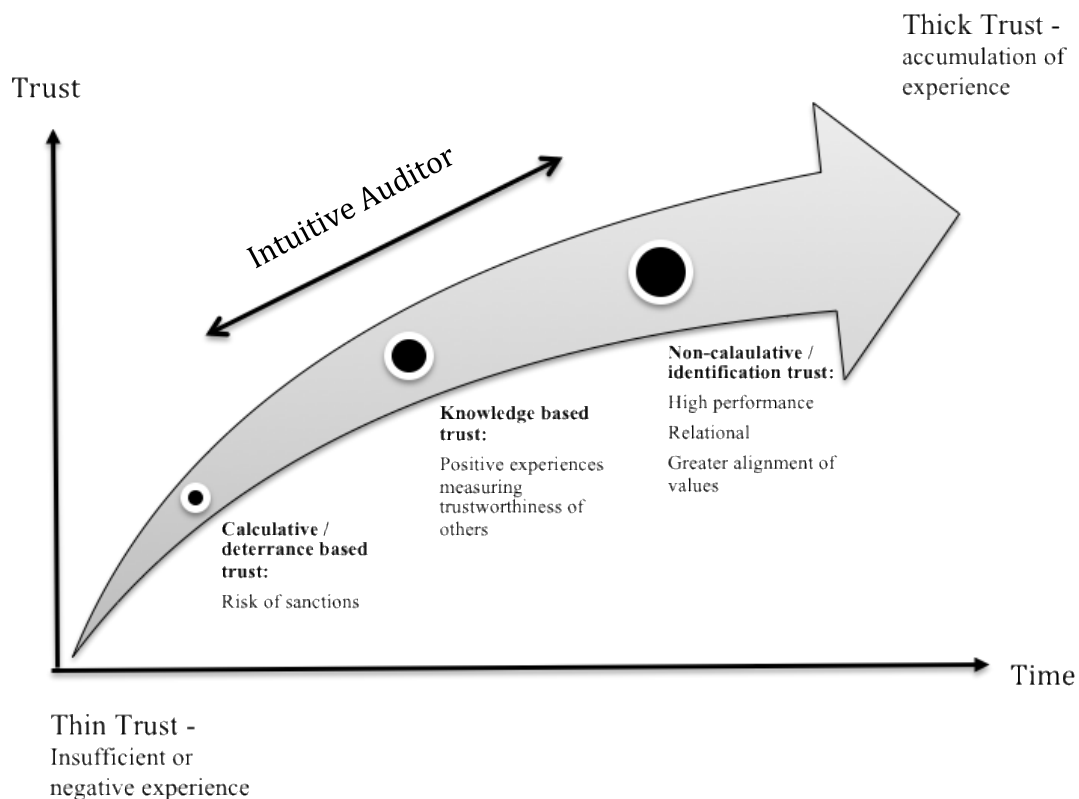


Figure 5 – The trust arc: the impact on trust as a perception of others.

Covey (2006) also references characteristics that can be placed within calculational and non-calculational trust dimensions. He positions trust as the single most important element that impacts on us all, in our personal relationships and in business (ibid.). He describes trust as a possibility, the most underestimated of our time, the “hidden

variable” for success; yet conceives it as a tangible asset, a key leadership competency (Covey 2006, pp.1-2, 20) and as confidence (ibid. 2006, p.5). It is in a business context that he tests his theory, utilising an economic, asset based framework to explore how trust can pay ‘dividends’, essentially to grow business, or act detrimentally as a ‘tax’. Low trust “breeds suspicion and cynicism, which become self-perpetuating, resulting in a costly, downward cycle” (ibid. 2006, p.10) mirroring the negative (vicious) cycle on the type of systems map expressed by Senge (1990) and the experience of those involved in the exploratory study.

Both concepts of trust – as the competency described by Covey and as the constantly reassessed arc outlined in Figure 5 – have relevance for my thesis because, through them both, we can understand and articulate the role of trust in relational practice and as a key organisational requirement to be actively sought and nurtured. Trust is therefore not something that should be taken for granted or thought of as a ‘soft’ management approach, risking its dismissal. Whilst I would not want to adopt Covey’s financial references to trust, his view that the main principle of establishing organisational trust is *alignment* is pertinent to the development of this thesis. That is, “ensuring all structures and systems within the organisation are in harmony” with the characteristics of trust, in order to build trust with internal stakeholders (Covey 2006, p.283). I believe there is application here to my proposition that museums risk considering communities as only ‘out there’ causing a *lack* of alignment. Understanding how and why trust exists within workplace contexts, and specifically the museum workplaces will be a critical research aspect of the fieldwork.

3.4.3 Trust in a workplace context

The growing awareness of the value, impact and complexity of interpersonal connections amongst the people that make up organisations would render it naïve to consider organisations as an impersonal grouping of neatly defined exchange contracts supported by fixed processes and structures. The reality is that organisations can also be perceived through the trust arc, with contracts, for example, situated towards the calculational, thinner end (Kramer 1996). In line with the growing emphasis on bringing human values – values relating to, or affecting, people, caring

for others – to the workplace (Senge, 1990), there is a greater understanding developing around wider social exchanges and the role of trust in the workplace.

We develop organisations from an interdependent network of human beings, yet the nature of work has been changing (with a greater emphasis on service and knowledge industries), as has the world in which we live and operate. It is therefore not possible to live by fixed or simple terms. Neither is it possible to allow for, or predict, every potential incident, scenario or permutation within a written contract (Parkhe 1998). Thus, “contracts and trust can and do substitute for one another” (Murnighan et al. 2007, p.298) and so it is necessary and beneficial to actively cultivate trust within an organisation. However, tension in the workplace builds from the dichotomy of a situation where it is hard to establish trust if people are bound by a contract (Shapiro et al. 1992; Sitkin and Roth 1993; Lewicki et al. 1998) and equally hard if terms are not in writing (Nye 1998).

Contracts may therefore act as a form of calculational trust, but how does non-calculational trust exist in organisational cultures? Clearly, it is the nature of human beings to form interpersonal relationships with other human beings, to varying degrees, in any given situation. Organisations, as groupings of human beings, are therefore not exempt. Furthermore, research suggests that organisations, where there is greater evidence of non-calculational trust, are “disproportionately high-functioning” (Darley 2007, p.137; Covey 2006). The area of relational practice at the other end of the trust arc is therefore highly significant and beneficial to both individuals and the organisation as a whole.

Covey proposes specific personal traits (deposits) required for building overall trust, which are cross-referenced with the cognitive/calculational and affect/non-calculational trust concepts in Tables 2 and 3. Covey groups these personal traits under four key headings – Integrity, Intent, Capabilities and Results. He describes them as the four cores of credibility, “the foundational elements that make you

COMPETENCE (builds quickly) <i>Aligns with cognitive-based and calculational trust</i>	
Capabilities	
<u>Deposits:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can do the job (situational – depends on task) • Knows own strengths, plays to them • Looks to update/improve skills • Positive attitude to people and situations • Has clear vision, works towards it 	<u>Withdrawals:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unaware of strengths • Complacent – skills get out-dated • Blaming, victim, at effect not cause • Drifts; expects others to set vision
Results	
<u>Deposits:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good track record • Results that people recognise and value • Finishes what they start • Shows they expect success – for self and others 	<u>Withdrawals:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patchy or non-existent success • Results invisible – or only matter to them • Starts things, but doesn't complete • Unconfident of success – for self and others

Table 2 – ‘Building the Trust Bank’ through competence (T -Three Group 2014).

<p align="center">CHARACTER (takes time to build up, destroyed quickly) <i>Aligns with affect-based and non-calculational trust</i></p>	
Integrity	
<p><u>Deposits:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comes from the right place • Open and honest • Congruent: walks their talk • Clear, lived values • Courage to do/say the right thing 	<p><u>Withdrawals:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Closed, own hidden agenda, vague • Says one things, does another • Unpredictable, blows with the wind • Silent in meetings, undermines decision afterwards
Intent	
<p><u>Deposits:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cares about my well being • Cares about me • Acknowledges my needs • Goes for mutual benefit • Shows loyalty 	<p><u>Withdrawals:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wants to win (at my expense) • Focuses only on their agenda • Insists on being right • Blames or bad mouths people

Table 3 – ‘Building the Trust Bank’ through character (T -Three Group 2014).

believable, both to yourself and others” (2006, p.54), in essence, what makes you trustworthy. Covey also offers ‘negative’ behaviours (withdrawals) that will ‘thin’ trust when detected by Kramer’s intuitive auditor (1996). The four cores of credibility are also applicable to the consideration of organisational trust and the question of alignment of values. Covey, in discussing how to effect organisational change through trust, revisits the four cores from the organisational perspective. I present his review of organisational symbols of trust in Table 4 and correlate these traits with characteristics of critical community practice.

Capabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do we have the means to deliver value? • Do we attract and retain the Talents, Attitudes, Skills, Knowledge, and Style for today's market? • Do we have the right people in the right seats on the right bus? • Are we continuously improving and innovating? • Do we reinvent ourselves, if needed? 	Correlation with critical community practice: Organisational and societal learning. Reflection to improve, guide learning and future action.
Results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do we deliver what we promise? • Can people rely on us to create value and fulfil commitments? • Do we have a track record that promotes confidence? • Do clients recommend us to others? 	Correlation with critical community practice: The development of individual and organisational capacity.
Integrity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do we know what we stand for? • Do our structures, systems reflect a basic paradigm of respect and trust? • Do we have a culture of honesty? Of humility? • Do we listen to one another's ideas? • Can we make and admit mistakes? • Do we have the courage to engage the tough issues? • Do our systems and structure encourage ethical behaviour? 	Correlation with critical community practice: Democratic decision-making. Self-awareness of one's own beliefs and life position. Emotional intelligence. Courage and innovation to 'go beyond the norm'.
Intent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do we have a culture of caring? – for one another, our work, our customers? • Do we genuinely want everyone to do well? • Does the system encourage people to share ideas and information freely – or does it encourage people to withhold? 	Correlation with critical community practice: Adopting learning as a 'whole mentality'. Ability to consider other life positions and perspectives.

Table 4 – Covey's review of organisational trust symbols correlated with characteristics of critical community practice.

These lists and their correlation with critical community practice identify markers of trust for my fieldwork. In terms of leadership and the hierarchical structures that characterise organisations, the elements in Covey's model are important because of the vulnerability of the employee in an asymmetrical relationship (Mayer et al. 1995). Just as the different staff groups in the exploratory study experienced, both parties in a relationship will scrutinise the other's character attributes such as: integrity, fairness, whether the other follows through on commitments; as a means to situate their position of trust. The emphasis on scrutiny of the other will lie more strongly with the person who sees themselves in a position of weakness, or as having more to lose in the relationship (Berscheid et al. 1976, p.34). Scrutiny and monitoring are more closely associated with the calculational end of the trust arc (Dirks and Skarlicki 2007). Leaders are therefore often subject to higher levels of scrutiny due to the perceived or actual asymmetry of the relationship with employees elsewhere in the structure (Dirks and Ferrin 2001; Hogan et al. 1994; Whitener et al. 1998). Therefore, I am interested to observe what contrasting approaches there are to leadership and organisational learning in the fieldwork case studies, particularly approaches that support internal trust relationships *among* staff, working with and across power relations and hierarchy.

It is possible for non-calculational trust relationships to develop in an organisational setting where knowledge has developed sufficiently and positively enough for there to exist an understanding of each other's perceptions and a mutual demonstration of care and concern for one other (Konovsky and Pugh 1994; Whitener et al. 1998; Blau 1964). In this scenario both parties increase their vulnerability and are willing to engage in higher risk activity with each other (Mayer et al. 1995). For example, an employee may share personal information, a leader may back the employee in a challenging situation; so there is reciprocity within what is essentially an asymmetrical relationship, in that it remains imbalanced in terms of power – structurally at least – but becomes reciprocal in terms of the interpersonal relationship.

I suggest this is a similar scenario to the relationships that feature within social justice practice: that interpersonal relationships are brokered with individuals that may reach the non-calculational level of trust yet still retain asymmetry in terms of the power,

dependence, structures and culture associated with the organisation the practitioner represents (Cook 1987). As Darley (2007, p.146) observes: “there are moral issues that need to be faced, ethical questions that arise when a powerful entity encourages those less powerful to enter a relationship of non-calculational trust with it, without making a symmetrical commitment in return.” Is this the boundary limit for social justice practice with a museum organisation? What are the limits of these relationships and the relational practice of social justice work, where practitioners who demonstrate caring and empathy by using “behaviours that ameliorate the power and status differences inherent in the ... relationship engendered more trust” (Cook et al. 2007, p.70)?

It is important to note distinctions in levels of leadership, for example between an employee’s immediate supervisor, their supervisor’s manager, senior management, directors and, potentially within public bureaucracies, politicians. Similarly, these differences will apply to the levels of (and distances between) relationships in social justice practice. They will be positioned at different points on the trust arc because they all operate with a different set of referents depending on the nature of the relationship, the ratio of vulnerability and risk, and the structural distance from the employee or practitioner. Dirks and Skarlicki (2007, p.31) offer a distinction, stating that “trust in supervisor impacts individual performance and trust in senior management harnesses those efforts toward achieving organisational goals”, but is this a bit simplistic? What if there are competing organisational goals and/or competing spheres of influence? Isn’t control of these determined by the hierarchy, in terms of what takes precedence? Differences and distances in structural position can help to illustrate how the double bind scenario, as articulated by Banks et al. (2013) and described in the exploratory study, can occur.

Many scholars highlight the negative impact for those in management and supervisory roles when this double bind scenario occurs (Darley 2007; Bies and Tripp 1996, Argyris and Schön 1996) or as Dirks and Skarlicki call it, a “trust dilemma” (2007, p.34). In leadership roles, particularly, there is an inherent risk of finding oneself in the position of being required to support the broader organisation’s aims that may be in direct conflict with the desire to support the individual’s goals, in essence a conflict

of a calculational supervisor-organisational relationship with a non-calculational employee-supervisor relationship. There will be times when leaders encounter dilemmas that require them to “simultaneously *meet* the expectations of one party and *violate* the expectations of another” (ibid., emphasis original). It can become more complicated; in trying to manage the perceptions of diverse constituencies, such as various groups of employees, senior managers, customers and stakeholders, leaders may represent themselves in inconsistent ways (Simons 2002). Trust dilemmas further endorse the findings of the exploratory study and also the questions raised by Banks et al. (2013) in terms of the challenges in managing critical community practice and the double bind scenario.

Again, consideration to the specifics of the situation faced by the leader is central to the reading of his or her behaviour by the employee. Gilbert and Malone (1995) describe how individuals typically discount the extent to which situational factors are the cause of individual behaviour compared to dispositional factors (Dirks and Skarlicki 2007); that employees may over-attribute actions taken by the leader to her or his level of trustworthiness rather than the specifics of the dilemma they face (ibid.) and I would argue this was the case in Glasgow. In terms of the level of scrutiny leaders face, or that we focus on one another in our assessment of an individual’s trustworthiness, we tend to place more importance on negative information than positive (Skowronski and Carlston 1989). Similarly, we place a greater importance on our own actions than those of another party (Taylor and Brown 1988 in Murnighan et al. 2007) (Ross and Sicoly 1979). Finally, individual personality traits will also impact on assessments of a situation or another’s trustworthiness (Kramer 1994).

In contrast to a hierarchical view of organisational structures and the impact on trust in the workplace, what happens *across* structures and teams? Are there alternatives to hierarchies we can review, such as networks and heterarchies of co-workers? In essence, trust in the workplace should be contextualised by the “network structure... surrounding trust formation” (McEvily and Zaheer 2007, p.208) and this will be explored further within the case studies in terms of understanding their wider organisational super-structures. Networks of staff also have implications for geographically distributed co-workers as opposed to staff being co-located. In both

case study organisations, there are instances of distributed co-workers. Relationships, and therefore the means and capacity to build trust, will take different routes as distributed co-workers will have:

...more opportunities for miscommunications and misinterpretations. They also have less opportunity to talk through issues, gain clarification, and resolve misunderstandings. Thus, distributed co-workers may be called upon more frequently to give their co-workers 'the benefit of the doubt'.

(Zolin and Hinds 2007, p.219).

3.4.4 Trust and the psychological contract

Psychologically then, there is a great deal to consider in terms of how trust is developed, expanded and at other times retracted or broken. Even those managers who understand well the behaviours that contribute to trust are unable to explain why their employees do not perceive them in that light. Dirks and Skarlicki (2007, p.36) suggest, "Creating trust requires more than just engaging in the behaviours – it also requires managing the follower's perceptions." Their observation returns me to the psychological contract, which I argue is missing from Covey's work and is why I have found Jacobs' trust model useful to review (see Figure 6).

Jacobs (2013) draws heavily on existing research including Covey, mental health studies, the field of human resources and her own practical business experience to establish a model that summarises the trust drivers that will impact on an individual's potential response to change. Figure 6 shows how Jacobs connects these drivers to distinct behavior patterns and related performance outcomes depending on the employee's psychological response to a new situation. If the trust drivers are functioning, the employee inhabits a safe, trusted environment and their response is shown as forming a virtuous cycle of positive performance, adaptability and resilience. Conversely, if an employee does not identify with the trust drivers, they will perceive change as a threat. Their response is therefore based on fear, triggering a series of negative behaviours and creating a vicious cycle of poor performance.

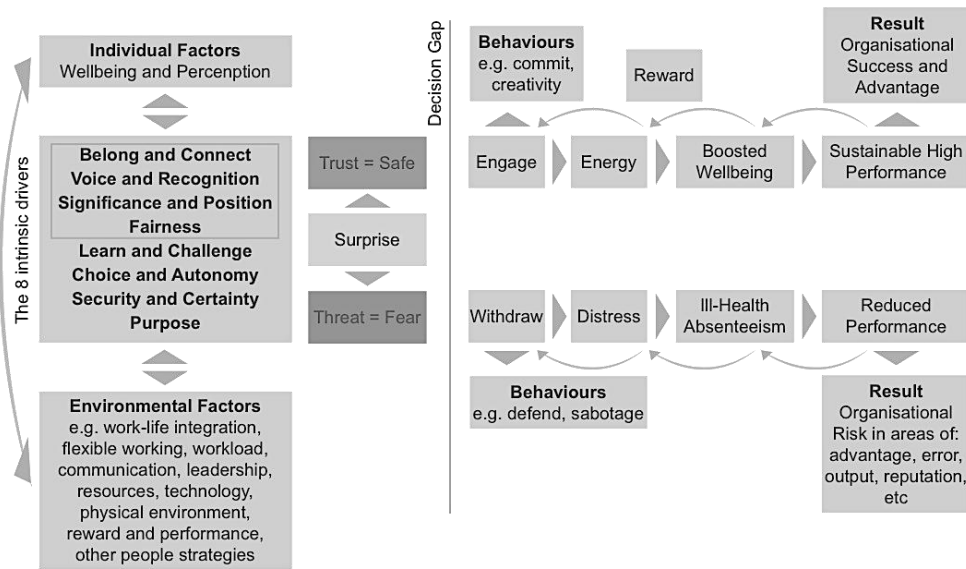


Figure 6 – Jacobs Model (copyright Suzanne Jacobs).

What Jacobs' model offers is an indicator of impact when an unexpected event occurs. It might equally be an indicator of staff resilience, revealed by which cycle of behaviours is triggered, that is, the trust or threat behaviours. These behaviours and impacts are a result of the wider organisation's alignment of values and trust drivers. Reminiscent of complexity discussed in the previous section, we should therefore understand these drivers and everyone's role within the organisation as impacting on each other simultaneously, acting as a network, a system, where everyone's actions impact on the behaviours and lived experience for everyone else. Jacobs' eight drivers in Figure 6 (2013) correlate with Covey's four cores of credibility (2006, p.43), suggesting a way that I can consider the crossover between the personal, professional and organisational levels of trust in the fieldwork that were so central to the experience of practitioners in the exploratory study.

Jacobs' model (2013) also references the external 'life' of individuals, considering the impact of individual and environmental factors on behaviour and perceptions of new scenarios. Thus we can also consider personal agency. Gardner et al. (2001, p.12) state that:

All human beings endeavour to understand what is happening around us, to make sense of our experiences. All human beings also have the capacity to frame experiences in certain ways – to construe them in a way that either motivates or paralyses action. And most crucially, all human beings are able to choose from a range of actions.

As such, Gardner et al. (ibid.) describe the personal agency people have and the positive or negative choices we make to act that reference Jacobs' model and the virtuous/vicious circles influencing behaviour and perceptions. However, in terms of personal agency, Onora O'Neill (2002, pp.28-29) questions the lack of guidance on how to be an active citizen in the realm of rights, moral responsibilities and trust, that as people we are more likely to "think about all the things that people should do for us, than... think about what we should do for them." For me, this raises questions of personal responsibility, activism, and a requirement to consider trust as something more 'active' than simply something that we know exists, positively or negatively.

Reviewing concepts of trust offers a great deal of scope to consider its implications for social justice practice in museums. Having already described social justice work as a relational-based practice – an approach that foregrounds human interrelationships – it seems appropriate that I now suggest this practice works with a strong element of non-calculational trust, whilst often functioning within organisations that will also operate at the calculational end of the trust arc. Or, it may be more accurate to posit that social justice practice inhabits an area of tension between these two ends of the arc and consider knowledge-based trust from the 3-stage process (Sheppard and Tuchinsky 1996) as a more realistic position for organisations working to social justice. There is no doubt that the identity-based (non-calculational) trust occurs within groups and between participants and practitioners. Therefore, what are the implications for practitioners, described as street-level bureaucrats by Lipsky (1980), within their organisational role? Does their contract of employment with the organisation negate or temper their ability to reach identity-based trust? Will their work inevitably be impacted by it always being 'on terms' due to the ultimately asymmetric nature of the relationship of the organisational culture? Such concerns are echoed by Williamson (1993, p.486) who says:

In the degree to which the relevant institutional features are exogenous institutional trust has the appearance of being non-calculative. In fact, however, transactions are always organised [governed] with reference to the institutional context [environment] of which they are a part. Calculativeness thus always reappears.

The exploratory study in Glasgow exemplifies this in practice, revealing as it does the positive Intent and Integrity – two of Covey’s non-calculative trust characteristics – behind the social justice programme’s development. However, once the media began its campaign of complaints the actions taken in response were negatively perceived, moving the trust arc back to the calculational, thinner end of the arc, based on the assessment of the organisation’s ‘Results’ and how it was seen to be living its values in action. Micro-managing complex institutions from the centre (O’Neill, M. 2002) will not support a strong system or society as it creates controlling governance mechanisms in which the wider populace are rendered passive and, in one sense, ‘required’ to trust. It generates negative perceptions of ‘the system’ and doesn’t support a broader, generative role of people in building trust across ‘a’ system.

3.4.5 Concluding thoughts

Through the literature review on trust I have identified the connection of vulnerability to trust, adopting the definition proposed by Rousseau et al. (1998). In addition, I explored types of trust in action, between individuals and within interpersonal networks of people such as organisations. The main trust types that dominated the discussion were affective and cognitive, and calculational and non-calculational. Both types can be viewed as applicable in understanding social justice practice – that potentially practitioners operate with non-calculational trust but at times within organisations that operate to certain calculational behaviour.

The role of behaviour was a central theme and was emphasised in terms of impact following change or crisis as illustrated by Jacobs’ model (2013) through which we could begin to see the interplay of trust and the psychological contract. The issue of the ‘double bind’ was described as a ‘trust dilemma’ and the associated role of

leadership – both in terms of senior positions within the organisational structure as leaders and as trust initiators across the system (Brehm and Gates 2007) – is something that I will go onto research in the field. I am keen for these elements to contribute to the mapping of trust in practice – the drivers and blockers in the system – through the fieldwork data analysis. The questions and activities drafted for use with the case study organisations and their personnel include these main areas of interest: staff and their perceptions of trust; relationships with and across the organisation; symbols of trust (for example through structures, processes and communication); power; changes in trust and perceptions of betrayal; and the role of leadership (see Appendix 1).

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The exploratory study in Glasgow shows how easily behavioural norms can impede organisational learning (Lewin 1946; Argyris 1990) to reveal a lack of alignment between value structures, which in turn inhibits trust. By understanding the system dynamics of relationships between individuals and the organisation (including their social and political spheres of influence) and unpacking the psychology of those relationships, we may open ourselves to the possibility of alternative structures. As Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p.ix) express:

We need to find new ways of connecting persons and their personal troubles with social justice methodologies. We need to become better accomplished in linking these interventions to those institutional sites where troubles are turned into public issues and public issues are turned into social policy.

The purpose of this chapter is to identify and discuss the methodology that forms the process of my research into trust in the museum and how internal and external values are aligned as part of a broader set of organisational processes. My sub-questions explore this possibility more closely through the ethics of relationships and working practices, the emotional and professional investment of staff, the concept of staff as a community and how we conceptualise and map trust.

I will outline the overall theoretical approach, its suitability to address the research questions and how it connects to the learning from the literature review. I will explain the research strategies, design and analysis and my intention for how they may shape the way we understand the topic under investigation. I will also reflect on my position as researcher and detail the ethical considerations for the research process.

4.2 Research overview

In my theoretical framework I am guided at the meta-level by critical theory in the emancipatory tradition (McCotter 2001) to support the principle of social justice underpinning the thesis. The study therefore employs an interpretive approach –

exploring meanings through understanding and explanation – to investigate apparent asymmetric social relations and oppression within hierarchical organisational structures (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, p.167) and the impact on trust and values for staff. Collectively, the exploratory study, the research sub-questions and the subsequent literature reviews identify a number of interconnecting areas of interest that speak to a meta-level of critical theory because they all reference:

- Social justice practice and an emancipatory approach,
- Human values,
- Psychological approaches and multi-perspective situations,
- Reflective practice,
- Challenging dominant organisational cultural ideology,
- Belief in individual and collective agency,
- A potential for alternative structures.

However, critical theory does not lend itself easily to qualitative empirical research (Kincheloe et al. 2011; Morrow 1994) because of the unfolding nature of its enquiry and because deep ‘blockages’ that maintain dominant structures are challenging to recognise, observe and can even be reinforced (Deetz and Kersten 1983). For example, investigation into leadership may emphasise a perception of its hierarchical importance (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009). Empirical research also tends to focus on the ‘actual’ rather than what ‘can be’ (ibid.), potentially closing down alternative possible futures (Johnson 2007), although a combination of practice and goals “are consistent with the public interest in ‘actually existing’ as well as ‘aspiring’ democratic practices” (Banks et al. 2007, p.58). Thus my findings are drawn from data that is both empirical and interpretive.

More specifically, the study draws on the model of critical community practice (see Figure 7) to frame interpretations of the case studies because its characteristics closely connect to organisational learning and bounded emotionality discussed in chapter three. By this I mean critical community practice, as defined by Butcher et al. (2007), views organisations as constantly adapting constructs where people are seen as creative beings, recognising emotional models of behaviour (Mazur 1968), rather than organisations managed for greatest efficiency through set processes. Critical

community practice places an emphasis on potential alternatives structures, institutions, and ‘ways of being’. In particular, the foundational element of the critical community practice model – critical consciousness – closely aligns with my research into trust and values through the psychological and emotional aspects of practice with its concern for the assumptions, dispositions and value commitments of practitioners. As a researcher, I seek to embody the practitioner attributes of critical consciousness defined by Brechin (2000, pp.26-47) which were also echoed through the literature reviews:

- an open minded, reflective and thoughtful approach,
- an ability to tolerate uncertainty,
- a foundation of values and assumptions including a fundamental commitment to social justice,
- a reflective and reflexive practice.

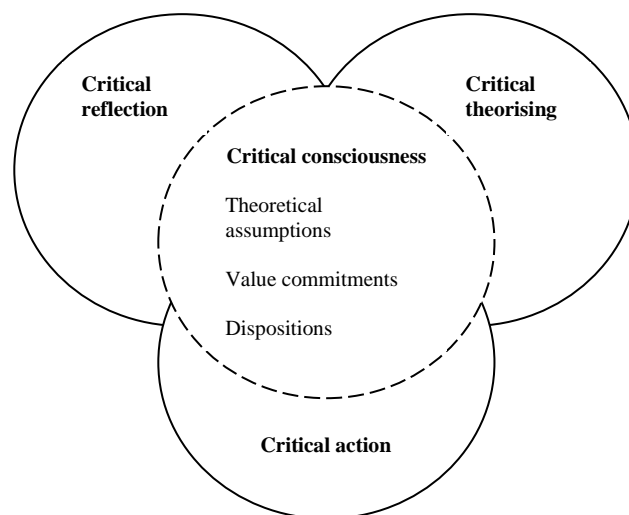


Figure 7 – Community critical practice – a model (Butcher et al. 2007, p. 51).

Critical consciousness has a number of features relevant to this study. It asserts that:

- ‘human’ nature arises as a ‘social’ product;
- people jointly construct culture by taking into account what they observe from others’ behaviour, what people believe others are thinking and feeling;
- jointly formed structures, institutions and associated patterns of relationships are a democratic basis for shared life;

- community is an open system changing and evolving in response to the external environment *as well as internally to the collective actions of its members* (my emphasis);
- democratic decision making and participatory models of democracy are a consequence of the previous four assumptions.

Without these qualities social justice practice, museums, or indeed researchers could be accused of “[treating] some as a means to others’ ends, so diminishing or negating their ‘personhood’ and thus acting oppressively” (Banks et al. 2007, p.56).

Critical theory is not associated with a particular set of methodological practices. Researchers are, therefore, free to draw from other qualitative research strategies (Denzin and Lincoln 2011), even within competing fields of discourse, to go wherever their work takes them, building a trans-disciplinary conversation (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009). The “choice of research practices depends upon the questions that are asked, and the questions depend on their context” (Nelson et al. 1992, quoted in Denzin and Lincoln 2011, p.4). Thus, it resonates with community practice and social justice methodologies in not pre-judging what will unfold in the course of the work, to be responsive and flexible enough to be guided by those that are working with you as participants in that context. I consciously adopted this approach, being keen to avoid assuming an exclusive position of authority, or determinism. Using predominantly qualitative methods, the study takes the form of a reflexive methodology in challenging the perceptions of dominant social norms and power structures (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009), both within the field sites and through my position as researcher.

In drawing on models from critical community practice and organisational learning, my intended methodological approach spans critical theory, ethnographic perspectives and constructivist strategies. Engagement with language is important, as communicative actions are how social institutions and social relations are constructed (Potter and Wetherell 1987). The majority of data was elicited through a combination of qualitative research methods such as interviews, observations, documentary evidence and interpretation of the social context (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009; Holstein and Gubrium 1997). I employed a combination of strategies that draw on

ethnography and grounded theory, the latter supporting me to focus on the potential generation of theory that is literally grounded in the reality of the participants' experiences (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Additionally, I took the quantitative approach of an online survey in seeking to analyse staff values, and perceptions of trust, held by a range of staff groups across the wider museum sector. I also used it to verify the suggested hypothesis from the exploratory study that museums are working in organisational structures that limit the boundaries for social justice practice (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009). This mixed method approach is another way to develop multiple ways of seeing (Greene 2007; Creswell 2011).

Charmaz (2011, p.360) presents a useful checklist in terms of constructivism where she lists its attributes as being:

...particularly useful in social justice inquiry because it (1) rejects claims of objectivity, (2) locates researchers' generalisations, (3) considers researchers' and participants' relative positions and standpoints, (4) emphasises reflexivity, (5) adopts sensitising concepts such as power, privilege, equity and oppression, and (6) remains alert to variation and difference.

In considering the interpretive method for the participatory interviews and reviewing the work of Charmaz (2011), I approached the next stage of my interpretive analysis utilising grounded theory coding. Grounded theory coding is a technique employed by the researcher to classify events and activities revealed through participant responses (Bazanger and Dodier 1997). Coding is a rigorous approach to mining the data, literally line-by-line, where the language reveals activities or 'gerunds'.³⁰ Through constant comparison of possible connections between these activities, the researcher can identify a number of properties that suggest overarching categories to form the main structure of their findings (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009).

4.3 Position of the researcher

Critical theory seeks emancipation, alternative power structures and is a reflective process. I consider my working practices to be reflected in this research approach and

³⁰ Gerunds are nouns, ending in 'ing', thereby denoting an action.

aligned with the subject matter. As a social agent myself, I must be aware of my own participation, taking care not to control social processes or lead participants' data. In particular, I need to be alert for the tendency to take for granted the kind of phenomena I am familiar with in a museum (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009), as we cannot separate ourselves from our own personal histories and experiences. On the other hand, as communicative actions are a primary source of qualitative data and meaning making, my intention is that the fieldwork evolves as an ethical exchange of ideas, to fully recognise my part in constructing the social dimension of the findings (Bohman 2005) rather than edit out my presence which Hutchison (2013, p.146) argues would be to "[dishonour] the intention of sharing authority".³¹

4.4 Critical Theory

Historically, critical theory is often understood as the tradition in social science that includes the Frankfurt schools and its associated orientations and writers, Habermas as an example, and is often used as an overarching term for a number of schools of thought (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009). The term 'critical' has Greek origins meaning "to question, to make sense of, to analyse ... to examine your thinking and the thinking of others" (Chaffee 2012, p.54). There can be negative connotations associated with the related term '*criticise*', but it can be constructive in determining social conditions and structures when used through action learning methods (Chaffee 1998). Its reflective practices unpack the constraints that limit actions by recognising and evaluating what has gone before, rather than presenting a self-righteous declaiming of current conditions (Ricoeur 1974). The challenge in critical theory is to do this without being subjugated by current conditions, nor indeed to neglect more positive aspects of existing social structures (Alvesson and Deetz 2000; Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009).

Habermas argues that society's challenges are too narrowly addressed by a dominant, instrumental, scientific approach to rationality. He believes society's 'taken for

³¹ My contributions to each conversation were recorded and transcribed. If, during the transcription process, I had further comments, questions and observations, I embedded these within the interview text where they occurred. I have also retained dialogic references within highlight quotes used in the later analysis chapters.

granted' control by money and power³² (which we can experience as institutionalisation) erodes individuals' capacity for ethical debates, reflective processes and meaning making through critical questioning (Habermas 1971, 1984). Bohman (2005, section 6, par. 2) describes critical theory not as a singular methodology but one that is pluralistic, a multi-perspectival interpretation approach that "[considers] the point of view of variously situated agents". Agents are further activated by Comstock (1982, pp.388-389) who positions participants as "self-agents of socio-historical progress" for their potential to challenge dominant cultures and find new ways of doing things. The actions of agents are situated in the wider context of economic, political, and ideological forces – such as the post-2008 economy, organisational structures, cultures and value systems.

The actions of 'self-agents' and their social interrelationships are understood through dialogue and analysis and, crucially, interpretation (Morrow 1994). In this way the participants' existence and their self-understandings are brought into theoretical and practical unity (Comstock 1982, p.386). Theoretical links may also be made to the 'total museum process' discussed in the literature review on social justice, in that the understanding of data should not be viewed as static, or the full story. The interpretive element, the 'reading' of data or social conditions by individual agents, and collective groups, leads us instead to a trans-perspectival analysis. The consideration for me, as a researcher, is not to over-emphasise any one aspect and risk sufficient critical purchase for the process to have transferability³³ as an active force for social change (ibid.; Bohman 2005).

Generating active force for social change clearly distances critical research from logical positivism and natural laws of causality. Instead, it poses the idea that societal conditions are historically created, and heavily influenced by, the asymmetries of

³² Gardner et al (2001, p.13) argue that even non-profit organisations may try but are not immune from such forces. "[W]e realize that people often feel powerless to oppose them... In the absence of this person-centred perspective [an awareness of values and goals and optimal decision making], we are merely observers buffeted by the fates" indicating a lack of activism.

³³ The ability of the research findings to be transferred onto other contexts or situations that it may enhance understanding and practice within and beyond the museum sector is an anticipated output of the study.

power and that “they can be made the subject of radical change” (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, p.144). Linking to the idea posed in chapter three that museums may inadvertently be reinforcing inequalities, critical research can also reveal the contradictory consequences of social structures acting in accordance with dominant meanings and ideology. For example, the prioritising of ‘organisational survival’ for Glasgow Life only served to “reinforce the existing inequalities of opportunity” (Comstock 1982, p.376) by diminishing the LGBTI programme, as viewed by participants in my exploratory study. Agents experience these kinds of contradictions as “a frustration of personal values” (ibid.).

McCotter (2001, p.5) describes critical researchers as “value-orientated”, concerned with social inequalities and seeking to effect change through “human agency” (ibid.). In this sense she also describes Carspecken’s (1996) suggestion that critical research is typically an orientation that researchers share (McCotter 2001; Lather 1993), again echoing the element of critical consciousness in critical community practice. The question of the nature of values, and people’s association with them, first arose for me during the exploratory study. My consideration of values within a framework of critical consciousness forms one of the cornerstones of the fieldwork methodology to understand how trust develops.

Whilst acknowledging the open approach of critical theory, in that there are no specific roadmaps for its use (Kincheloe et al. 2011), I found it useful to associate the models and theories drawn from the literature-based research with the four elements of the critical community practice model: critical consciousness, critical theorising, critical action and critical reflection. It allowed me to unpack the critical community practice model in more detail and identify the research methods associated within each of its four elements, which I now outline below.

4.4.1 Critical consciousness

Critical consciousness is the core element of the critical community practice model and is the element on which the other three elements of critical theorising, critical action and critical reflection rest (see Figure 7). It encompasses the values and mind-set by which practitioners work “to enhance their critical and creative capacities, their

enquiry and analytical skills, and their powers of reflection, both as individuals and in concert with others” (Butcher et al. 2007, p.62).

The term critical consciousness is most notably associated with Antonio Gramsci (1971) who also referred to the ‘invisible power’ of ideology, values and beliefs in reproducing class relations and concealing contradictions (Heywood 1994; Freire 1972). Gramsci used dialogical methods to examine how “disadvantage and oppression, and a denial of personal and collective agency [maintain] dominant social institutions and ideologies” (Butcher et al. 2007, p.53) in ways similar to other key thinkers within critical theory (Habermas 1975, 1996; Dewey 1986).

The value commitments, dispositions and common assumptions in critical consciousness offer the necessary ethical and socio-political values compass for practitioners (Butcher et al. 2007, p.11). For the purpose of my research I refer to the theory of basic human values (Schwartz 1994), which identifies a number of constantly recurring human values that affect human motivation and priorities as common to people across the world based on extensive cross-cultural research.³⁴ By reviewing patterns of association and general similarities, Schwartz (1994) classified the values into ten groups,³⁵ presenting them on a circumplex (Holmes et al. 2011) (see Figure 8). Rather like a navigation compass, value sets at the other side of the circumplex are opposite points and unlikely to be held strongly by the same person. Conversely, value sets in close proximity are likely to be seen as similarly important. For the purpose of my study, I am interested in identifying intrinsic (associated with self-transcendence on the circumplex) or extrinsic value systems (more closely associated with self enhancement) correlated with, and variations between, organisations and their staff.

The notion of the Wellin’s personal deal (2007) is also helpful within critical consciousness because of the complex and dynamic nature of personal relationships that are a feature of this work across communities, staff groups, and other

³⁴ The survey has been conducted in 82 countries (Schwartz 2012, p.2)

³⁵ Full descriptions of these ten values are listed in Appendix 2, as part of the online survey design.

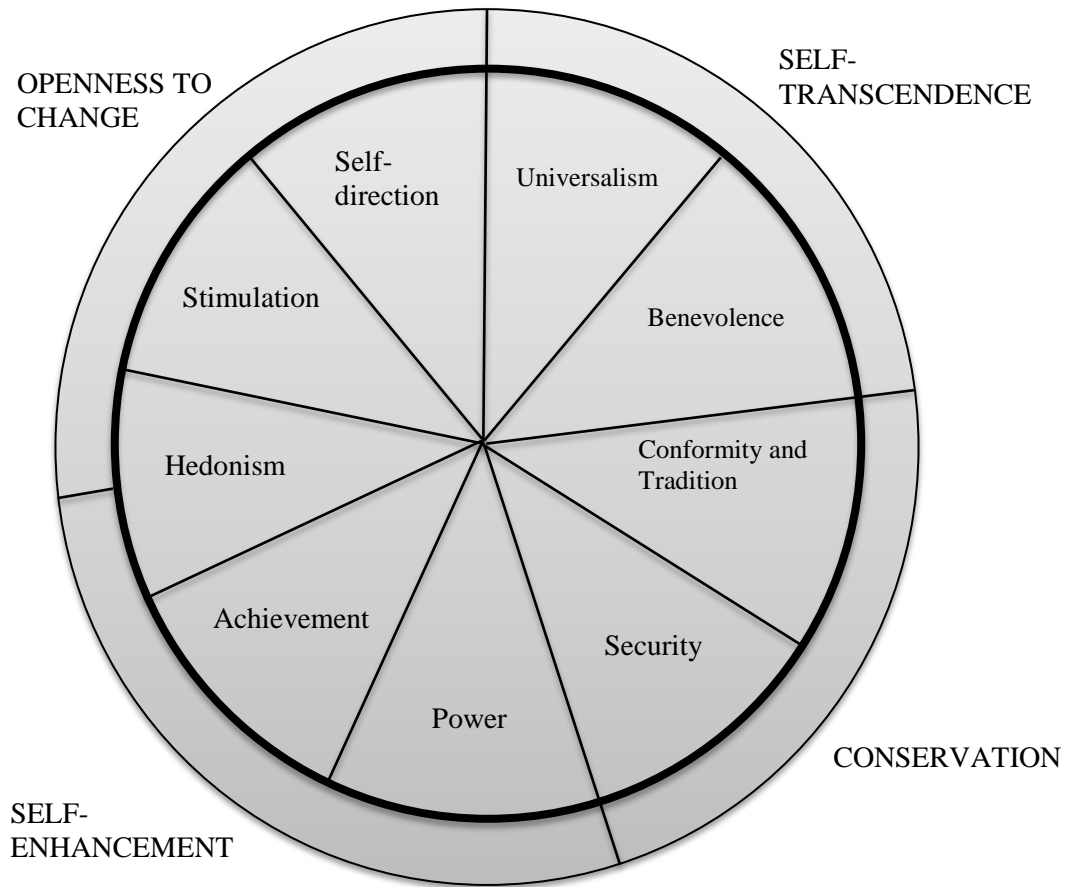


Figure 8 – Values circumplex, (Schwartz 2012).

stakeholders. Mutual expectations are at the heart of every relationship we have with another person and each involves a personal deal (ibid., p.54). Yet, the culture of organising in many large museum structures typically operating within a risk-averse hierarchy located in the public sector, still speaks to the industrialisation model of manufacturing and repetitive tasks despite the white collar nature of its evolving professionalisation. “The implicit message from [such] command and control organisations is that they do not want to engage people as people, but as robots who do as they are directed” (ibid., p.11).

The relationship-based personal deal is significant for what it offers in terms of fairness, communication and a respect for human values. This latter consideration was a key concern revealed in my earlier research into the work of Senge (1990) and

Silverman (2010). Different types of personal deals speak to different value systems, and therefore different people. The transactional personal deal (Wellin 2007, p.95 after Rousseau 1989) refers to values associated with short-term, extrinsic rewards, and economic pressures, whereas a *relationship* personal deal offers values associated with long-term, intrinsic rewards and compassion. I will reveal examples of these different emphases, contradictions and associations.

Exploring the social relationships between agents connects the concept of multiple perspectives within the psychological contract with museum staff aims to support diverse participants' interactions in social justice programmes of work. The plural perspective-taking inherent in both confirms a critical theory approach, as they reject the notion of universal features of social scientific knowledge, such as may be offered through a positivist paradigm (Bohman 2005). Organisational learning also speaks to critical consciousness if the activity of learning, coined as "a way of being" and a "whole mentality" (Vaill 1996, quoted in Butcher et al. 2007, pp.58-59), takes place at a collective level (Senge 1990) and is incorporated into the heart and soul of the organisation. Finally, the role of dialogue (not just as a form of speech but as a relational practice) is paramount for critical consciousness and its bearing on the other elements in the model as a means to form collective reflection, theorising and action (Freire 1993; Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 2011).

4.4.2 Critical theorising

The focus of critical theorising is to conceive a form of participatory community governance that can help us imagine how social structures, relationships and organisations can be "other than they are" (Butcher et al. 2007, p.63). More than ever, we need to find a collective strength for change as Bohman (2005, section 6, par 3) states:

In this age of diminishing expectations, one important role that remains for the social scientifically informed, and normatively oriented democratic critic is to offer novel alternatives and creative possibilities in place of the defeatist claim that we are at the end of history. That would not only mean the end of enquiry, but also the end of democracy.

Putnam and Mumby (1992) view organisations as typically male-centred with, for example, hierarchical, linear and fixed modes of operating, providing a constant set of outcomes that are not easy to change. In contrast, they propose bounded emotionality as an alternative way of organising framed by heterarchical, flexible goals and values moving unpredictability “in a coordinated arrangement” – hence the ‘bounded’ descriptor (Putnam and Mumby 1992, p.475). The fieldwork data suggests potential alternatives that have enabled me to theorise and propose structural approaches that not only support social justice practice in museums, but have the potential to enhance it through foregrounding trust between all participant groups.

4.4.3 Critical action

Critical action seeks practical commitments to recognise and harness individual and collective agency as a form of activism, as a route to participatory community governance. The exploratory study and literature reviews have already highlighted the need for active citizens. Part of Butcher et al.’s theory for active change is the repositioning of all actors as “activists with a ‘community engagement’ role” (2007, p.67). In museums this would no longer be restricted to learning teams, but include front of house, senior managers, curators, directors, board members, politicians, HR officers, marketers, researchers and other commentators. Critical action is about creating enabling conditions, such as through a whole systems approach: a ‘power-with’ approach. I propose there is a direct connection between critical action and Senge’s systems theory (1990) discussed in chapter three.

The challenge to my research lies in the history of participants’ social conditions that shape and constrain actions. It requires deep reflection and understanding to overcome because “hegemony is so total, it is part of the daily taken-for-granted actions that are part of everyday life” (Apple 1996, p.11). Thus there is the potential for such history to limit my findings. The social justice programme in the exploratory study suffered from hegemonic processes – where leadership sustained authority over subordinate groups and a parental role was assumed (Foucault 1977; Gramsci 1988). My study considers an understanding of power that encompasses Foucault’s concepts of it as something that “exists only in relationships and when it is expressed in action” (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, p.252) rather than a measurable force. The question

here is how the concept of leadership is constructed and interpreted, engaged with as a form of agency, as well as being mindful of the perceived rigidity of many hierarchical organisations.

Hierarchical organisations are often referenced through ‘top-down, bottom-up’ oppositional positions. The intention of critical action is to transcend this by embracing “*both bottom-up and top-down action*” (Butcher et al. 2007, p.71, emphasis original) as a way to conceive a ‘power-with’ approach *with* the (museum staff) community, whilst operating in a vertically structured organisation. If we take Putnam and Mumby’s bounded emotionality framework, this power-with approach can also be usefully understood as a heterarchy, one that exists on a horizontal axis. Lederach (2005, p.182) defines horizontal capacities as “the ability to build and sustain relational spaces of constructive interaction across the lines of division in systems and societies”. To make the most of critical action it is vital that agents move beyond known or taken-for-granted social constructs, or a single ‘truth’ (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, p.9), recognising there can be alternatives.

4.4.4 Critical reflection

As the exploratory study revealed, it is easy to remain trapped in a vicious circle of repetitive actions within historically constructed socio-political conditions, exacerbated by a lack of reflection. What is missed by this absence of reflection is the opening up of participants to the possibility of social change by what Freire (1972, p.27) describes as “a deepening awareness both of the socio-historical reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform reality”. However, if participants are conceived as “equal reflective participants, as knowledgeable social agents... the asymmetries of the context of technical control are suspended” (Bohman 2005, section 3.3, par.4). My literature research identified learning theories as essential to developing robust reflective practice. Argyris and Schön (1996) describe double-loop learning as a dialogical reflective process and a form of shared leadership that questions existing norms, procedures, processes and objectives. It has great resonance with social justice and community practice principles. Argyris (1990), in particular, has been influential in my thinking about the potential for organisational learning through critical reflection on theory-in-action.

Similarly, Putnam and Mumby's bounded emotionality, which implies a connection with a feminist standpoint, also highlights reflective practice. The link between feminist research and reflexivity – the self-examination and exploration of the “known and taken for granted” (McCotter 2001, p.5) – resonates with the challenge to ‘the way things are done around here’. It is helpful in understanding the lens of the “male-dominated society and intellectual tradition” (Weiler 1988, p.58), particularly within organisational structures that may be characterised by impersonality, competitiveness, hierarchy and individualism (Ferguson 1984). Reflection *in* practice as well as *on* practice, suggests a looking inward as well as outward, echoing the internal/external dynamic of the research study. Feminism and reflexivity are related to my own position as a researcher and as a practitioner, not because of a particular focus on women's or gender perspectives, but as a standpoint where ethics, discrimination and diversity can be emphasised as a response to oppression. In terms of my research process, the reflexive nature of interviews and observations is intended to reveal characteristics of dominant organisational structures. Furthermore, how they are revealed through the personal experience of participants implies, on some level, the presence of trust with their organisation, and/or my relationship with the individual, to be able to do so.

4.5 Methods and research strategies

There are two elements to my research design: a qualitative methodology applied to two case study organisations and a quantitative online survey.

4.5.1 Qualitative case studies

Working with two organisations seeking to create change and which express values of social justice, I analysed the lived experiences of a breadth of practitioners through a combination of semi-structured interviews,³⁶ observations³⁷ and documentary review. My aim with the case studies was to reflect practice and theory-in-action within two

³⁶ By semi-structured I mean that I had pre-prepared questions (see Appendix 1) to support the generation of comparable data between the case studies, yet which would also allow me the freedom to follow emergent topics with other participants.

³⁷ These observations took place during a weeklong presence in the workplace and included attendance at meetings, visits with partner organisations, shared meals and travel between sites.

contrasting organisations, revealing the influences in structures and processes that potentially act as drivers for trust and their consequences for change.

I located myself within the workplace environment and geographic location of each organisation over seven consecutive days. In doing so, I aimed to immerse myself within the organisational context as far as possible. I was able to reflect between interviews with the potential to revisit participants for further clarity; to undertake additional ‘ad-hoc’ interviews with new participants through emerging conversations; and to read and discuss documents in-situ, contextualising them in action. Most importantly, I aimed to build relationships and trust with participants and staff groups as a researcher, a colleague and participant in the process myself.

The main output of the case studies fieldwork was twenty-four one-to-one interviews with representatives from across the staff structures, including board members and geographically distanced staff. To support the unfolding nature of the study, I also built in the ethical and methodological capacity to obtain further, ad-hoc interviews or activities with other staff contacts if a particular avenue of investigation arose whilst in the field.

4.5.2 Introduction to the case studies

National Museums Wales (NMW) is a large-scale national museums service operating a dispersed estate across Wales. NMW offers three characteristics of particular interest for the research strategy. The first is an ‘of the moment’ change in the vision and direction for the service led by the redevelopment of one of its main sites – St Fagans National History Museum, Cardiff. St Fagans forms the primary site for the NMW case study through its redevelopment project. Collecting of oral testimonies has been part of its tool kit for decades as the voice of the individual who is the expert ‘outside’. In its redevelopment project, St Fagans is seeking to build on NMW’s track record in social justice work, which is particularly driven by a Welsh government agenda to address child poverty and the desire to connect national issues with local needs.³⁸ By engaging community agency, the intention behind St Fagans’

³⁸ All museums will be situated within their particular local / national system context, giving variance to the social justice issues they address.

redevelopment is for people to be encompassed in ‘the whole process’ (thereby connecting more of the network system) by physically involving them through volunteering, apprenticeships and project design. Secondly, NMW was also addressing stark financial challenges across its entire organisation and so I was able to situate the research within a live and uncertain, complex change process affecting the wider ‘network system’ of the museums estate. Finally, the extent of NMW’s operations also afforded the opportunity to investigate how the scale of an organisation impacts on trust and values within a hierarchical structure.

I was first interested in St Fagans as a participating member of the Paul Hamlyn Foundation’s *Our Museum* initiative.³⁹ St Fagans’ espoused ambition in this initiative was to involve the public with its major redevelopment project Making History.⁴⁰ NMW is also a member of the Social Justice Alliance for Museums (SJAM) and involved with the Happy Museum Project (HMP).⁴¹ NMW’s Director General, David Anderson, joined NMW in 2010 with a high profile track record in museum learning⁴² and organisational development. St Fagans is set within the context of wider, major organisational change at NMW following a new vision of *Inspiring People, Changing Lives* (NMW Operational Plan 2015-16). Due to my own professional network I had a key contact at NMW in Janice Lane, Director of Learning, Exhibitions and New Media, who welcomed my proposal to use St Fagans as a case study.

³⁹ Paul Hamlyn Foundation funded a three-year initiative *Our Museum: Communities and Museums as Active Partners* for nine museums across the UK to facilitate a process of development and organisational change building active partnership within their communities. It had a further intention to influence the development of the museum sector more widely.

⁴⁰ NMW’s website states: “St Fagans has always been a museum about the people of Wales. Through the Making History project we want to involve even more of you in developing its future” (museums.wales n.d.).

⁴¹ HMP is a network of museums, working to principles that recognise “a sustainable future seems certain to involve considerable changes in our values, behaviour and understanding of the world” (Thompson et al. 2011, p.3.) and that “grasping the opportunity will require reimagining some key aspects of [museums] role” (ibid.) where museums might pursue more mutual relationships within civil society recognising different expertise but equal status.

⁴² Anderson was previously Director of Learning at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. In 1999 he was awarded an OBE for services to museums and education.

As there are ongoing debates around museums and social justice, I considered it useful to study an organisation from outside the museum sector. I wanted to build on innovation from the larger civil landscape, for museums to learn from other organisational models of social justice practice, particularly those beyond local and national government provision. The second case study was based at the Social Enterprise Academy Scotland, Edinburgh (the Academy). A social enterprise itself, the Academy delivers training and development programmes “for people and organisations enabling social change” (Social Enterprise Academy 2015). Its learning environment is practitioner-led and focuses on peer learning and reflection. The chief executive officer (CEO) describes the Academy as filling a gap for people who are not necessarily academically inclined but who have capabilities to affect social change. With their work in Scotland recognised as world leading, the Academy was also on the point of major change with its intention to establish a ‘replication programme’ to create international franchises delivering localised training across the world, based on the same ethos, standards and values.

I was familiar with the Academy as training providers through my professional role. However, I had little awareness of their operation prior to spending time with them on site. I established a key contact in its CEO, Neil McLean, whom I initially approached for ideas about social enterprises in Scotland that might be suitable as case studies. McLean offered the Academy, as he was similarly interested in having another’s view about how it functioned in practice.

The Academy was established in 2004 as a social enterprise to deliver and evolve “learning to change the world” (Social Enterprise Academy 2015), working with social justice values from the outset. At the time of the fieldwork it employed 19 staff members across three hubs in Scotland, with the majority based in the Edinburgh hub. Additionally, the Academy subcontracts self-employed tutors to deliver its learning and leadership programmes. By contrast, NMW has been in existence since 1905 and only over the past 6 years has it strongly identified with working for social change, to better reflect the current social values and political landscape in Wales. At the time of the fieldwork, NMW employed approximately 600 staff in seven sites across Wales. The two case studies therefore offered significant difference in size, scale and

governance. The contrast between the two organisations was advantageous in mining different approaches to social justice work within organisational values. On the other hand, their differences present limitations in the generalisability of the thesis findings.

The relationships I established with Lane and McLean were pivotal to generating support and goodwill from them and their wider organisation towards my research study. Having established organisational approval, they both subsequently chose to identify an internal 'fieldwork contact' from within the organisation. The fieldwork contacts were immensely beneficial in navigating my particular areas of interest, working with me to identify research participants to maximise data collection within the timeframe available.

As a distant researcher in both cases, meaning that I was not able to meet the potential interviewees in advance and had to rely on information about them from the fieldwork contacts, I was dependent on how they had understood my brief and interpreted it in terms of which people they went on to identify as possible participants. The developing relationships I had with the fieldwork contacts enabled me to engage in open dialogue, actively questioning to understand their recommendation of each potential interviewee, their roles and suitability for the study. Equally, I was able to ensure that, through the fieldwork contacts, each potential participant received the participant information and the informed consent forms to review, ahead of me being on site. My preparation at this stage served two key purposes. Firstly, to ensure as far as possible that my time in the field (which was limited to five working days over seven) would be used to the greatest effect for the study, and, secondly, that my relationships with each organisation were well advanced before arriving.

My data collection time with each case study was limited so it would not be possible to test how trust adapted, developed or retracted on the basis of time (which is more associated with the non-calculative type of trust) except anecdotally through the interpretive dialogue in this single snapshot of time. I did not enter any organisation in the field with prior knowledge of trust damage or trust issues; therefore, I did not expect to investigate a conflict scenario similar to the exploratory study in Glasgow. What I aimed to examine is how we work internally and externally through the

alignment of values and consequently what happens to trust in a hierarchical organisation. How does it (can it?) transcend grades, teams and potential barriers, and what facilitates or impedes this?

4.5.3 Quantitative online survey

One of my early interests was to identify common assumptions, value commitments and dispositions that support or detract from a relational-based social justice practice, in order to adapt the critical community practice model to a museum specific context before applying it in the field. To do so I sought networks of organisations that explicitly support social justice through which I could circulate an online survey. However, during this aspect of my research it became evident that, as human beings, practitioners will identify with the same ten sets of basic human values discussed above and I would not gain new data from my own version of this research. Instead, I revised the survey, asking practitioners to rank their personal association with the value sets, followed by a ranking for how close a fit their role was to each of the value sets and finally their perception of their organisation's fit to the values. In doing this, I sought to identify patterns in the sector of value alignment, or of disparity, in the way the Glasgow practitioner described earlier as operating at 'the edges of two completely different worlds'. The survey also utilised the eight trust drivers from Jacobs' model (2013) as a means of gauging levels of trust for a broader range of organisations than the two case studies.

The design of the survey⁴³ was piloted and timed with volunteers to manage the expectations of participants in terms of its ease of use and duration. I obtained approval and support from key contacts connected with sector-specific networks and organisations expressing a social justice approach to their work, to invite their staff to participate in the online survey. The email invitation, which contained a link to the online survey, was circulated on my behalf by these lead contacts to organisations participating in: Paul Hamlyn *Our Museum* initiative, Social Justice Alliance for

⁴³ The survey was designed to protect anonymity and so I chose to construct it using SurveyMonkey for their confidentiality protocols and range of analytical tools.

Museums, Happy Museum Project and Diversity Heritage Group.⁴⁴ To maintain consistency with the qualitative methodology's inclusion of a non-museum organisation, I also invited the Academy's staff and tutor network to participate in the survey.

4.6 Data analysis

4.6.1 Qualitative case studies

At the Academy, my fieldwork contact worked from my briefing with them to pre-arrange seven interviews for me from across the staff body. In addition, I undertook a further four interviews utilising the ad hoc provision. Two of these additional interviews were undertaken during the time spent on location and a further two took place in the following weeks to follow up an emerging area of interest from the initial set of interviews: the role of the Academy's self-employed tutors. Of these additional interviews, one was conducted by phone and the second in-person in Glasgow. My fieldwork contact at NMW similarly arranged twelve interviews on my behalf, drawn from staff across the organisational structure. Eleven of the interviews took place in person on location, and the twelfth interview was conducted by phone. All interviews were digitally recorded. In addition, I kept field notes to record observations.⁴⁵

I transcribed the twenty-four interviews myself because my methodology centres on a critical, reflective and actively involved role as researcher. Using line-by-line analysis I generated codes to produce categories with a number of properties following grounded theory principles (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, Charmaz 2011). Whilst this element of grounded theory has been criticised for its inefficiency (Hammersley 1989), I found it effective because, by engaging in simultaneous data collection and inquiry, it provided an important stage of reflective analysis to take place. Grounded theory (which emerges from empirical data) suggests that pre-existing literature

⁴⁴ The Diversity in Heritage Group (DHG) is a professional network founded in 2009 which champions practice in diversity and equality, audience development, social justice, community engagement, and participation (Diversity in Heritage Group 2013).

⁴⁵ I had a timetable of core interviews established by the fieldwork contacts in advance of my arrival. This helped to give structure to my time in each location, as well as allowing me to know when I was available to participate in other opportunities such as meetings, participatory and learning events. It also afforded me the flexibility to undertake ad hoc interviews with additional staff in response to findings in the field, which I had already made provision for within my methodology and ethics approval.

should not be engaged with until after data collection, as the focus of research should be to generate, rather than verify, theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). However, Glaser and Strauss admit that the personal and theoretical experience a researcher brings to the task can support the generation of categories. We all come to a situation with pre-existing terms of reference and, therefore, “reality is *always already* interpreted” (Alvesson and Sköldbberg 2009, p.58, emphasis original).

Language is foregrounded within this research as I study the social conditions and how they are articulated (for example, Chief *Executive* Officer) in ways that may reinforce oppressive control. Language also poses the risk that, as the researcher and author of the study, I will misrepresent others’ meanings. It can also be a means of collaboration: negotiating and co-constructing how phenomena are interpreted and represented (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). To undertake an active role as a researcher within the interviews, although they were established as semi-structured,⁴⁶ I intentionally formed a dialogue with participants, creating a space for conversational exchange. It enabled me to reflect on what was being shared within the exchange, actively recording my interpretation of their contributions, and to collaboratively engage in a shared understanding of our discussion. Taking into account the language I used to interpret events in the field is also part of the reflexive approach and my contribution to the meaning making process with others (Miller 1997; Garfinkel 1967). Language shapes findings, for example, the terms I use to define the categories, and so these interpretive, linguistic choices will inevitably influence my, and others’, thinking and future meaning making.

Although the research is not designed or intended to critique the organisations in a comparative sense – which one is doing what better, for example – comparisons are made in order to verify categories that are the basis of the emerging theory. This ‘constant comparison’ is a feature of the three analysis chapters that follow. Incidents will feature in more than one chapter and category. The research findings are nonlinear, but in order to present findings, an element of detaching them from their

⁴⁶ By semi-structured I mean that I had pre-prepared questions (see Appendix 1) to support the generation of comparable data between the case studies, yet which would also allow me the freedom to follow emergent topics with other participants.

source context occurs within the categorisation process, which is equally a limitation of the process. Hunsaker and Johnston (1992) discuss the challenge to write about collaboration in a linear fashion, emphasised by Clark et al. who suggest “writing down compels us toward a monologic text which may not represent the very dialogic nature of our work and interactions” (1996, p.199). I have responded to this challenge by presenting findings in three chapters based on different value frames, which are overlapping, non-linear and utilise participant voices to indicate the dialogic, and therefore co-constructed, nature of the interpretation.

4.6.2 Quantitative online survey

The survey was conducted to investigate the hypothesis, emerging from the exploratory study, that museums are potentially operating in cultures where there is a lack of alignment between organisational, role and individual value fit. The survey was distributed via email, as described in section 4.5.3 above. In total there were 163 responses to the invitation and, out of these, 102 were complete. For illustrative purposes and to manage the data, I focused on two values from opposing sides of the value circumplex, further filtering results by type of organisation. Maintaining the theoretical framework of the study, these values are described as:

- To show tolerance towards and protect the welfare of all people and of nature, to be broad-minded and promote equality and social justice (self-transcendence on the circumplex, question 2 in the online survey);
- To have social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources, to have wealth, authority, social power and recognition (self enhancement on the circumplex, question 7 in the online survey).

I also assessed levels of trust as defined by Jacobs (2013) by organisational type through staff responses to question 12 (see Appendix 2), based on Jacobs’ trust/threat drivers (ibid.).

4.7 Limitations

My research is predominately based on two case studies working with specific kinds of institutions. NMW is a large organisation, the scale of which I am most familiar with as a practitioner. Its extent may, therefore, not translate readily to practitioners working in museums of different size and scope, although I believe there is still

application in terms of understanding the interplay of perceptions and behaviours associated with trust and values. In fact, the scale of NMW's large organisational change may be a metaphor to the challenge for museums to support the community and social change more broadly.

My interpretations are drawn primarily from the dialogue constructed with individuals. In accordance with the interests of this thesis they are unique to those participants. Whilst I build my arguments from them as indicators for alternative practice, they do not afford a universal approach to new museum practice. However, I believe the study can be interpreted and form the basis for transferability across different situations, as by their nature and individual governance structures, no two museums are the same. What these two case studies gave me was the opportunity to talk to staff from across the organisational structure, providing me with a wider base from which to understand the three areas of interconnectivity between organisational and staff group constructs and the individuals that comprise them. If, for example, I had worked with ten different institutions, given the volume of data that might have provided, I would necessarily have had to reduce the number and variety of interviews (certainly those undertaken on an ad-hoc basis), which I believe would have diminished the depth of findings.

4.8 Ethics

The research is centred on the participation of human subjects. Given the nature of my study, it was particularly important to me to conduct the research with integrity and honesty and to ensure that the people participating were treated with respect and care (Prosser 2011). I therefore prepared and conducted the study in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Practice for Research Ethics. Approval of the methodology including: participant selection rationale, participant information (see Appendix 2), informed consent forms (see Appendix 3), anonymity protocols, confidentiality issues and any associated risks and actions, were reviewed and approved according to the University of Leicester Ethics Committee procedures for research involving human subjects.

Through the key contacts at the case study organisations, general information about my weeklong visit and participation in their organisation was communicated internally across their staff bodies. More specifically, through the fieldwork contacts, I was able to send potential participants information about the research and the informed consent forms for their consideration ahead of my arrival on site. They were able to discuss it with their colleagues and raise any questions with the University's Research Ethics Committee or directly with me. Once on site, I reviewed the documentation with them in person, paying particular attention to their voluntary participation, their right to withdraw at any time, the opportunity for them to review the interview transcript and their preferred level of anonymity. Some interviewees volunteered to be identified with their input; others found some of the wording around permissions confusing. When I returned their interview transcripts for checking with potential quotes highlighted, I asked participants to re-state their permission levels in light of the text and to avoid any ambiguity about the original wording.

The approach for the online survey was slightly different. To access a large number of potential participants, museum staff were sent an open invitation via email either through a colleague within their own organisation or a network their organisation is a member of. The link through to the survey would take participants directly to the participant information and informed consent page prior to accessing the survey itself. Like the qualitative method, participants were informed of their ability to withdraw from the process at any time, without repercussions.

4.9 Introduction to the 'Trust and Values' analysis chapters

Having presented the research context, literature review, methodology and research design, I now present the evaluation of the data in the next three chapters. As described above, my aim with the case studies is to reflect theory and practice-in-action revealing the influences in structures and processes that potentially act as drivers for trust and the consequences for change in relation to staff and their perceptions of trust; relationships with and across the organisation; symbols of trust and concepts of power. Seven categories are presented across the three chapters, and within each category a number of properties drawn from the coding process are detailed. As highlighted above, many interpretive events within the data span more

than one category and so, whilst a written thesis necessarily presents as a linear progression, the findings within the analysis chapters are nonlinear.

At times these events suggest a direct contrast between the two organisations, for example, through size or structure. However, the intention is not to produce a comparative view of how each organisation functions in the categories compared to the other. Instead, I variably draw on their unique situations to seek out which interpretive events teach us how to build trust as a practice through critical consciousness. Each of the three chapters are framed as ‘trust and values’ exploring 1) trust and organisational values, 2) trust and staff group values and 3) trust and individual values. Each chapter builds from the coding strategy, to illustrate the properties associated with each category. The categories in each chapter ultimately propose the sub-process for organisational, staff group and individual values. Collectively, it is the combination of these sub-processes that I argue contributes to the development of trust that can be applied for museological benefit.

Finally, I have emphasised throughout this work a primary principle of foregrounding people. Whilst I have referenced individual voices from the qualitative data as far as possible and as befits the analysis, my referencing policy is informed by each participant’s confidentiality permissions. Where individuals have given permission for the names to be used, I have followed academic protocol by introducing them by name and subsequently referring to them by their surname.

Chapter Five: Trust and Organisational Values

5.1 Introduction

Organisational values can be difficult to pin down and their relationship to levels of trust within an organisation even more so. Whilst many organisations have a written set of values associated with their stated vision and aims, these ‘espoused’ values may not reflect the lived experience of people connected to the organisation, either from an internal (staff) or external (client, community, consumer) perspective. It is these lived experiences and perceptions that I explore through the qualitative data to understand what actively impacts on trust and value alignment in organisations working for social justice. Figure 9 is the virtuous circle illustrating the positive relationship between trust and value alignment (Akkermans and van Helden 2002). I will use this as the foundational element from which to expand and map the trust drivers revealed through the qualitative data throughout the three analysis chapters.

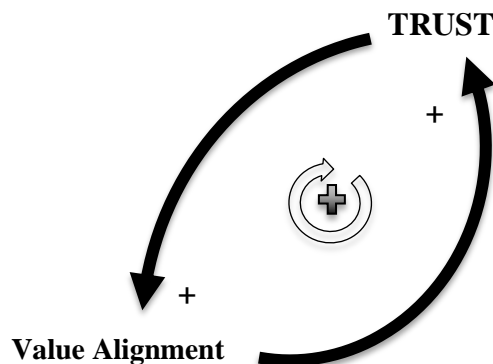


Figure 9 – Virtuous circle between trust and value alignment.

Values associated with organisations will fluctuate according to the context, knowledge, participation and perceptions of the individuals and groups forming those social constructs. The quantitative survey revealed that the majority of staff respondents perceive their organisation as identifying with the more extrinsic, self-interest range of value sets. For example, in Figure 10, the horizontal axis represents each of the ten common human value sets. Value set 1 refers to ‘social justice’ values

and value set 6 to values relating to ‘dominance over others’. The chart reveals the perceived gap in alignment through the sharp difference in the perception staff have of their own association with these values compared to how they rate their organisation’s association with them. The exception to this is staff from social enterprise organisations where the data reveals strong alignment with social justice values for the staff and their organisations. The data also shows very high levels of organisational trust for staff connected to social enterprises.

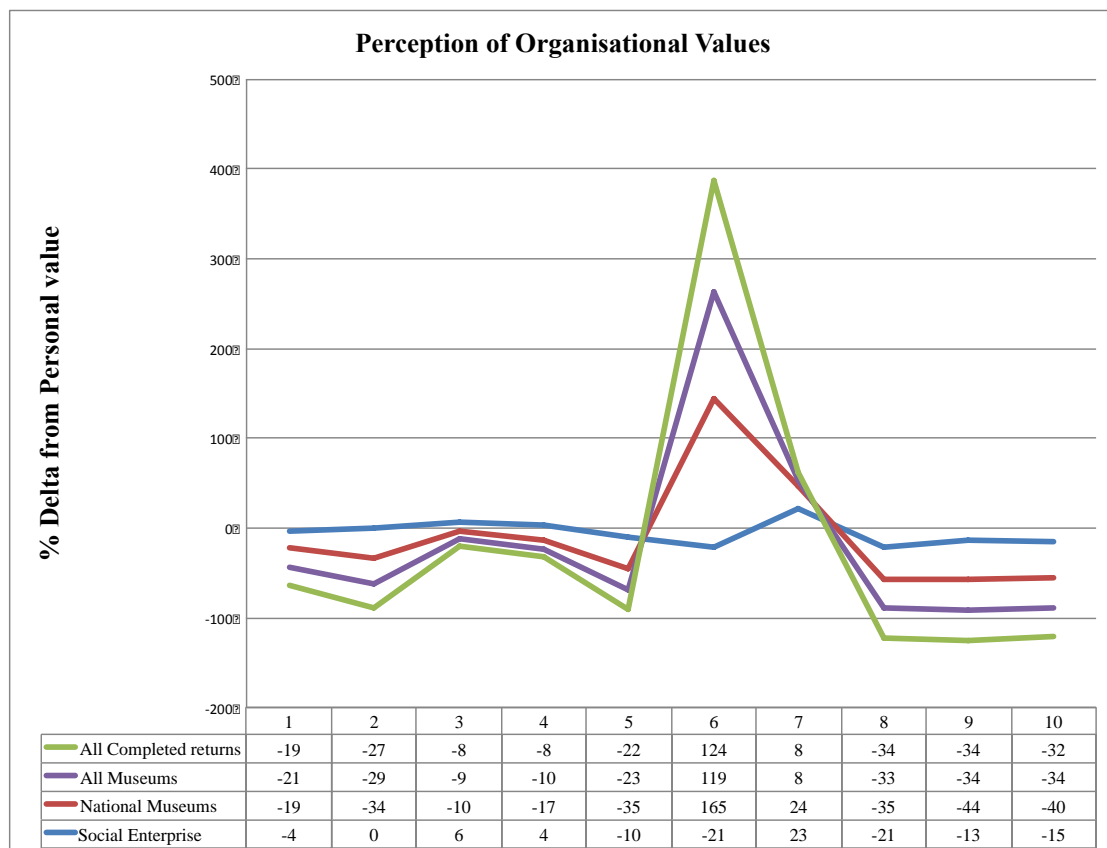


Figure 10 – The perceived gap in alignment between personal association and people’s view of their organisation’s association with the universal value sets.

The literature review established that trust is based on interpretations of historic and current actions and, whilst existing research recognises the human tendency to assume others are more extrinsically motivated than ourselves (reflected in the majority of survey findings), my discussion of the psychological contract in chapter three describes how perceptions also influence future behaviour. The quantitative survey

results show that, across the board, respondents indicated varying levels of trust with their respective organisations, with social enterprise organisations scoring highly on the trust indicators and museums less so (see Appendices 5 and 6). These trust levels echo respondents' perceptions of their organisation's values. As we have seen in the exploratory study, perceptions, whether accurate or not, have a critical impact on levels of organisational trust.

Using the qualitative data, this chapter identifies three categories of findings to symbolise how trust and organisational values form and align. These categories are:

- Adopting the principles of a learning organisation,
- Vulnerability and risk align with values that support critical community practice,
- Change as a key driver for impact.

The categories demonstrate how the case study organisations of St Fagans at NMW and the Academy in Edinburgh show evidence of high trust characteristics and shared values, through reflective practices and a strong desire to evolve their work as learning organisations. I argue that, collectively, these categories support the generation of a high trust organisational culture, which is a sub-process of developing critical community consciousness.

The categories are an interpretation of a number of actions I identified through grounded theory coding analysis⁴⁷ that recur across the interviews, and which I have summarised through key properties to define each category. The properties correlate with characteristics of critical community practice and bounded emotionality, which I argue contribute to a high trust culture and a virtuous circle of energy to drive social change. I will now present and consider the three categories within trust and organisational values, and their associated properties.

⁴⁷ In progressing the text analysis using grounded theory strategies, I have sought to make visible, and link, tangible individual or collective actions and processes (Charmaz 2011). The use of gerunds has been beneficial in identifying the activities through which change is discussed, reflected, identified, proposed, and has occurred.

5.2 Adopting the principles of a learning organisation

Through the interview process with staff at both organisations, early questions sought to field responses to contextualise an understanding of the principles with which they operated. Data from both St Fagans and the Academy suggest that each organisation takes a strong learning perspective to its ongoing development. For example, the action ‘learning from each other’s approach to work’ was drawn from numerous statements provided by both case studies. Like other actions and properties of this category that I will go on to describe, it reflects the central literature from my review on organisational learning and characteristics of critical community practice. Thus the qualitative findings provide significant evidence about how the case studies are ‘adopting the principles of a learning organisation’. I will now present the defining properties of this category beginning with ‘embracing a dialogic approach’.

5.2.1 Embracing a dialogic approach

A significant learning characteristic both organisations display is the dialogic approach interviewees recognise and engage with, in terms of their interaction and participation with each other through their working practice. As discussed in chapter three, a dialogic culture is indicative of many organisational learning theories – in particular those espoused by Putnam and Mumby (1992) and Argyris and Schön (1996) – and can support democratic participation as a way to challenge existing social institutions and power structures. Dialogic practice is also a core characteristic of critical consciousness, emphasising how the case study organisations are adopting learning organisation principles as “a way of being” (Vaill 1996, quoted in Butcher et al. 2007, p.59).

Staff at NMW strongly articulate the significance of dialogic practice to the St Fagans redevelopment process. Project co-ordinator Steph Burge (2015) describes the process employed by those working on the project as “taking on board everyone’s opinions and listening”, evolving a dynamic environment for the St Fagans redevelopment by drawing on multiple perspectives and experiences from community partners and sectors outside the museum profession. Adding to the knowledge base in this way can contribute to fundamental changes in organisational values (Argyris and Schön 1996; Lewin 1951) by engaging the wider system (Senge 1990) rather than being limited to

the operational drivers inside the organisation. These voices are not engaged on a consultative basis, but firmly as equal partners. As a consequence, a dialogic culture has emerged, supporting new ways of thinking whereby the St Fagans project is shifting the museum's traditional modes of operating.

Similarly, Beth Thomas (2015), keeper of history and archaeology at NMW and a lead manager on the St Fagans project, describes the power of bringing different people together in the project team as a way of enabling new things to happen by challenging the core purpose of the museum. David Anderson (Director General, NMW) is credited with giving the team time and space to revisit the philosophy of the project in its early stages, providing the opportunity to completely rethink received museum practice and forgoing the rationale of 'tried and tested' designs and methodology. Here, Nia Williams (2015) – head of learning, participation and interpretation, and senior manager for the St Fagans project – summarises the shift for the museum service in terms of its thinking and the use of dialogue to support that process:

Perhaps it kind of started [with looking] at what the role of a museum is in the 21st century and how some of the structures we had and some of the aims we had belonged to a different time really. And so one of the things we've tried to do is look at what is the relevance of the museum to the people of Wales and that's something the museum can't do alone; it has to [talk] with a range of different organisations.

There is a clear decision by St Fagans to look outwards to Welsh communities and the organisations that represent them. The community partnership basis on which the project is evolving reflects Argyris and Schön's (1996) shared leadership as a characteristic of the dialogical process in organisational learning. It is also an example of double-loop learning, taking the decision to open a dialogue, to question and be challenged on the organisation's existing norms, procedures and processes. By demonstrating an organisational capacity to reassess assumptions about itself and the wider environment in the face of constantly changing conditions, the organisation is seeking to understand its role in the kind of system thinking proposed by Senge (1990).

In another iteration of activating the wider system, NMW trustees have been engaged as project participants in recognition that they are people who connect with, represent, and bring a range of skills and experience from other sectors. Recognising the voluntary capacity of the trustee role helps to align their involvement with St Fagans' volunteering programme, creating equity with the rest of the team. Consequently, by having the trustees working directly with the project (rather than simply receiving a progress report at board meetings) means it is not a closed entity within the organisation, but connects across NMW and other sectors in Wales.

As a result of the dialogic process, St Fagans project staff report being challenged in their thinking, yet express it positively as a way to keep ideas fresh and the process of reconsidering the museum alive. They recognise that, in many ways, museums are constantly fighting against being out of date and so have intentionally embraced an adaptive practice, generating an ability to set and solve problems, design and redesign policies, structures and techniques (Argyris and Schön 1996; Putnam and Mumby 1992). The wider system can therefore be understood and valued as a generative performance tool.

Indeed, in structuring projects from the outset with their community partners, even at the ideas-forming stage, St Fagans staff are consciously making use of the wider network, socially and jointly constructing the new museum development. They are committed to operating on a partnership basis, observing community partners' ownership of the work and how they speak about it to others as a sign of how partners value being involved. The forming of a joint partnership on this basis is recognised by a NMW trustee who considers it an "outstanding exemplar of good practice" and says of the work: "I think that the nature of this activity... I suppose what some people might call grassroots relationships, it was probably, I can't claim that it's new, but certainly I haven't come across it at that level." They describe what they have witnessed in terms of the learning, and subsequent impact on trust, that has developed through listening to others:

The partner organisation representatives also did a lot to make that work, because they were very ready to give their views, to challenge, to say, “Well actually for us what it’s really like is...” and so you know, I did witness the building up of that mutual trust and I do think that it’s, in my experience, quite unusual.

Being prepared to be open in a dialogic culture references vulnerability, which I previously identified as part of trust building in chapter three. At the Academy, interviewees welcome transparency, dialogue, and information as central and explicit characteristics of their organisation to support the development of trust, building positive relationships. They symbolise the organisation’s confidence that people with responsibility for an area of work have the knowledge and skills to make autonomous decisions in that area. The benefit of such a positive relational practice is knowing who you need to pull together to make a decision and being empowered to do what you think is right. In turn, this creates energy to drive the organisation forward, thereby avoiding decisions being deferred to others because “they’ve got the title”, as one manager put it, or being delayed by the ‘bottle-neck’ of waiting for hierarchical approval.

5.2.2 Building a Relational Practice

Building a relational practice is also a learning organisation characteristic. Academy interviewees describe dialogue as a way to effectively share and achieve workload through building a relational practice. As an Academy manager says, “if people continually talk to one another, if people can understand what’s happening” it is an effective means of productively and collectively supporting the organisation’s aims. Having clarity about tasks and responsibilities, because managers take time to sit and talk with their staff, is also described through the action ‘enabling a trusting relationship’. However, the Academy’s chief operating officer, Sam Baumber (2015), shares an example of how a trusting relationship can easily be jeopardised. He describes a time when, due to his own pressures, he did not engage in dialogic support when asked to do so by a team preparing to present at a meeting. The presentation did not go well and Baumber (ibid.) says of the experience:

So actually the output of all of that was that we had a bit of a worried staff team, lack of confidence in what it was we were doing, they got overridden by me in the meeting and all because I didn't validate the fact that they needed to prep a little bit with me.

What Baumber acknowledges is the fallibility of being human; letting someone down, the risk to an individual's emotional wellbeing, the impact on the workplace environment and the importance of the relationship; as well as the thin line where the space for generative dialogue can instead damage and close down performance. Equally, the strength of the Academy's relational practice supports the actions he took as a consequence of that scenario. Baumber (2015) continues:

Straight afterwards I went to that member of staff and said, "I'm really sorry, that was my fault, I let you down, we should have talked it through. I understand the consequences of that, I understand it emotionally the consequences of what that's probably done for you in that moment, as well as feeling exposed in that setting. Let's redress this and let's work it out..." [And I] made sure that the relationship was strong and that they felt supported, that the responsibility had been taken in the right place.

The incident is mapped in Figure 11, which outlines the trust drivers and blockers in action. Baumber's response to this incident is in line with feedback from Academy interviewees across the board that describes 'learning from everything they do'. They demonstrate a strong understanding of the importance of completing the learning cycle (Kolb 1984); that, in enabling experimentation, the learning will be there even if there isn't a financial or social gain. Academy staff describe their adherence to taking all situations as learning opportunities, focusing on the learning, not blame. Instead of taking a negative perspective when things go 'wrong', by adopting principles that echo the Engineers Without Borders' Failure Report described in chapter three, they enable the Academy to continue to innovate.

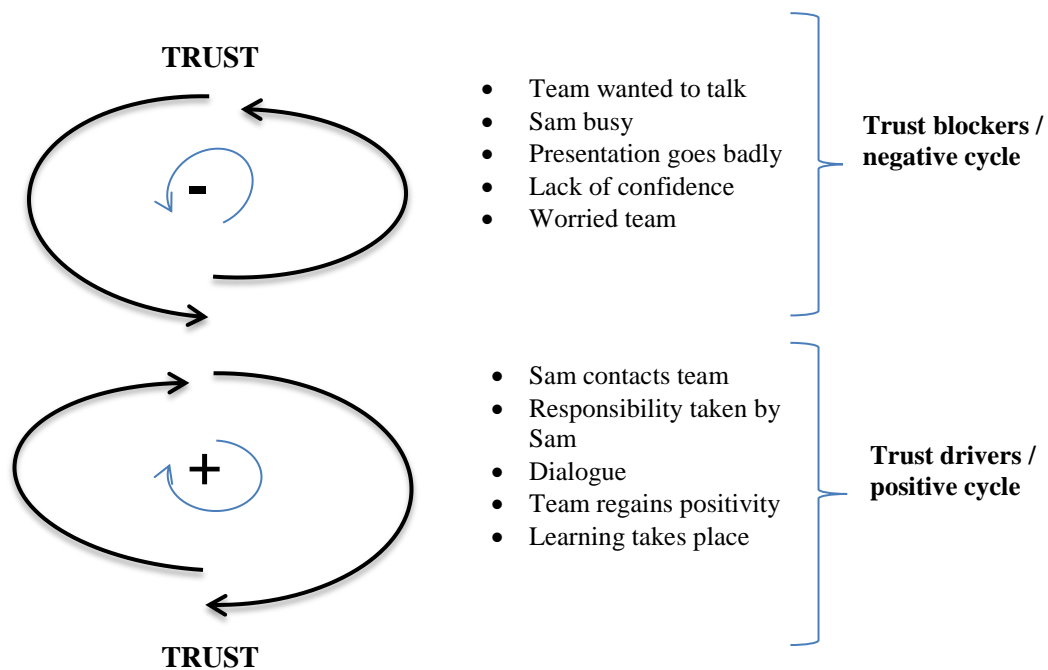


Figure 11 – Mapping negative and positive trust cycles.

Both the Academy and St Fagans interviewees distinguish trust as a core feature supporting the dialogic process when disagreements arise. They also acknowledge that in high trust relationships disagreements are part and parcel of the relational practice. In demonstrating their awareness, staff acknowledge and embrace this aspect of relational practice as ‘being able to challenge in a productive conflict’, discussed as the next property.

5.2.3 Being able to challenge in a productive conflict

Senge (1990) describes learning as something that occurs through creative tensions, and the data reveals working through disagreements is a key characteristic of the St Fagans project team’s relational practice. Being able to speak frankly, not operating on a consensus basis but seeking to understand rather than agree, learning from others through the process, is emphasised very positively by the St Fagans team including at director and trustee level. In particular, Burge (2015) describes how external organisations are “very ready to give their views, challenge and say what it is like for them”, generating a rich environment for the museum to be supported by partners where conflict is engaged with productively. In this way, the organisation can take

advantage of the generative forces created by conflict (Krantz 2001) rather than feel defeated by them, and work to collectively navigate the space between vision and reality in a form of participatory community governance.

It can be difficult for people to engage in, or initiate, a situation of conflict because socially it carries many negative connotations. Change programmes can exacerbate this further by creating scenarios where trust can diminish. People can feel a loss for what is being changed, a denial of their agency and a sense of vulnerability to forces outside their control. However, as described by the St Fagans project team and Krantz above, there is in fact much to be gained when change is engaged with on a basis of trust and a maturity of expectations in managing interpersonal relationships. For both the project team at St Fagans and the staff team at the Academy, trust drivers are established through the dialogic process and so, even within their own evolving change programmes, many interviewees spoke of having the comfort and ability to voice opinions and raise issues at meetings, understanding they would be listened to even if ultimately a different decision is taken.

Similarly, an Academy trustee observes that feedback is encouraged “regardless of whether it is positive or not, so there doesn’t seem to be fear in that”. Fear is not mentioned at all by anyone at the Academy despite concerns about the changes associated with their proposed expansion through the international replication programme.⁴⁸ Its CEO, Neil McLean (2015), describes the Academy’s structure as one that provides an environment to support challenging content. He expresses this in the following example, contrasting two differently phrased questions where he describes the Academy as an organisation that would not ask “why did you do that?” but instead “what was the decision making process that led us to do that?” Not only is there a clear distinction in the type of question being asked, but also of whom it is asked. The use of ‘us’ in the second question removes the oppositional frame of the first, again supporting the desire for mutual understanding, rather than the attribution of blame (Schein 1996). Welcoming differences of opinion, enabling productive

⁴⁸ With their work in Scotland recognised as world-leading, the Academy was also on the point of major change with its intention to establish a ‘replication programme’ to create international franchises that would deliver localised training based on the same ethos, standards and values.

conflict and embracing a dialogic approach act as positive drivers for trust through a virtuous circle supporting mutual understanding. I will further explore the process to support mutual understanding through the next property ‘employing reflective practices.’

5.2.4 Employing reflective practices

In my professional experience, creating or finding space for reflection is often cited as the biggest challenge to actually employing reflective practice, yet colleagues universally recognise its value when they have the opportunity provided. Reflection is a key principle of learning organisations and critical community practice. Rather than a passive mode of being that it can imply for some, reflection requires action to generate the learning. Butcher et al. (2007, pp.59-60) describe critical thinking as a form of action-learning. They go on to quote (ibid. p.60) Chaffee’s argument that “becoming a critical thinker is a total approach to the way we understand our world” (1998) and therefore necessary for social justice practitioners.

Actions from the data evidencing reflective practices include ‘finding time to reflect, discuss and share’ and ‘avoiding treading the same path as before’ – an alternative to *repetitive* practices that indicate limited single-loop learning. In testing the rationale of their museum work (who benefits and what the outcomes are), staff at St Fagans focus intently on the methods they use for reflection, consciously revealed in actions such as ‘thinking and rethinking the reflective process’ and committing to ‘learning to continue to develop’ supported by embracing a process of adaptive evaluation. Not only is the team trying to maintain the project’s relevance as it progresses over time, their reflective practices are a way to self-assess whether they are slipping back into the realm of the ‘tried and tested’.

Such active reflection is mirrored by Academy staff checking in with each other after meetings to ask, “Did it work? What helped us to get a solution?” Academy staff emphasise the importance of not assuming a fixed model works the same every time. Instead they believe in the experimental and uncertain approach of ‘learning by doing, learning by people’, again echoing action learning ‘as a way of being’ proposed by Butcher et al. (2007). Baumber (2015) says of their work, “there is no text book, there

is no script for this”. For the Academy, he states, reflection is “part of the ecosystem that exists to support people” (ibid.). It applies equally to staff as to their learners, suggesting an alignment in values, indicative of the Academy’s emphasis on authenticity and its ability to ‘walk the talk’, a phrase frequently repeated by Academy interviewees and which helps to inform the next property.

5.2.5 Having self-awareness supports authenticity

The Academy offers a very direct analysis in terms of alignment in external and internal values when it comes to adopting the principles of organisational learning because its core business is to deliver people-centred learning. A trustee of the Academy expresses her belief that the organisation is a living embodiment of its ‘learning to change the world’ strapline. Baumber (2015) also references one of its key principles, ‘to share and to learn in return’. McLean (2015) describes the Academy as being based on principles of learning and growing. He explains this as supporting people to discover their own strengths, to understand themselves better and engage in learning to grow their own organisations to achieve social outcomes; in effect to fulfil and utilise their own agency.

All three references are a way of expressing that the Academy seeks to make no distinction between how it treats its staff and its learners. They are understood collectively as a body of people working for a social purpose. In fact, Academy interviewees rarely ever refer to staff as ‘staff’, but as people. They make frequent references to a shared goal of wanting to ‘change the world’, in effect to grow the Academy as an organisation to achieve social outcomes, and, in doing so, to support an ‘authentic’ way of being for those driven by social justice values. Baumber (2015) sums this up in a way that resonates strongly with Senge’s systems thinking:

There is a lot of learning out there and we need to keep developing ourselves and being connected to that. We want to practice what we preach, be a social enterprise, be a learning organisation, to take care of people that are with us and connect with other people doing the same and build that network... If we keep that vitality through those personal connections, social capital if you want

to call it that... internally and externally, then the organisation is not just an organisation, it's part of something much bigger.

The data reveals that, for the Academy, having self-awareness is a pre-condition for authenticity and for learning to take place. Self-awareness is a strong characteristic of the organisation and something that all Academy interviewees openly refer to and have a positive attitude towards. As an example, McLean (2015) describes the importance of understanding the boundaries of his own expertise and knowledge and how they plug into others' skills and knowledge. Recognising the ability to understand both is an asset that supports the organisation's learning, development and relational practice. As another example, by having self-awareness of his decision-making style and the tensions it can cause others (he recognises he is slow to make decisions), McLean established protocols to enable faster, decentralised decision making; a further symbol of trust.

It is important to McLean (*ibid.*) that he practices what he preaches, that he is authentic in his leadership, acting on what is discussed, not simply paying lip service to it; for example ensuring the team participate in the Academy's leadership courses. Interviewees frequently reference actions such as 'practicing what they preach' and 'walk the talk'. They agree that having an awareness of behaviours, undertaking analysis about who they are and being able to understand how they function in group dynamics is important to know, see and act in response to. For example, understanding in any given situation the balance of who is acting as a stabiliser or a catalyst. Making the group dynamics visible and understanding what the impact is for the organisation and its decision-making processes is part of their collective self-awareness required to support the Academy's continual growth and development, authentically.

The project team for St Fagans similarly demonstrates self-awareness in the way they engage with partners. A trustee associated with the project describes her observations of the process:

They have gone the extra mile... to be very self-aware, very reflective and stick very firmly to the principle that everyone is an equal partner, so... museum staff would say things like, “Well, the way we ended up grouped round the table was a barrier, because by fluke we ended up with all the national museums staff on one side and all the partners on the other, and we’re never going to let that happen again.” So it’s very basic practice of self-awareness and awareness of group dynamics and awareness that, as a national museum... the danger will be the falling into a lead organisation, and [that] was prevented by their outlook from the start.

By promoting a shared understanding of how people like to communicate and work, their strengths and personality traits, through the active use of management tools and models, the Academy contributes to a deep level of trust building. Many interviewees refer to experiences in previous organisations they have worked for where personality types were reviewed, but no attention paid to this knowledge in practice. Barbara Scott (2015), quality manager for the Academy, particularly expresses her ease with knowing she is in the minority at the Academy as an introvert thinker because of the level of active understanding of how she contributes and people’s sensitivity to that knowledge. Consequently, it enhances the quality of her relationships with colleagues and the trust built through those relationships as a result.

In a specific dyadic relationship, Baumber (2015) describes his rapport and trust with McLean in navigating each other’s very different personality types. Rather than allow their differences to create tension (which they both acknowledge have the capacity to do) both celebrate having the ability to talk and laugh about their different approaches because they share this knowledge and understanding, and have built strong trust because of it. In this way, it is possible to understand how information, emotion and trust are interrelated as part of the psychological contract, or as Wellin (2007) describes it, their relationship-based personal deal. In recognising the positives in their differences, they focus on balancing each other and benefiting from the combination of skills between them.

Within a workplace setting, the examples provided by Scott, Baumber and McLean indicate trust using all four of Covey's traits – Results, Capabilities, Intent and Integrity (see Table 2, page 62 and Table 3, page 63) – indicative of the thicker end of the trust arc where non-calculative trust correlates with a greater alignment of values and organisations are high functioning.

5.2.6 Holding to the values in practice

For both organisations, however, there is evidence of a limit in authenticity and how they hold to values in practice with some staff groups. For St Fagans, the focus of the redevelopment project is clearly aimed at external communities in addressing the museum's vision to become a force for social change. On the other hand, change is also directed towards internal staff communities to support this ambition, yet in the main is focused on curators, managers and practitioners; the 'professional' staff. By contrast, front of house staff are only just starting to be recognised as part of the system and that they too have valuable knowledge and contributions to make.

The invisibility of front of house staff in the process to date can be expressed through the social justice lens the museum uses for some of its 'external' communities, as a group of people, a community within the system, that has largely been overlooked. One interviewee powerfully describes front of house staff simply as "the people you don't see in meetings", suggesting meetings are a symbol of inclusion. Staff with prescribed tasks and locations, who do not attend meetings and are not part of the dialogic, reflective or decision-making practices, are consequently excluded through oppressive structures and hierarchical ideologies, thus creating a vicious circle reinforcing a message that they are neither valued nor have agency.⁴⁹

Similarly, there is an awkward relationship for the Academy with their bank of tutors who are not establishment staff but who deliver the organisation's learning programmes to clients on a self-employed basis. The Academy's growth since it was established in 2004 has evolved the tutors' role from being within the core of the organisation, to one that is now separate and distinguished by either a specialist- or

⁴⁹ The 'community within' is a theme I return to in chapter six looking at trust and staff group values.

generalist-tutor category. Tutors are neither client nor staff and are the least successfully engaged in terms of the Academy's perspective that it supports a collective body of people working for social purpose. I found these concerns about tutors resonating with assumptions museums may have about front of house staff, particularly in larger organisations, questioning whether the work of both groups is depreciated by being considered as repetitive and therefore restrictive in nature. If so, their experience clashes directly with the type of engagement other staff groups enjoy and diminishes the organisations' ability to evolve a form of participatory community governance.

In turn, the Academy's tutors recognise a lack of authenticity with their own role in the way they find it hard to give feedback on each other's delivery performance. One tutor describes this as a "lack of trust in the room" contrasting unfavourably with the peer-learning approach tutors aspire to generate amongst learners. Similarly, McLean (2015) acknowledges that, amongst the staff, having a range of supportive, open relationships can make it hard to be critical. He presents an example where the Academy's values in practice were challenged following the appointment of a new hub manager. Describing a situation when the new manager was speaking badly of a colleague who wasn't present, McLean (ibid.) reflects: "There's feedback and there's difficult conversations happening, but the idea of, you know, speaking badly of someone who's not on a call... is unacceptable and the very idea that would be tolerated..." McLean terminated the contract, yet he found it personally and professionally challenging when he holds a fundamental belief in people's ability to develop and grow. However, in his leadership role, it is ultimately about having authenticity in terms of holding to values in practice. He describes these principles (ibid.):

[Terminating the contract] was a very difficult process because it's against my values, but following that experience I am much more comfortable that if someone doesn't fit from a values perspective, or a competence perspective, it's not a disaster. It's far better for everyone if that person goes than stays and I think that's my job to make those decisions... The team's wellbeing is one of my principal roles and I think trust is an important component of that.

McLean (ibid.) reflects on the impact of the next person they hired: “The results have been phenomenal...the difference was that [he] passionately believed in what we were doing. [The new manager] was able to communicate the value of what we did, authentically, because he believed in what we did.” A change in personnel can therefore quickly become a driver or blocker for trust and performance. In taking a firm line to hold to values in use, McLean’s actions support the Academy’s relational practice through his commitment to the wellbeing of the overall team. In doing so, he supports the Academy’s capacity to build non-calculational trust and become “disproportionality high functioning” (Darley 2007, p.137 and Covey 2006).

Through these properties, we can begin to see how relational practice and being concerned with building trust are concepts with strong emotional dimensions, which connect to vulnerability as discussed in chapter three. In the final category exploring trust and organisational values, I reflect on properties that demonstrate how ‘vulnerability and risk align with values that support critical community practice’.

5.3 Vulnerability and risk align with values that support critical community practice

Vulnerability is associated with trust development, which itself is dependent on the quality of interpersonal skills and relational practice within an organisation. The fieldwork data reveals key properties of vulnerability and risk that have a bearing on trust and organisational values including ‘withstanding uncertainty’, ‘relinquishing power’, ‘sharing emotional experiences’ and ‘being willing to trust and be trusted’ that I will now define.

5.3.1 Withstanding uncertainty

The first property of vulnerability is withstanding the uncertainty associated with social justice and critical community practice and the lack of control in navigating new and uncharted territory. For museums, this can be a particularly unfamiliar approach, accustomed as we are to working predominantly with tangible knowledge and planned outcomes. By contrast, the connection of vulnerability to critical community practice can be understood through Putnam and Mumby’s definition of

bounded emotionality where they refer to: “an alternative mode of organising in which nurturance, caring, community, supportiveness, and interrelatedness” – a focus on intangibles – “are fused with individual responsibility to shape organisational experience” (1992, p.474). Critical consciousness is again foregrounded as a necessary disposition to adjust to this new frame of thinking.

A curator on the St Fagans project team identifies human values as the key difference, working directly with people rather than basing research in a specific academic field. ‘Creating the new’, doing things differently because of others’ (different) input, characterises the emergent and uncertain nature of the process and practice. Whilst St Fagans staff understand Anderson’s vision and the challenges in broader social, political and economic contexts crystallising a change in the museum’s emphasis and values, the nature of *how* the change will take shape is generated by embracing a joint construction of knowledge, recognising museums are not, and should not, expect to be the experts in everything. It echoes the dialogic processes utilised by both case study organisations, to recognise who has the knowledge, enabling people to come together to socially construct the project.

The St Fagans team clearly acknowledge that museums cannot work in isolation but need partners, not just as a support to the work of the museum but to actively produce it, in creating the new. Williams (2015) describes wanting to be challenged by others in her thinking, working with radical voices to generate change and being prepared to tread an unknown path. She actively welcomes this uncertainty and would like to see the construction of a yet more open system that provides the fluidity to enable people to work between different organisations, beyond the museum, exploring cooperative models for future working to support the common good. Engaging in this kind of participatory democracy is a central feature of critical consciousness (Butcher et al. 2007). Valuing skills and knowledge across organisational and other structures is also central to giving up control and so the property ‘relinquishing power’ is identified as part of creating the new.

5.3.2 Relinquishing power

The case studies offer different perspectives in terms of power and control and the associated relationship between vulnerability and trust. Firstly, the Academy demonstrates a lack of internally focused power domains where McLean (2015) describes his aversion to creating a rigid monitoring process. Instead, he advocates a more relaxed structure as helping people to engage, believing their motivation is enhanced by a demonstrable and corresponding increase in trust and levels of autonomy. He actively prefers staff to try something than to be micro-managed, offering the organisation, and the social enterprise sector at large, greater innovative potential in the creativity this engenders. In balancing the enormous effort staff put in with calling to account, McLean (ibid.) believes the latter shouldn't counteract the former. Staff and managers understand they have each other's and the CEO's full support in their decision-making, with the focus on the Academy's core principle expressed in the words of this member of staff: "You can waste time and money on the wrong approach but you don't waste the learning."

Evidence from the Academy shows it centres on trusting staff to work to the organisation's values, learning positively when things go wrong, very much a collaborative model, echoing St Fagans' ambition, rather than command and control, or, put another way, operating as a heterarchy rather than a hierarchy. In critical community practice this is the development of a 'praxis model' of informed, committed action (Smith 1994), demonstrating the capacity to put values into action. Power is not a word used by Academy interviewees, or when asked about it, something they associate with their organisation. All interviewees suggest that power is distributed and lies with everyone. Largely, references to power and control come in the form of describing how trusted they are to make decisions, the expectation they can progress their work autonomously, as expressed here by Baumber (2015): "Although we've got a matrix structure and you can kind of see a hierarchy there, it's a lot more loose than that, people have got a lot of authority and control and responsibility diversified." Figure 12 presents the Academy's structure as an inverted hierarchy, showing the board and senior managers at the bottom. Baumber (ibid.) goes on to explain:

The organisational structure is intentionally that we [senior managers] are at the bottom there,⁵⁰ serving this web, and that the relationships we have across that web become really important, that we empower the right people to do their job well, and then it's their relationship with [others] that is crucial.

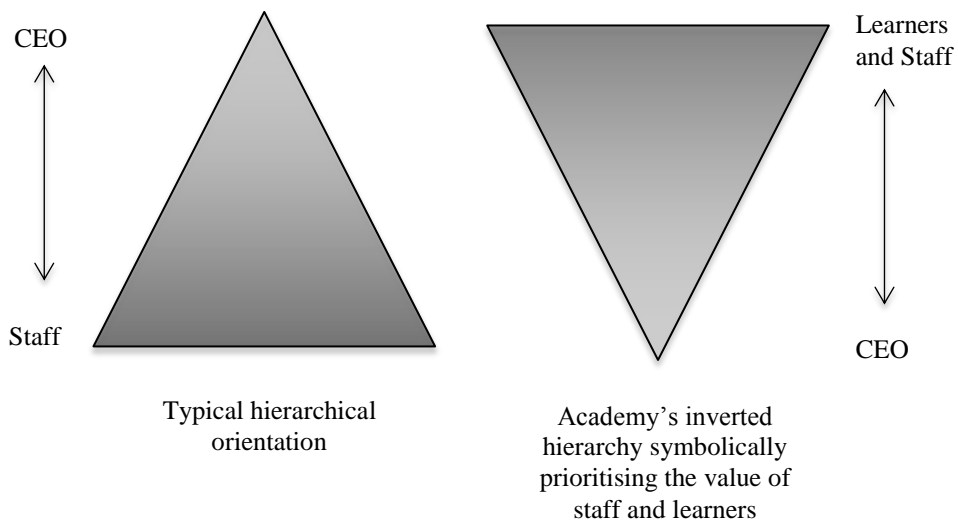


Figure 12 – The Academy inverts its hierarchical structure.

Trust also flourishes between the geographically dispersed Academy hubs. McLean (2015) acknowledges there is a difference in organisational culture between the Edinburgh and Inverness offices but recognises that these differences work, again emphasising a form of shared and empowered leadership. In tandem, the Inverness hub manager describes being implicitly trusted by Edinburgh colleagues in his role, appreciating the freedom given to him to develop, take risks and incur opportunity costs. Another virtuous circle for trust is implied as he describes sharing the same freedom and flexibility with his own staff. 'Being willing to trust and be trusted' is demonstrated time and again to be a core Academy characteristic, positively reinforcing how the act of 'relinquishing power' supports critical community practice

⁵⁰ See Appendix 7 for the Academy's full structure, where the managers and CEO are represented at the bottom of the chart.

through the associated vulnerability and risk. Not only does the Academy subvert its hierarchy, it also conceives it as a way to serve a wider network, described as the ‘web’ by Baumber (2015). For those who have come from other sectors (civil service, corporate finance, fitness and lifestyle), this is typically an unfamiliar culture and an initial discomfort, with one member of staff suggesting that feeling the need to check in with others is sometimes about whether you *trust yourself*. I find resonance here with other critical community practice attributes associated with self-trust, self-leadership, confidence and the ability for practitioners to “enhance their critical and creative capacities... both as individuals and in concert with others” (Butcher et al. 2007, p.62).

St Fagans staff describe similar levels of trust created through autonomy in their work. Experience is expressed in a range of ways such as “feeling trusted, almost too trusted”, “there is that trust for me to go about things in my way”, “that’s something we’ve been encouraged to do...not to be scared to take those risks and have those far out ideas that might not work but, you know, a lot could be learned from things not working.” Williams (2015) also describes the benefits of not being controlling in the organisation of their work, particularly in relation to working across the system, that the relationship personal deal is the key to making it work. The organisation can have as many structures as it likes but in the end it comes down to the people and the relationships that they build. For Williams (ibid.) the question is “to what degree do you control the programme and to what degree do you let the programmes grow organically?” echoing McLean’s balance of staff effort versus calling to account.

5.3.3 Being brave enough to do things differently

Within Scotland the geographically dispersed nature of the Academy doesn’t pose a threat to its organisational values, although staff are sensitive to the additional vulnerability of the planned international replication programme. In line with critical community characteristics and organisational learning theory, however, they are generally comfortable taking risks and prepared to make mistakes. They are applying the ‘growth and development’ approach they have for their individual learners to the hub expansion partners, rather than designing the replication programme as a standard franchise based on financial transaction. Whilst by necessity there is a technical

process and high level due diligence, Baumber (2015) describes the expansion plan as a co-design process with new hub partners “[connecting] with someone at a human level that understands and values what we do and wants to share what we do in their area, with the people in their area.” In a sense it is the strength of these human values and the sharing, learning principles at the core of the Academy that are sought after by governments and potential international partners. We know that high trust organisations are high performing, echoing McLean’s desire to enhance staff motivation so they may give their best to the cause, literally the desire to ‘change the world’ and the ability to do things differently.

Through the planned expansion, questions arose about what tools are required to support the Academy’s replication programme. Interviewees’ reflection emphasises protecting the people as well as the organisation through the newly evolving structures; for example, questioning the assumption that, because the Academy is growing it needs to become like other organisations with more formalised policies and manuals.⁵¹ Would these make it a ‘better’ organisation? A working group exploring this assumption concluded that an organisational handbook, where everyone knows how to do every job, is not the priority. It is a decision symbolising trust through the ability to do things differently (and potentially more effectively), rather than focus on technical processes. Instead, they are valuing and protecting the trust already there, that people will get it done and if they need help they will ask for it. Trust here emphasises personal agency, which I explore in more depth in chapter seven.

The working group also considered how best to communicate new HR policies, asking teams to present a policy to the wider organisation through the medium of a pantomime story. The theory behind this approach was to counter what might otherwise have seemed a threatening development in a still relatively small organisation. Sandra Ewen (2015), a senior Academy manager, reflects on the story approach:

⁵¹ The Academy’s questioning echoes the pressure many museums face through the sector’s ‘professionalisation’, which can lead to compromise in terms of practice, grassroots activism and political aims.

It was amazing because the feedback from that was that things like the health and safety policy...they [presented it through the story of] Jack and the Beanstalk... what people said was they went away from it and they remembered all about [the policy]. You know, it was just a different approach, but you're absolutely right, you couldn't do that in an environment where people didn't trust each other.

For Ewen, it was a powerful example of who they are as an organisation, with people at its heart. For me, it is another example of a virtuous circle, that the ability to be vulnerable, to do things differently (and perhaps more powerfully) is a consequence of trust and one which also builds trust.

Perhaps one of the most significant characteristics of vulnerability and associated risk is the ability to embrace and value emotion. The vulnerability of individuals shown and shared through emotional experiences in their professional and personal lives is a powerful channel for trust to form and is discussed in the next property 'sharing emotional experiences'.

5.3.4 Sharing emotional experiences

Using an emotional experience to build trust as a consequence of shared vulnerability is a phenomenon expressed by both organisations, with examples that indicate emotions and emotional experiences in the workplace can have a positive impact on trust, underlined by close value alignment. Groups of people that are able to share personal vulnerability are demonstrated to have higher levels of resilience because it supports non-calculational trust, thereby creating capacity to support the organisation (and each other) in changing system contexts (Edmondson, 2007). Paying attention to emotions in critical consciousness enhances learning (Butcher et al. 2007) and can motivate and fuel effective action (Salovey and Mayer 1990; Goleman 1995).

A constant reference to the organisation as 'family' is made by Academy interviewees about the nature of the care and responsibility they have to each other, as individuals and collectively. They also feel a sense of responsibility to people in the wider sense of their lives, in their personal commitments and non-work bonds through sharing

emotional events. A particular instance is relayed about a colleague who had taken her own life whilst on maternity leave, described here from McLean's perspective (2015):

That whole episode was very challenging and very difficult and traumatic for people and, but again, I think we built a level of trust as a consequence of going through something like that... Although a really challenging leadership situation, you know it's a horrible thing to have to go through, it wasn't difficult to know what to do, it was very easy to know what to do, because it was about looking after other folk and self, and making sure that those who were there and affected by it were properly supported.

The situation above illustrates that real life events happen inside organisations as well as outside them and so to conceive organisations as constructs separate from wider society and life experience is false and naïve. Of course, organisations working for social justice are cognisant of issues facing communities in the wider sense, but it is still a risk that this consideration may not be taken far enough to include staff, who are themselves members of society.

At St Fagans, the development work with community partners helps staff understand that their work goes right back to the personal, and that staff families have similar experiences, so the values they are working for are not about 'another', it is 'as well'. Williams (2015) describes that recognition here:

That way of thinking, "it could be any of us", came out quite clearly from what the partners gave them [the staff] as training. Recognising that the level of support and care that you would wish to engender in your relationships externally, you have to do it with yourself, you have to start with yourself.

Interviewees also make observations about sharing and understanding what others were going through at a particular time of vulnerability when their jobs were at risk. Acknowledging their own and others' vulnerability through the most essential nature of being human (rather than a mechanised role of an employee) is shared between staff and summarised here by Williams (ibid.) who says: "It's made people who have

been involved from a staff point of view to actually value their work in a different way...it is quite emotional for people really...and that's something we need to do more of really, is to think of people as people."

The risk to this trust driver is that NMW's background change programme to address the financial position is a phased process, so that only some staff groups at the time of the fieldwork had gone through the larger structural change. Staff sharing those experiences and the associated vulnerability build trust together, yet the situation also creates what one curator describes as "a schism within the organisation" where other groups are carrying on as before, so far unaffected by the kind of change that for others had meant redundancy, or competing with colleagues for new positions. Williams (ibid.) describes the experience of that bigger change programme for those going through it and the impact of the associated vulnerability:

What that gave, I suppose, is that we could get to know each other at the hardest of times, if you like, and I think if you could build some trust at the hardest of times, then you've always got that.

Providing emotional support for staff at different stages of the change process, bringing in expertise to help people understand the different stages (to feel anger, the sense of loss) is an important factor in recognising and sharing those emotional experiences. Yet, in the nature of being human, they also recognise the incompatibility of the tiredness caused by change at the same time as needing to be creative for it. Sharing with their community partners helps staff to place change in a broader context with other sectors' experiences. The knowledge that many third sector organisations survive annual uncertainty gives staff a more positive attitude towards change. St Fagans interviewees also offer a distinction through critical consciousness that change is not about being 'lost' and a need to 'get back' to where they were, rather it is about accepting 'here is where we are'.

For the Academy, sharing the emotional is also a way of making the organisational boundaries permeable and a way to align values. Demonstrating mutual care and benevolence are strong signs of affective trust (Aryee et al. 2002, Dirks and Skarlicki

2004, McAllister 1995, Whitener et al. 1998). Following their colleague's suicide, the Academy spoke publicly about postnatal depression, putting their values into "informed, committed action" (Smith 1994 quoted in Butcher et al. 2007, p.143). A staff member who subsequently joined the Academy actively wanted to work for the organisation because of how it had handled the subject. That person was able to say in her recruitment interview that this was the kind of organisation she would want to work for, having had that experience herself, and knew if she became unwell in the future it would be appropriately managed and supported.

Being able to give of yourself personally and professionally in the way that was framed through the exploratory study is aligned with being willing to trust and be trusted. Both organisations provide examples of how they build trusted spaces that empower people to speak up and voice new ideas. Many staff, especially in the Academy, recall experiences from previous employment where employees would be afraid to challenge in the proper forum and instead huddle outside meetings, causing a negative cycle of suspicion and distrust amongst colleagues. This is not the experience of the Academy or St Fagans project staff. There is universal agreement amongst interviewees of feeling valued themselves and of trusting other staff.

At St Fagans, staff describe seeing the personal investment and emotional capacity required to build relationships with community partners and giving of yourself as the most enjoyable part of the job; a strong sense of belonging to the place and to museums as an open community ideology. Many acknowledge the people they work with across the structure would give unwavering help or support if needed, a sign of reciprocity in terms of trust. Trust between colleagues is therefore operating on a heterarchical basis, despite the asymmetric relationships of the hierarchical structure, illustrating the dynamic relationship between personal agency and structure.

Despite the high level of trust and good will between colleagues, other human traits are also acknowledged. Academy tutors and NMW curators who have a deep emotional attachment to the organisation or a subject area due to their 'specialist' status are part of the 'known and taken for granted' pattern of socially constructed dominant 'norms'. Whilst their perceived marginalisation will generate a negative

impact on organisational trust, critical theorising is a means to evaluate such ‘norms’ and how they may be reimagined. An Academy manager describes the familiarity of long-standing tutors as problematic, for example, resulting in a lack of compliance with technical processes such as completing evaluation forms, or not keeping to the delivery style of the content being generated ‘in the room’. On a relational level, liking someone as a person is difficult in emotional terms if there are issues of poor performance. Yet without the *self-trust* to tackle these issues, it is a vicious circle if they are the person representing the Academy’s values and acting as the ‘face’ of the Academy to clients.

Change therefore offers both positive and negative impacts for organisations, affecting the strength of their trust and values and the dynamic relationship they have with their staff and the wider system. ‘Change as a key driver for impact’ is explored as the final category in this chapter on trust and organisational values.

5.4 Change as a key driver for impact

The impact of scale features in both case study organisations, however, the resulting emphasis on change differs for each. For St Fagans, change is about articulating, sharing and working to a new values base, yet it has to contend with the existing scale of the wider NMW organisation. By contrast, the Academy has an established values base and working ethos, but is looking to rapidly scale up by expanding and replicating their programmes across a network of international hubs. As in any live situation, contributory factors are complex and dynamic and, whilst these are the key emphases, there are also a number of contextual change drivers within the case studies including organisational development, sector changes and socio-political and financial concerns. In this section I explore what values the organisations bring to the drivers for change, including: ‘building value fit and awareness’, ‘driving change through direct experience’, ‘reducing physical and structural distances’ and ‘caring for people experiencing change’.

5.4.1 Building value position, fit and awareness

McLean (2015) refers to continuous improvement rather than change, resonating with critical community practice principles. It implies constant development rather than a

singular action that is resonant of double-loop learning. In a similar way, Thomas describes seeing St Fagans as a project without an end, holding to its title *Making History* through on-going co-curation and public engagement. Interviews from both organisations highlight how change can challenge values, yet may equally be an opportunity to improve individual value fit to positively impact organisational performance. Value fit is highly personal and the impact of direct experience in delivering change is a significant finding in building trust across organisational, staff group and individual values. As it crosses all three headings, the theme of direct experience recurs in the two other analysis chapters and is another pivotal element within the virtuous circle. Figure 13 positions ‘direct experience’, alongside ‘dialogue’ that I discussed earlier, as critical elements that support trust and value alignment, expanding the drivers within the virtuous circle.

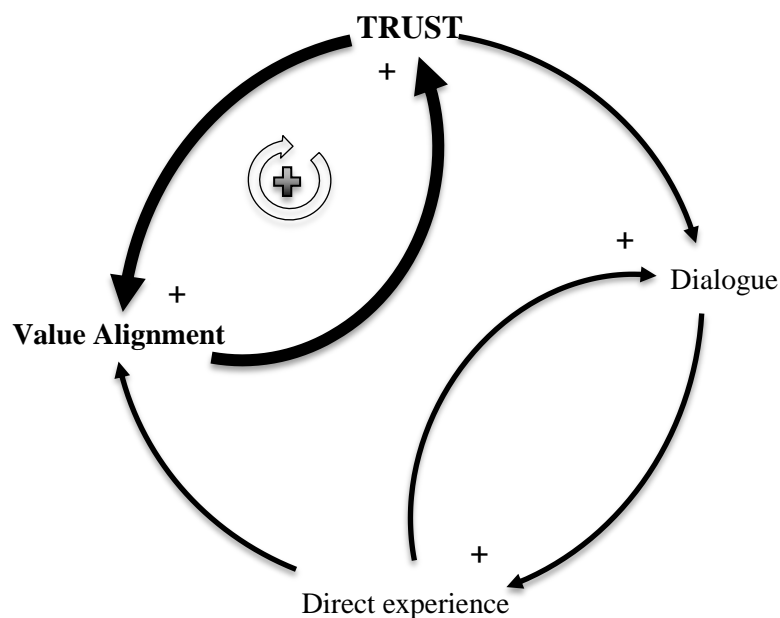


Figure 13 – Dialogue and direct experience are drivers that support the virtuous circle of trust and value alignment.

The projected increase in the scale of the Academy’s operations has triggered concerns about how to maintain the integrity and philosophy of what they do through the new hub network. McLean (ibid.) describes delivering the expansion as akin to the early days of the Academy, with more structure and technical implementation rather

than organic evolution. They are addressing issues presented by the anticipated growth in scale with a firm commitment to finding the right fit with partners to keep alignment with the values they believe lie at the heart of their achievements to date, and to retain the current quality of their work. McLean meets each individual who will potentially lead a new hub in the replication programme to “make sure there’s an empathy, connection and values fit”. If there isn’t that confidence and foundation of trust, then the partnership will not be taken forward.

The Academy intends to establish the new hubs by initially using Scottish tutors overseas as a form of cross-pollination of the Academy’s values and learning, exemplifying its ‘share and learn in return’ principle. I believe there is an opportunity here for the desired expansion of the St Fagans values across NMW by utilising the Academy’s cross-pollination approach between NMW departments and sites. Beyond that, there is the consideration of how to facilitate the same depth of relational practice and care in the quality of communication; for example, managing regular, personal and face-to-face contact for both the Academy’s expansion programme and to manage the existing scale of NMW. Baumber (2015) admits struggling to maintain the balance of the Academy’s work in the wider context of a fast-moving environment, particularly in terms of sharing knowledge and information; a central premise on which they build their trust and values. By contrast, NMW is already a very large organisation and observations from the St Fagans staff suggest it becomes difficult for a director of any large organisation to keep in touch with what’s going on, on the ground, simply because the ground is so far away. As this staff member suggests, “it becomes so big you expand yourself out of understanding.”

Whilst this might seem a stark warning for the Academy, there are international organisations that appear to successfully manage to balance a relational practice with scale. A particular example is W.L. Gore and Associates (Gore 2017) – a worldwide company⁵² employing over 10,000 people and recognised for limiting the number of

⁵² The Gore company invented a versatile new polymer that has application across a wide variety of industries (for example medical, pharmaceutical, aerospace) in products aimed to enhance quality of life (Gore 2017).

associates⁵³ at any single facility to 150, having found that more than this begins to counteract their best work and achievements.⁵⁴ Clearly there will be other variables in Gore's success than limits on staff numbers. They also express values that echo the principles of a learning organisation, and by aligning their values across the staff, they believe that these values are "the basis for our strong culture, which connects Gore associates worldwide in a common bond" (ibid.). Over the past eleven years, Gore has consistently been recognised as one of Europe's top 100 employers. Anne Gillies (ibid.), HR leader at the British Gore subsidiary, says:

We have our associates to thank for this excellent result. They interact with a great deal of fairness and respect for one another. Our associates in all countries always reassert the very real significance of these values. So, as partners, we all work together to continue developing Gore and driving it forward.

One of the key challenges facing NMW is the context of working in a public sector organisation where the emphasis is on retaining staff and investing in them, which will ultimately drain other resources if there is a fundamental values schism. In many ways, the scale of a large organisation reflects the challenge to support community and social change more broadly, in that there will inevitably be a greater variation of value sets, traditions and cultures.

5.4.2 Driving change through direct experience

As well as coping with NMW's size there are long-standing barriers in terms of the organisation's age and what Williams describes as the museum sector's "continuity of experience". For her it contrasts unfavourably to other sectors she has worked in and, as a consequence, finds herself being frustrated by the barrier to change it presents. Ranson and Stewart (1994) note that long-established organisations privilege certain

⁵³ Gore uses the term associates for its employees (ibid.).

⁵⁴ 150 is also known as 'Dunbar's number' which anthropologist Robin Dunbar (1992) identified as the number of social relationships we can cognitively sustain, which correlates with the approximate size of early human settlements. Malcolm Gladwell (2000) also refers to 150 as the point at which it is beneficial for social groups to divide, so creating the ability to generate a large movement through multiple small ones, whilst maintaining quality relationships.

ways of doing things, what Senge (1990) describes as mental models, that become the normative forms of organisational behaviour and ‘the way we do things around here’ which, when embodied by large numbers of unique human beings, makes change difficult. The notion of the museum’s continuity of experience is echoed by Thomas (2015) who expresses concern in the way St Fagans has become “like an image on a biscuit box”. She questions the authenticity of craft skills presented in the museum if the skill has been learnt within the museum, rather than in the community as a way of making a living. For me this is an example of the ‘aestheticisation’ of museums, not the reality of life, rather how it might be seen as a consumer product. She further describes NMW as generally having “got comfortable” and “needing to be radical” in order to review its purpose and fundamentally create change.

St Fagans’ staff, therefore, view the restructure as a way to shift the museum’s purpose, seeking a fundamental philosophical change, not just a physical or structural one. Through the project’s consultation with staff across the service, managers have become aware of how little connection people had previously made between their practice and Welsh government agendas, despite working for a service with a national remit. In many ways St Fagans isn’t just a values change for the organisation but is representative of a wider culture change for the museum sector as well. What this reveals is a previous lack of strategic thinking, or systems approach, towards social justice practice. Adapting the museum’s underlying philosophy and redefining its practice against this background is deeply complex as forces impacting on the change such as government policies on arts and culture, access to participation and engagement, and extreme financial pressures will fluctuate, possibly unpredictably, and outside the organisation’s control (Burke and Litwin 1992). To deliver on its new values position, NMW at large will need to equip itself with the best value fit and awareness across its people, as well as maximising its wider partnership engagement.

The perspectives of staff and practitioners driving the change at St Fagans fall into two main camps. The first are people who have experience of working for social benefit, or whose professional interest is already people-focused. The second are those who have been *obliged* to undertake a significant shift in their professional role through the directive of the change programme. Staff engaged in redefining practice

for St Fagans recognise the challenge (and requirement) of working with existing staff and their skills sets. Described as a clash of perceptions with the “traditional core” of the museum identifying as a conservative institution, interviewees sense a limit in the change potential if the majority of staff joined for different value preferences.

My study into the lack of alignment between internal and external values is therefore not just about organisational but also individual values, including an individual’s responsibility to, and self-awareness of, their own value sets. Furthermore, this consideration extends to the potential that people are able to play personal politics with their individual agency according to their primary value sets, possibly acting as a blocker to growth and development. The risk for NMW is that, ultimately, the change opportunities presented by St Fagans might be seen as peripheral through its project identity: a project being something that comes and goes. However, distinguishing factors for St Fagans are its moral commitment to people and the relational practice underway with community partners, which can surpass the limitations of project funding and timescales. The experience of this relational practice will be a key driver for change.

Direct experience is shown throughout the interviews as having the single biggest impact to drive change by breaking down barriers; supporting personal development and growth, aligning purpose, values and roles in the wider system as a way of fulfilling the emphasis in critical community practice on “learning as a way of being” (Vaill 1996, quoted in Butcher et al. 2007, p.59). Direct experience can also close round structural and psychological distances in hierarchical organisations by drawing on systems thinking, distributed leadership and active citizenship. The data provides evidence of positive and negative impacts at St Fagans and NMW, perhaps unsurprisingly, given their ambition for change is the greatest in respect of the journey to value alignment in an organisation of scale. Part of NMW’s response to adapt its underlying philosophy is to create new roles foregrounding participation and public-facing values, enabling staff to directly experience the difference. As an example of critical community practice, this curator observes:

I think history and archaeology as a department are radically altered... So I think we had a radical change there and a necessary change to destabilise existing power structures to the point where people could think differently. I think the St Fagans project... we are providing the fuel for demonstrating that the change is good and the change in values is good.

Staff involved in the St Fagans redevelopment believe it is an engine to drive change across the whole NMW estate, despite the fact that it is based on a project structure. For other NMW staff, change is more likely to be observed as only located in St Fagans and therefore be perceived as peripheral and time limited. These two perceptions emphasise again the difference between those who are experiencing change first-hand (the concrete), and others who are aware of it only as the adoption of a new vision or policy (the abstract). Whilst the learning from St Fagans redevelopment is intended to expand as an NMW-wide strategy, the experience has been problematic by coinciding with a larger, financially driven change programme creating division amongst staff groups experiencing the restructuring process separately and with very different timescales and motivations. For some, the experience emphasises the silos that projects can create, described here by one of the curators:

One of the things that struck me subsequently when I've taken up my permanent role here... is that we are still very siloed and trust is very low across silos and resource control. Fear of the next round of redundancies will come along and my priority has been trying to build those bridges of trust so that people can see we're not curatorially trying to take the resource away.

Across the board, NMW interviewees believe their most successful approach to generating support for the philosophical change is to find real examples of people in their work meeting the change head on in forms of critical action. To prevent a slide back to old ways, whilst acknowledging the challenge in terms of the organisation's scale, St Fagans is seen as a way to break down internal silos in a similar way to their partnership working. In action, this means without tight control, enabling staff to

recognise their part in a wider system through a power-with approach, overcoming defensive barriers to access double-loop learning.

5.4.3 Reducing physical and structural distances

Systems thinking supports long-term outcomes over short-term gains through the interconnection of individual and collective agency (Senge 1990). Both organisations in the study demonstrate an ability to reach across the system networks and hierarchical structures of their organisation to reduce the physical and structural distances between staff groups. In turn, this enhances their ability to share and embed values, high trust behaviours and learning; minimising the potential impact of double bind scenarios (Butcher et al. 2007). Closing round the ends of the hierarchical operating structures supports the development of network structures, generating virtuous circles. At St Fagans, Williams (2015) illustrates this in action:

I think one of the things that's interesting for me in the museum, the kind of structure on paper, the meeting structure, the bureaucratic structure on paper and what people create around that to create spaces to reflect or to think together... those are dependent on relationships. And so for me, a key part of what you try and do is to build those relationships, but build them in the areas where you think there are those shared values.

In reflecting on the new structure in practice, staff at St Fagans describe it clearly as a hierarchy whilst simultaneously recognising a feeling of 'all being the same' which, for some, generated a feeling of "not really making sense" as the organisation carries a history of a dominant hierarchical culture. People describe feeling comfortable enough within the structure for informality to happen, resonating with the Academy's fluidity of staff roles yet having clear expectations in terms of what they are there to deliver, reinforced by the shared value system. There is also evidence of St Fagans staff actively bypassing the wider NMW hierarchy to achieve change more quickly, using whatever avenues are open to them to make structural barriers permeable, for example, working with others who share the same values wherever they are situated in the structure. Others comment on having more access to directors in their new roles, welcoming these relationships as a way to dissolve the 'them and us' polarisation and

to think of them as people rather than remote authority figures. Strengthening of relationships between senior managers and practitioners in this way helps to ameliorate the risks posed by the type of double bind scenario (Butcher et al. 2017) experienced in the exploratory study. Figure 14 continues to build the virtuous circle supporting trust and value alignment, adding heterarchical networks as positive drivers as well as the contributions of the learning organisation, vulnerability and change as a driver for impact.

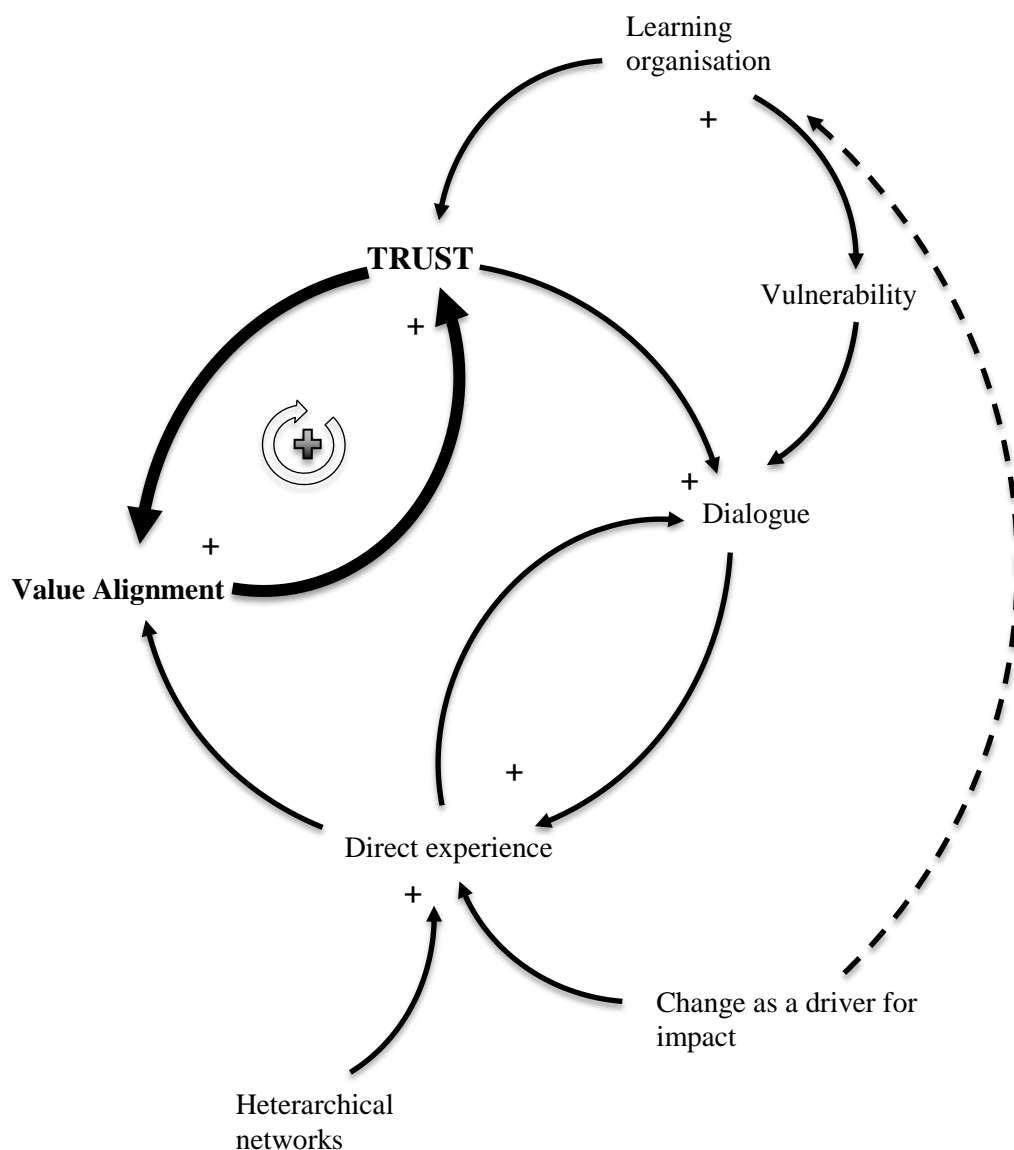


Figure 14 – Continuing to build the virtuous circle for trust and value alignment.

I have been interested to interpret the impact of hierarchical structures on the ability to support social justice work and both organisations offer examples of vertical and horizontal structures supportively intersecting. Williams (2015) refers to the structure as a “cross-hierarchy” in that they consider the most effective work located where it cuts across hierarchies and pay structures; creating an equality of voices in the working teams. At St Fagans, many staff describe witnessing changes in colleagues’ perspectives on the importance of participatory community methodology when they are physically participating and carrying this experience into their own work, which creates impact across the structure. For example, the ability to see the strategy in practice has expanded the board’s understanding of the project through their direct involvement, literally bringing the two ends of the organisation’s structure together.

In bearing witness to the daily detail of social justice work, as a trustee describes it, the trustees have transformed their relationship from a remote approval of the *concept* to what it actually means in *practice*, echoing the difference between an organisation’s espoused values versus values-in-action. That their work is engaged with first-hand by trustees serves to increase staff confidence. Whilst there are clearly limitations on how far the values are currently reaching across NMW’s estate, here a trustee articulates the benefit and impact of her experience, both personally and professionally: “I mean in a multi-layered way the whole of the organisation understands and is behind the vision and participation and access aspects... but I think [through this experience] there is better understanding of what that actually means”.

A similar benefit is expressed at the Academy, as this manager comments: “There’s no hierarchy, you know. It’s not about your job title; it’s not about where you sit within the organisation. It’s really about what you bring to the organisation and how you do that.” McLean (2015) has also established subcommittees for specific areas of organisational development through a mix of staff representatives and board members. The result is the generation of broader thinking and knowledge, greater participation and augmented relationship interconnections. It is best illustrated through Figures 12 and 18 (pages 117 and 149 respectively). In both, the Academy’s organisational chart is inverted to present the structure as a supportive construct to enable staff (and by extension communities) to wholly participate and fulfil their role and potential. Where

the Academy has geographically distanced hubs (in Scotland) they don't present a risk to the organisation's trust and values. They are well maintained and served through strong contact, communication and face-to-face visits. As Ewen (2015) states:

Cost isn't the factor, it's what you value and how you value people, and if it means that we spend a wee bit more in actually going that extra few miles to meet up half-way, then that's perfectly ok, because that's who we are as an organisation.

The commitment to learning opportunities and finding ways to permeate structural and role boundaries is a way of building community internally. Yet it is also important to recognise that restructuring and change can equally close down relationships, thus threatening the system. Key examples of relationships at risk for both organisations were the longer serving, specialist staff groups: the specialist tutor category at the Academy and subject curators at NMW. The 'specialist' Academy tutors tend to have a long history with the organisation from the time when it was no more than a handful of colleagues working in a very organic way. The strength of their sense of ownership has become a contested area as the Academy grows and formalises its organising processes, gradually disempowering these long serving tutors as staff roles have become more clearly defined. There is a parallel here at NMW, where interviewees acknowledge a strength of feeling amongst many long serving curators that their expertise is the foundation of the museum.

Whilst for some St Fagans staff, the revised structure works as a driver for the values change, others felt it had "ripped apart" existing groups and staff connectors, that the process had badly affected people, particularly when competing for fewer jobs as part of the financial contraction. Referring back to the differences felt by people experiencing change, if an organisation is actively foregrounding people and relational practice, what can be learnt of an organisations' trust and values in terms of its care for people?

5.4.4 Caring for people experiencing change

Both organisations express a strong vision of working to social justice values and so share a concern about balancing care for staff going through change without weakening their long-term vision or making change optional. Ewen (2015) describes the experience of two of her staff being made redundant due to financial contraction at the Academy, the support she got for that process and the feedback from the staff affected. As difficult as the experience was, it was critical not to avoid having difficult conversations, not shirking responsibility. That responsibility extends to providing layered communication and support for the staff directly affected, for Ewen as the person managing the process and the wider Academy team, recognising the potential impact on wellbeing for an extended group of people. In seeking permission from the individuals to share the situation with the team, Ewen used communication to avoid gossip and support the continuation of an open and trusting set of relationships. It is a strong example of proactively working with the psychological contract to build trust through integrity and credibility.

Similarly, St Fagans staff share examples of managing challenging change situations through communication, being open with people and information, but also telling them when there are things that cannot be shared. Focusing on building supportive and trusting relationships gains a stronger team by developing their capacity for resilience, so they are able to withstand the uncertainty and lack of control that is characteristic of critical community practice and its associated vulnerability. People were supported to reassess what they were doing and why they were doing it, creating a positive driver by sharing and learning from partners and other perspectives in an example of dialogic and reflective practice. However, managers at St Fagans believe they didn't engage with front of house staff adequately enough, particularly against the larger backdrop of NMW's financial cuts, leaving staff to assume they were losing jobs to pay for the project, so breeding distrust in the philosophical change.

Interviewees also expressed concern that the project has been looking outside and not inside, echoing my research question about alignment of internal and external values. I explore these concerns in the next chapter on trust and staff group values.

Learning from both organisations suggests change processes can be balanced with a fluid way of working to fit the broadest range of people's learning styles and personality types in a way that encourages positive development. People working for both organisations also show resilience and learning traits by actively looking at what experience they have to draw on, that will support them through new developments and change. The data suggests staff do not always want to feel in control in their day-to-day work. That is to say, repetitive actions don't fuel innovation. Instead, by supporting staff to stretch or value other skills, they can bring creativity and confidence to the process as a positive change driver. It reflects the additional time and space given to the St Fagans team in the project's early stages, allowing the organisation to close galleries yet not rush the redevelopment coming in their place.

5.5 Concluding thoughts

Providing the opportunities for, and supporting staff to think differently to envision a future where fundamental changes can be imagined is a key characteristic of a learning organisation. In exploring trust and organisational values, the case studies present compelling evidence that approaches to social justice practice driven by values are consistent with the assumptions, values and dispositions embraced by critical consciousness and which emphasise the importance of people and human values. Both case studies demonstrate an alignment in values and permeability in the conceptualisation of 'internal staff' and 'external public' communities. There are strong examples of staff as empowered, active citizens of the organisations – a form of 'community governance' and power within (Butcher et al. 2007) – of building community through shared experience, reflective practice and dialogue. These are examples of the trust drivers supporting (or working against) critical community practice that connects its elements with organisational learning theories.

Trust is also symbolised by the structural adaptations to the traditional hierarchy, literally creating an alternative structure in the Academy's case by inverting the hierarchy, in terms of representing the organisation as a whole, but also in building direct connections and multiple networked relationships through its subcommittees. Similarly St Fagans has also developed a heterarchical system approach to bring the vertical ends of the structure together, unapologetically working to do things

differently. Change is a driver to shift the existing, underlying value sets. Without change impetus, assumptions aren't tested or questioned. Change doesn't have to be singular or a dramatic start-and-finish process, it is a constant long-term journey, which more closely aligns with a definition of reflexive practice.

Overall, the fieldwork demonstrates how trust and organisational values is contingent on **generating a high trust organisational culture** through authenticity. Authenticity is a form of self-awareness and critical consciousness. There were instances where these characteristics were strongly demonstrated in practice, particularly in caring for others, and that authenticity is a way to align values internally and externally. However, there were also gaps in alignment, for example in considering front of house staff and tutor groups. Whilst the case study organisations largely demonstrate a focus on the philosophical rather than the operational, the fact there are exceptions to the full, active citizen status of people in each organisation, illustrates a level of dominance still maintained by the structures. It may not be intentional, but the result is a physical and psychological marginalisation from participatory decision-making and an example of how easily stereotypes can be reinforced in terms of who is most valued. It raises questions about organisational values and the ethics of relationships, the lack of critical consciousness here in terms of who is fully incorporated into the heart and soul of the organisation. I revisit these ideas in the following two chapters.

Even in a high trust organisation with close alignment of values, there are significant challenges and debates about how this is sustained in an expanded situation, through the Academy's proposed replication programme and the dissemination of the values change across the whole of NMW. The viability of scale in both case studies is an important question, and one that might be best addressed by advocating smaller hubs within the larger function as operated by Gore, supported by the cross-pollination of staff skills and values. Equally, in terms of critical community practice, do the 'marginalised' groups have an embodied way of thinking that might work against the values change, particularly given the 'continuity of experience' identified in the museum sector? I explore these questions in the next chapter in my research findings looking at trust and staff group values.

Chapter Six: Trust and Staff Group Values

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the nature of how the Academy and NMW were both working to their social justice values as learning organisations. With some notable exceptions to be addressed, the positive impact this has on trust within the organisations starts to indicate a primary principle of foregrounding people and human values across internal and external relationships; that is to say, across the ‘whole’ system. How does this impact on trust and values for staff groups? In this chapter I examine the implications for trust if staff are perceived as participants (agents in the system) as much as the communities they purport to serve.

The model of critical community practice helps us to understand human sociality, how social relationships and organisations are currently constructed and to theorise about how they can reinforce exclusion and oppression (Barnett 1997; Butcher et al. 2007). Silverman argues that human relationships are “the fundamental agents of well-being and social change” (Silverman 2010, p.110). I position the nature of these human relationships as the critical element of the system that learning organisations inhabit. Senge uses the conceptual framework of systems to articulate his vision of learning organisations as places “where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning to see the whole together” (1990, p.3). How do the values of these two learning organisations function within their staff groups, and what can be learned about how they align with the organisations’ espoused values or the way they function with external groups? How do they, in Senge’s words, “see the whole together” (ibid.)?

The quantitative survey shows staff groups align closely with values associated with social justice and not with dominance over others. However, the survey presents different results for staff perceptions of their organisations’ association with these values, where the majority of organisations are considered to be more self-seeking and controlling (see Appendix 5).

I view the interplay of staff group values on the system at both micro and macro levels. The micro level is concerned with individuals connecting with each other on a relational basis, each having the opportunity to participate and contribute their voices and views. At the macro level, it is concerned with the system of these interrelationships, a network of human sociality and the freedom to participate in the development of an alternative 'whole together'. There are a number of properties discussed in this chapter, positioned within the following two categories:

- Staff can be powerfully engaged as a community,
- Direct experience closes the psychological and structural gaps between values and structures.

I will now present the interpretation of the data under these headings.

6.2 Staff can be powerfully engaged as a community

Evidence from both the Academy and NMW strongly demonstrates the potential for learning organisations to powerfully engage their staff as a community, thereby having the potential to align values-in-action internally and externally. I will explore how this is achieved through a number of properties. However, in both organisations the potential is not fully realised across the system, with inequalities of opportunity (Comstock 1982) for the Academy's tutor group and St Fagans front of house staff. Pinpointing the difference in practice with these particular groups questions the organisations' ability to support Senge's proposition of 'collective aspiration' (1990) by utilising the *whole* system. From the St Fagans data, there are a number of interpreted events about 'missing the power within' during early stages of the project. The data also illuminates the steps now being taken to develop participation for front of house staff previously excluded from the dialogic approach and shared decision making processes explored in the preceding chapter.

Keeping within the frame of critical community practice, in terms of community and organisational governance, front of house staff in many museums may potentially be considered a marginalised group. As such, they have limited opportunities to contribute, either through lack of invitation or lack of trust (or that might be the same thing) and whose value as 'knowers' may be, therefore, largely ignored. (This proposition is based on my own experience within a large museum service and the

fieldwork data from NMW. I acknowledge, however, that across institutions, front of house teams will comprise varying experiences, opportunities and agency to contribute to strategic decision-making.) Simultaneously, this scenario also removes political responsibility from them, causing dissociation with broader community and organisational processes, rendering them powerless rather than empowered. As a counterpoint to these findings, I also explore the capacity for change and alternative ways of being through staff group actions such as ‘reconceiving roles’, ‘building community as a family’, ‘multiplying positive impacts’ and how they each contribute to an organisation’s potential to engage their staff as a community.

6.2.1 Recognising the system

At a macro level some of the major elements of the system museum staff inhabit include: the public, volunteers, professional sector, academia, the role of development bodies such as the Museums Association (MA), pay scales, hierarchy and structure, public and third sector agencies, social agendas, local and national financial and political contexts. I discussed in chapter three how, within the UK, politicians have emphasised a greater significance for the sector’s growing community role, particularly following the negative social impact experienced in the post-2008 economy. Staff at St Fagans describe how they have come to recognise and embrace a moral commitment to people in response to the social agendas set by the Welsh government and the MA. There is a similar environment for the work of the Academy, with the Scottish government and other civic agencies seeking their knowledge and expertise.

Part of this moral commitment to people is not only to the population at large, but also to individuals at the micro level – equally members of the public or work colleagues – whom we each support along the way. These connections, Silverman’s one relationship at a time model (2010), generate individual yet multiple impacts for the lived experience of those helped, the helpers, and then others who will be supported in the future as a form of ‘giving back’ by those who themselves have received help. In systems thinking, the virtuous circle of these impacts will also be beneficial for the sector and wider society. During the last 20 years, outreach departments have worked

in similar ways (for example, Glasgow's Open Museum⁵⁵) developing services that demonstrate a moral commitment to individuals on a relational basis. What NMW and the Academy have to offer is the ambition to work in this way across a larger system, working the virtuous circle outwards towards delivering change at a population level, minimising the short term project scenario described in chapter three.

Recognising the system is dependent on an organisation's ability for communicating values outside itself. Janice Lane, the NMW director structurally responsible for St Fagans,⁵⁶ describes the value of defining the terms of the project to ensure trustees are fully involved throughout as providing a legacy where trustees now have a much better understanding of engagement and the museum's potential to work collectively to create change. What is significant is that the change potential is not understood from project reports, but because three or four of their trustees are able to be part of it, see it and speak of it from their own perspective. The significance of board members within the system is their role in the overall governance structure, at the top end of the hierarchy; they will represent different interests and sectors, and have a significant circle of influence beyond the museum. This example provides an excellent contrast to the experience and the distance, both physical and psychological, of the governance structure in the exploratory study. In this example, St Fagans is an organisation living its values-in-action and which embodies critical community practice in staff groups across the structure.⁵⁷

The achievement of St Fagans to develop its practice through the organisation in this way is significant, given that the change in terms of the moral commitment to people is a shift in the museum's overall practice. By contrast, the Academy, and therefore its board, was set up to deliver to social justice values from its inception. As the case study evidence demonstrates through trust and organisational values, NMW has a challenge ahead to evolve how it expands its critical community practice across the

⁵⁵ The Open Museum is part of Glasgow Museums. The Open Museum was established in 1990 with the remit of breaking down traditional museum barriers and implementing a more inclusive approach to community engagement. It has proved to be highly effective and has gained an international reputation for its work (Glasgow Museums 2016).

⁵⁶ Janice Lane is Director of Learning, Exhibitions and New Media.

⁵⁷ The exception to this is front of house staff, which must be addressed, but I argue this does not wholly negate the active use of a cross-hierarchy approach.

estate. Lane comments on the task facing the organisation beyond the St Fagans project:

When you are taking forward your business as an organisation, if you dissect that down, which is kind of the organisation we have been, if that becomes so dissected that departments only ever see the bit that they do, or can run as autonomously as possible, you get a lack of trust, you get friction and you get lack of communication.

The history of the organisation to run in autonomous silos is significant (and aptly emphasised by the use of the term ‘divisions’ as NMW refers to its departments) and will be exaggerated by its scale. Although it is large, its structure does not readily support a networked approach. I believe there may be useful learning to draw on for both case study organisations through the hub system the Academy is developing for its replication programme and the experience of international organisations like Gore⁵⁸ that never allows growth to incapacitate the business, instead capping the number of staff at any one facility at 150.⁵⁹ Although a multi-million dollar, multi-national business, Gore’s guiding principles and “people practices” (Gore 2017) echo many values shared by the Academy, NMW and critical community practice: referencing collaborative and coaching practices; emphasising interconnected, networked talents; supporting each other to develop people’s strengths; basing value systems on emotional results as well as financial. The Gore website states “we believe in the individual ... in the power of small teams” (ibid.) and their principles include freedom, fairness and commitment. Gore now has more than 10,000 associates (their term for employees) worldwide, demonstrating that small teams don’t necessarily mean small reach.

⁵⁸ W. L. Gore and Associates (Gore 2017)

⁵⁹ 150 is also known as ‘Dunbar’s number’ which anthropologist Robin Dunbar (1992) identified as the natural number of social relationships we could cognitively sustain, and typically the approximate number of early human settlements. Malcolm Gladwell (2000) also refers to 150 as the point at which it is beneficial for social groups to divide, creating the ability to build a large movement through multiple small movements and maintaining quality relationships.

For both case study organisations, however, there are instances where they are missing input from staff, that is, not giving them the same level of input as other staff groups or community partners, therefore causing a lack of alignment in practice. “When employees don’t know each other and how they are supported to interact, then there will be waste” (Micklewright 2011, par. 8). The distance in knowledge and understanding of what each other’s role entails in practice, is pinpointed as a source of tension, one that I believe is multiplied by scale, as in the case of NMW. As discussed in the previous chapter on trust and organisational values, the St Fagans project has been able to bring the two ends of the structure together. If we imagine the organisation’s hierarchy redrawn together in this way to represent the wider system, then just as the circular economy describes food as waste, in a museum scenario knowledge is waste. Burge (2015) contributes the following observation:

I think we went out, we spoke to [staff] about what we were doing, but we maybe didn’t get them as involved in those changes as we could have done. So a good example is when we were sat in the meeting last week and we were talking about how there wasn’t representation from HR and I think there [are] still issues there about certain areas almost still living in silos. So they are not all involved but I know that that’s something we’ve identified that we need to improve and we will do.

6.2.2 Remembering there is a community within

If human sociality and therefore interdependence across the system network is one of the central characteristics of critical community practice, it may still seem surprising that within the museum sector we don’t recognise this sufficiently to explicitly consider all staff within this human sociality on an equal footing. As discussed in chapter five, the impact of the hierarchical structure on staff becomes apparent through an emerging awareness at St Fagans of “the people you don’t see in meetings”, as expressed by one of the curators. They refer to front of house staff and other staff groups not present or part of decision-making processes; the structure excluding them from what he describes as the “thinking life of museums”, thereby dehumanising them from conscious activity.

Within the museum's community system, it suggests a significant element (and resource) excluded (wasted) through non-engagement. How does this affect the organisation's capacity to expand its thinking, collective aspiration and continual learning (Senge 1990, p.3)? The exclusion of front of house staff in the thinking life of museums has become foregrounded in my own practice as my professional role has changed and expanded to cover the overall management of multiple sites. My remit has created scale in staff numbers that far exceed 150, particularly with front of house staff, and it is this scale that I am aware is at risk of isolation from organisational decision-making practices. Drawing an example from the exploratory study in Glasgow, a gallery assistant⁶⁰ based at GoMA comments, "this whole thing about conflict, I'm sure there probably was, but it wasn't sitting next to me." Whilst this may be an isolated comment, it is one that summarises the very different experiences between staff groups, and inevitably, their experience of trust in relation to any concept of participatory governance.

Subsequent to the exploratory study, GoMA's associate artist 2014-2015⁶¹ Rachel Duckhouse, mined the differences between staff members' personal interactions within Glasgow Museums' complex organisational system over the course of a year. Duckhouse (2015) says of this work:

I became aware of patterns, relationships, connections, disconnections, motivations, hierarchies, agendas, preoccupations and passions that shaped each individual's perception of the institution and how it related to wider environmental and social issues inside and outside its walls.

By mapping the "infinitely dynamic, multi layered and intangible relationships between people and the systems they work, live and think within" (ibid.), Duckhouse's images serve as a metaphor for the significant differences in the levels of

⁶⁰ Gallery Assistant is the staff title for front of house staff at Glasgow Museums.

⁶¹ In GoMA's evolving approach to social justice, it developed opportunities for artists to work with the museum over a 2-year period where there was identified synergy in supporting, challenging and investigating the practice of both museum and artist. Duckhouse's exploration of the organisational system stemmed from her earlier work on climate change, rather than any intentional overlap with my own research interests.

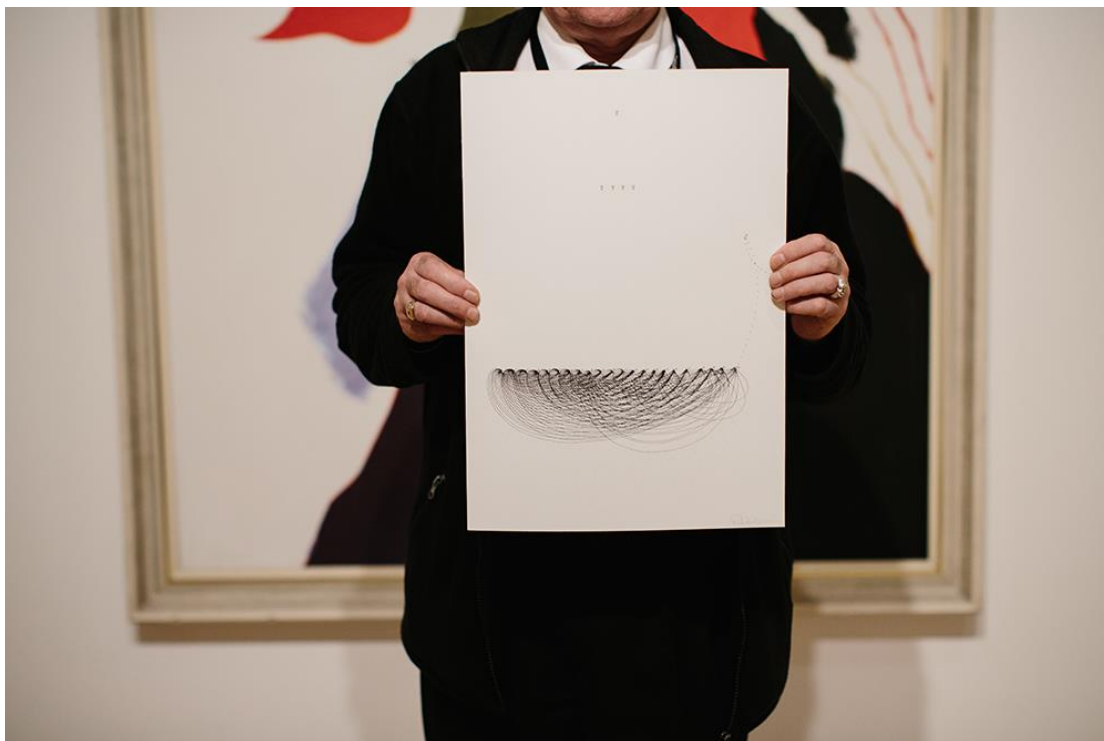
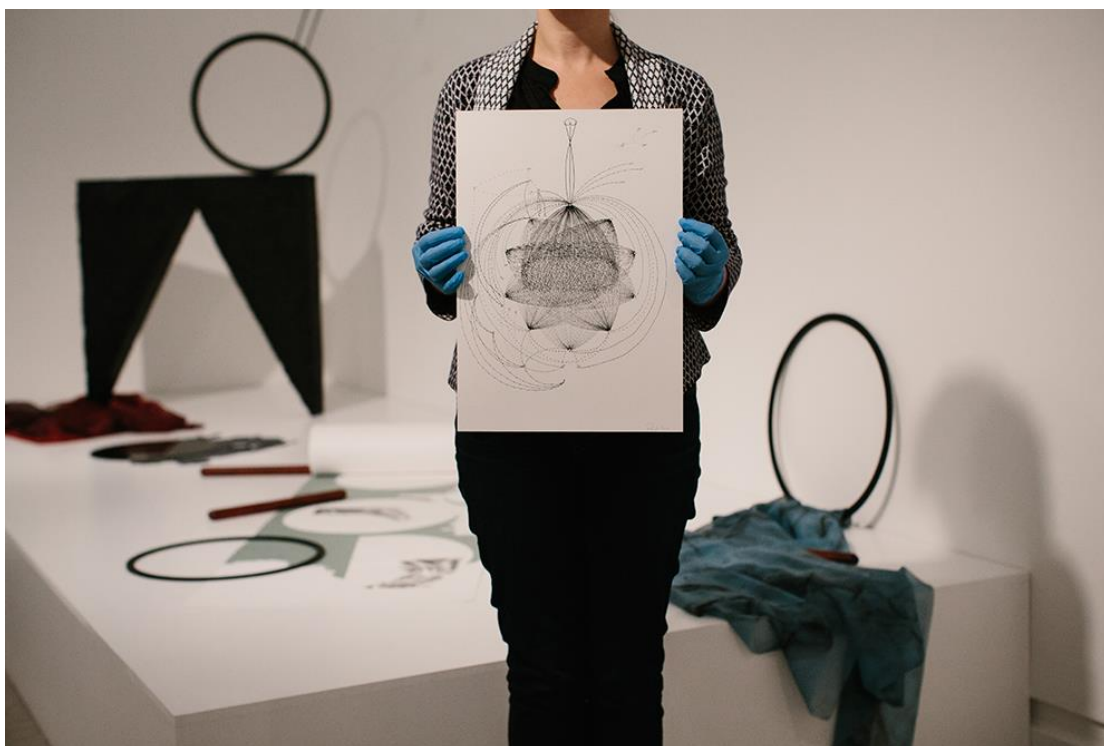


Figure 15 – *Gallery Assistant iii*, Rachel Duckhouse 2015 (photograph: Caro Weiss).



**Figure 16 – *Conservator*, Rachel Duckhouse 2015 (photograph: Caro Weiss)
(Background – *The Death of Lady Mondegreen*, Douglas Moreland 2015).**

staff interactions in the wider system. Figures 15 and 16 show the relational connections for a gallery assistant and a conservator respectively. I have referenced these images because I believe they effectively visualise the potential difference in lived experience of front of house museum citizens: the ‘flat’ line of connections for the gallery assistant, compared to the dynamic web of interactions the conservator has.⁶² The disconnect for front of house staff in terms of shared knowledge and participation with the wider politics of the organisation’s community – in this instance at Glasgow Museums, a large-scale service not too dissimilar in structure to NMW – will, I suggest, be typical for many large museum services across the UK.

The role of front of house staff at NMW, as for many UK museums, is wide and varied. So much is expected of them as Bethan Lewis (2015), head of site for St Fagans, pinpoints with this summary: “They’re expected to know everything and be brilliant and be happy and be security and be everything; first aid and all of that.” Yet as she also acknowledges, they are also often thought of as “hassle!” – lumped together in a negative frame when, seen through an alternative lens they are often the largest people resource, a direct interface with the collections and the public, but probably the most overlooked staff group. An alternative view is that they are the most knowledgeable staff group in terms of immediate public feedback through their daily conversations and observations. Are we utilising their knowledge and expertise sufficiently, effectively? Are we even recognising it? In an echo of sectorial discussions on the value of community knowledge exchange, the recognition of front of house knowledge, and that we may be missing the transfer of this knowledge, is hugely important.

NMW’s St Fagans project has been positioned from the outset as an open community approach with a range of forums and co-production methodologies informing the early thinking and writing of the funding bid. On reflection, however, the inequality for staff has become apparent across the project team. As Lewis (*ibid.*) reflects:

⁶² The gallery assistant example here is employed for illustrative purposes. In chapter seven I show this is not necessarily a universal experience.

My fear, because it's brilliant the work that we're doing, but the one thing I have been concerned about, that partly with this project we're always looking outside and not looking inside... So going forward I think what we need to do is give staff a voice with partners... where we need to engage people, I think, from the bottom up.

Such inequality is starting to be recognised and many interviewees articulate the benefits of now involving front of house staff with the same open community approach applied to non-museum staff groups. The negative and positive trust drivers of these experiences are mapped in Figure 17. NMW interviewees recognise they had excluded people from the project who work with communities daily. They were missing the expertise there by not recognising the front of house staff group as 'knowers' or that they and their knowledge are key assets to organisational learning.

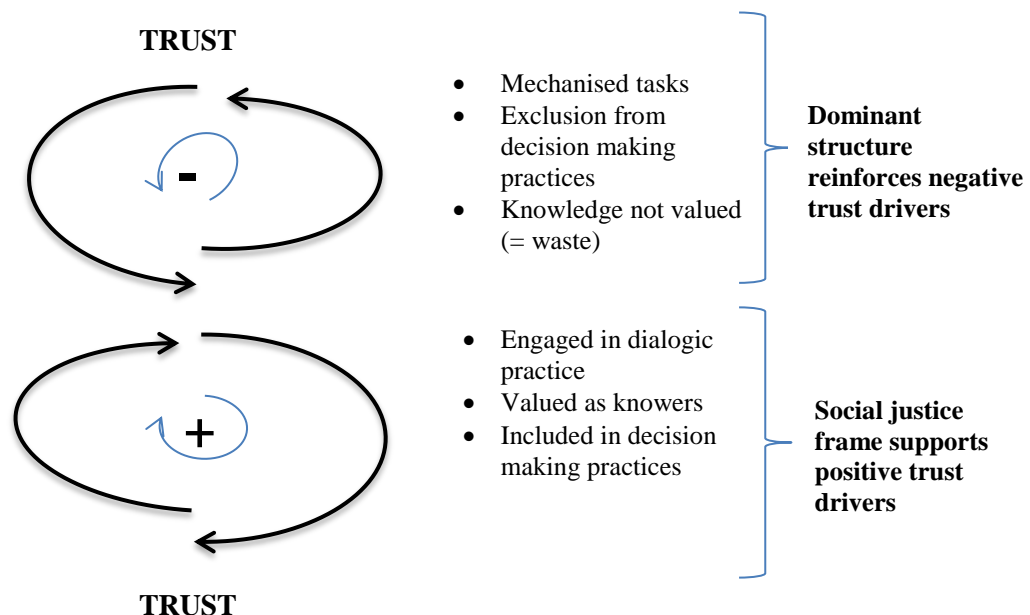


Figure 17 – Negative and positive trust drivers for front of house staff group.

I believe this development is a welcome consideration in how people – just like ‘the community’, staff are also people – gain a sense of their purpose, agency and contribution to a critical shift in building values and developing trust. As a result of

their reflection process, St Fagans established a staff participatory forum, an early iteration described here by a member of the curatorial team:

Treating the staff like a community group, trying to align different sets of ambition, what do you want your St Fagans to look like in 2050 – it was mostly museum assistants, front of house staff, cleaners, people who you don't really see in meetings who, they must have come along because they cared about it so we gave them a platform for them to tell us what they believed.

He describes what he feels is the shift in working with the full range of staff agency and the challenge of working towards democratic decision making. He gives an example of a discussion about using replica objects within the historic buildings at St Fagans, emphasising the importance of recognising different staff group contributions to, and information about, the overall museum offer:

So I see there is a need for a David [Anderson] level person to say, unpopular as it might be, this is where we're going, whatever that direction might be... This is why I was giving the example of where authenticity lies. [Directors and curators] may still decide that they don't want replicas in houses [because they think] "that's not what we're about", but that's quite weighty, there's a body of people [front of house staff] who'll be working with that, so weigh your decision against [their views].

In further unpacking the differences between the treatment of front of house staff and communities (for example describing the difference between the bureaucratic processes the staff have to go through to make a suggestion versus what processes they would ask a community group to follow), Lewis (2015) reflects:

But this is so important that we give those opportunities, that we're not only looking out for the Pauls [a community partner volunteer], that we're also

looking out for the Bethans⁶³ and we're looking for the Rylans [both staff] because they are there and I think all too often, we sometimes, we ignore.

In many ways this reference demonstrates there is no boundary between what is internal and external, expressing that we are all people, albeit overlaid and cemented by the construct of the 'organisation', which can suggest separation. In fact, the people and the individual human contacts within that construct are potentially "changing the world one relationship at a time", as Silverman (2010, p.109) expresses it, simultaneously revealing and addressing oppression. Here, then, we can begin to see the internal and external value systems aligning: the staff within being people. As Lewis points out, "they are our community". It is a false boundary between who is out there in the community and who is in here in the museum. The issues that people are facing can and do happen to any of us and Lewis (2015) underlines this when she says, "we do need to remember there's a community within".

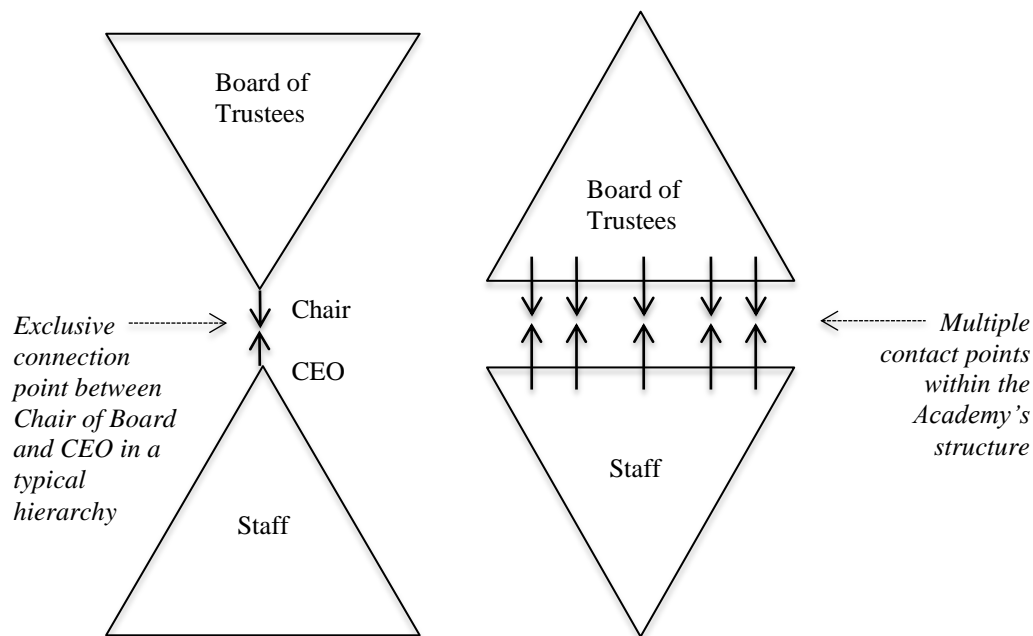


Figure 18 – Comparison of contact points between a typical hierarchy and the Academy's inverted hierarchy.

⁶³ Bethan Lewis, head of site at St Fagans, believes she wouldn't be in the role she has now if it hadn't been for others seeing potential in her and working with her to fulfil it.

Creating a staff forum, testing ideas with partners and building direct relationships with a wider range of staff (although this was an unintended outcome for NMW) breaks down psychological barriers. It is also demonstrated very clearly in the Academy's use of subcommittees, combining board and staff as members, where the consequence is an enhanced quality and range of relationships that is atypical in terms of a hierarchical organisation. Figure 18 illustrates the key difference in the connection points between a typical hierarchy and the multiple contact points created by the Academy's inverted hierarchy, activated through its sub-committees. Both case study organisations are therefore demonstrating a commitment to personal relationships as the key to making community engagement work. A form of relational practice, enabling new things to happen by bringing different people together in teams, references again the potential role a long-term project format can play in creating change. Engaging with the full system, developing dialogic practices and recognising the community within are all contributory factors to 'seeing staff as people', rather than a dehumanised element of an organisational construct.

6.2.3 Seeing staff as people

An NMW board member recalls the way community partners had reflected on how kind and welcoming the people are who work at St Fagans, emphasising that if this behaviour is recognised as a core competency it will grow. She asserts that being kind to another person is the number one essential for such work and, echoing the words of Krantz (2001), "you have to start with your staff. You treat your staff the way you want them to treat the partners and people they work with." Similarly, at the Academy, a board member believes that to change lives, "it's about the person, because none of [the work we do] will matter unless they believe, and they have trust and confidence in themselves" and that is how we should treat staff as well.

In addition to establishing a staff participatory group for the St Fagans project, there is a separate initiative to develop a staff craft forum, drawing out skills that have not previously been considered part of the role but are now acknowledged as adding value. As well as supporting staff development, self-worth and motivation through the recognition of people's wider skill sets and attributes, they also enhance the visitor experience. A member of NMW's learning team describes this development as seeing

people “in the round” rather than as the single dimension of the paid role they inhabit. Furthermore, this ‘in the round’ perspective can be viewed as accessing wider elements of the system network. In a similar scenario, the Academy have started monthly learning lunches, each led by different staff sharing their particular aptitude for certain skills. Contributions cross over into non-work related skills, which are welcome, as described here by Ewen (2015):

Outside of work Sam, Gordon and I are all passionate about photography... and we were saying there’s absolutely no reason why you couldn’t have a learning lunch on photography... because again all that feeds into what we do because it’s about how you see life and everything... It’s not so much about the skill or the learning that you’re imparting, it’s the way that it’s done and the way that it brings people together, and there’s a team building element to that as well where...we get the chance to see one another in a different light.

Ewen (ibid.) considers that being open to learning lunches on non-work subjects “feeds in to what we do because *it’s about how you see life*” (emphasis added). It is not about the skill or learning being imparted but the *way* it is done, bringing people together, team building and seeing people in the round. For Academy interviewees, there is agreement that both personal and professional elements (and skills) are active in the work place. The significance is the route it opens up to aligning perceptions of staff with perceptions of communities through an alternative value system.

Just as I have highlighted in my earlier discussion of museums’ social justice practice, practitioners understand that time is needed to foster relationships, to nurture human sociality. This is as true for staff as it is for ‘external’ communities. Using Rachel Duckhouse’s images as a symbolic example of system dynamics, the potential here is to engage a vast range of additional staff skills, ideas, knowledge and, critically, as emphasised by Ewen, *relationships* that have previously been untapped. Just as practitioners take care not to label people they work with in a one-dimensional frame, neither can we fully relate to people through the single dimension of their professional role. At the same time, this ‘whole person’ view increases the benefits and positive impacts for the organisation at large in terms of authenticity and the opportunity to

fully participate – so it is a virtuous circle, a trust marker and driver for improved productivity, “working to their strengths... and where they have a passion” as McLean (2015) says, chiming with the Academy’s approach and recognition of the person in the round.

Developing this ‘whole person’ view and not being limited by a job description as all you (can) do furthers my interest in the slow break from the blue-collar work ethic of patriarchal management systems and workforces of the 20th century referenced in chapter four. As an alternative to Winslow Taylor’s scientific management to maximise staff labour (Benjamin 2016), ‘humanistic’ management, as I re-label it, or a form of bounded emotionality, enables us to recognise and benefit as individuals, organisations, communities and wider society, from the power within. Instead of measuring productivity in the form of mechanised outputs where low grade staff groups are treated in a functional manner, the focus on human values increases their contributive potential, generates thinking to challenge existing power structures and encourages interrelationships across the system, ultimately fielding greater innovation and productivity by the growth of trust.

At the Academy, McLean acknowledges the importance of trust in developing the type of learning through which people discover their strengths and understand themselves better. He includes in his reference to ‘people’ staff as well as Academy learners; he is concerned with these opportunities for everyone as people, through which they are supported to activate their individual agency to collectively deliver social outcomes. How far is it possible to work democratically across the system like this, or will organisations inevitably find limitations and miss some of the power within? Like the exclusion of front of house within museums, a similar situation exists within the Academy in relation to its network of self-employed tutors. An Academy board member describes a conversation with McLean in which she advised: “your staff are your core resource and let’s not just talk about staff, your people include the tutors.” They are equally connectors to those beyond the construct of the organisation, where organisations can be most permeable to the wider system, instead of risking the perception of ‘two completely different worlds’ described in the exploratory study.

The following extended quote from the Academy's board member helps to unpack the dichotomy of the situation:

I think now they're growing the organisation, there's different behaviours and the nature of those relationships are exposing themselves a little bit more and so tutors who were in it from the start when it was very much hands-on... feel a great deal of ownership with the organisation. That's my reading of it. And now that the organisation's growing larger and its getting a little bit more rigour into some of the processes for consistency... it seems to be that some of them [the tutors] feel like they don't want to have to fall into line in quite the same way. So... how do you nurture that family feeling everyone talks about, when it becomes a really massive extended family? And who feels closer to the core of that and who feels maybe a little bit more distanced away? And then if you're feeling a little bit more distanced away does that mean you feel a little bit isolated or do you feel like, well, that doesn't necessarily apply to me?

The questions posed within this quote are extremely pertinent in terms of understanding and working with the system dynamics and the potential impact on the interrelationships across the system. The continuous improvement journey of learning organisations to create change through these interrelationships is now explored through the following properties 'reconceiving of roles' balanced with 'building quality relationships'.

6.2.4 Reconceiving roles

I have identified the Academy's tutors as a staff group at risk of exclusion from the internal knowledge and power in a similar way to front of house staff. However, the changes in terms of their role in the organisation as it develops its social justice practice can also be compared to that of museum curators and how, through the St Fagans project, curatorial roles are being reconceived.

Like the Academy's tutors, curators have a long history – a 'tradition' – of being the central knowledge assets within their respective organisations. Curators are still frequently perceived as the lifeblood of museum staff, particularly in terms of

academic knowledge and the tradition of the ‘expert’, the specialist. Part of the process of reconceiving roles is not just about the impact on yourself, but the revision in terms of what you do for, and with, other people. How interviewees perceive what makes the St Fagans team strong is the “belief in the goal that we should be doing something more useful to society”, as described by a curator. The literature review on social justice practice indicated the risk of polarisation in museums between (traditional) curatorial practice and the desire to widen learning and participation. However, there is no evidence to suggest that St Fagans project staff have been pushing for participation at the expense of curators.

Instead, as Sioned Hughes (2015), head of public history at NMW describes it, the shift is about “changing the curatorial role to facilitate others to do things, rather than being the voice of authority”, using “the participatory model of working with communities to create something new.” These statements resonate with critical community practice and critical consciousness particularly. Instead of curators as keepers of a form of received knowledge, this participatory model recognises individuals as keepers of their own knowledge. Hughes (*ibid.*) articulates a blended approach of participation and research underpinning her belief that, to create effective participation, you need a firm academic foundation of what collections are about and what objects can say. However, the critical distinction in reconceiving the role of curators, in this example, is supporting community groups to develop their historical skills and share their knowledge assets as part of that participatory governance process.

Within the project team Hughes (*ibid.*) suggests, “We all feel we’re doing something transformational” which is building the trust in the team. She describes the St Fagans project staff as “providing opportunities to come into the hierarchy of the museum... to really influence what we do... [We are] working towards something of value, not just for ourselves personally within an organisation with a hierarchy”. Instead, it is about working with others, “the idea of something quite democratic” (*ibid.*), a deliberate shift towards “learning as a way of being” (Vaill 1996, quoted in Butcher et al. 2007, p.59) instead of controlling as a way of being, referencing the control traditionally experienced and expected by a subject curator as the ‘expert’. Framed in

these terms, many museum professionals may feel uncomfortable with the dictatorial tone it suggests.

In national organisations, curators have traditionally been seen as experts but some are now evolving a community-orientated role, a form of expanded curatorial practice. By this, I mean working beyond the traditional subject specialist role, building bridges of trust with others through a relational practice, jointly constructing knowledge and meaning. A curator at St Fagans describes a community focus as providing a “purposeful curation”, moving from the notion of curating as an individual activity to which individual status has traditionally been attached, to one that is a collective activity. For some this has been perceived as a ‘loss of control’ as the expert curator. Mirroring critical community practice, however, the shift to working in a less risk averse and directive way is also recognised as creating a greater sense of worth for curators, *if* this change supports a stronger personal values fit with social justice practice.

6.2.5 Understanding quality relationships

Across the wider NMW service, however, people are experiencing low levels of trust, with fear of redundancies leading to tight resource control between departments and teams. As a response, a curator working to the new values ethos from St Fagans describes “building bridges of trust” with these siloes by giving away resources. He interprets this redistributive generosity in quality relationships through an example of ‘power-with’ values-in-action:

Your personal experience at working hard at this is what makes it happen...
Practical things matter. It isn’t enough to be in a meeting saying we want to work with you; you have to make the first step, give without expecting something back.

Clarity of communication is identified as central to quality relationships and is a significant contributory factor in high trust cultures (Covey 2006). At NMW, quality relationships are characterised by a significant level of face-to-face communication and contact time; a warm interpersonal approach; and consideration of, care for and

courteous behaviour towards others. The fieldwork provides evidence to demonstrate this in action for staff groups and individual staff contact – the macro and the micro. For example, the St Fagans project team works to ensure equal partner status using an active awareness of group dynamics. Equally there is a readiness to challenge from community partner organisations – another high trust marker – which supports the building of group values from the very start.

Separately, a project staff member describes the high level of trust with his line manager, the autonomy he is given and how he is encouraged to take risks and have “far out” ideas, taking the learning from what doesn’t work. Here, trust and staff group values connect directly with trust and organisational values in terms of vulnerability and risk. It also suggests another connection to the concept of EWB’s failure report,⁶⁴ creating a virtuous circle relating to risk, vulnerability and improved performance as well as being a positive driver for learning, change and trust.

What these examples offer is an insight into the quiet, mutually supportive ways people are stretching each other’s abilities and seeing potential in one other. Trust comes from being challenged “in a safe way”, as the Academy’s learning manager Bert McGlone (2015) describes it, and feeling trusted to do the work. There is evidence to suggest that both organisations, and the Academy particularly, place a very high priority on understanding quality relationships where staff are valued as a full individual, not just for their technical competencies, but for other qualities that will allow them to grow in their work and life positions, by recognising their potential and ‘fit’. Thus it suggests emotional intelligence is valued as much as technical competencies, which is equally a feature of trust and organisational values.

Understanding quality relationships is also revealed through the action of ‘building community and family’, particularly evidenced at the Academy. All interviewees describe their relationships at the Academy within a ‘family’ frame. Scott (2015) describes the family feel as very different to the ethos of other organisations she has worked for, how they genuinely care for one other and follow a vocational calling to

⁶⁴ Engineers Without Borders (Canada) have been producing an annual failure report since 2008 to promote innovation and performance.

make things better for people (not ‘others’, people is used as an inclusive term). She says:

I think we quite often bandy the phrase about that it’s a family. It does feel very much like it’s a family when you’re involved in that, it’s got a very different feel to a lot of other organisations. I think that it’s very supportive of people in a very inclusive way, the people within the organisation and the people that it supports.

Scott (ibid.) suggests that McLean’s viewpoint of family-first is a way of ensuring that people are there for the long term. It translates through these quality relationships, the feeling that staff want to be kept:

The way that people are hired, it’s as much about their fit as it is about their skills...it’s a value fit and personality types etcetera, and people genuinely seem to care about each other. I’ve been through various intense personal tragedy situations while I’ve been working here and the support I’ve received here, you wouldn’t find that in a lot of other organisations and it is really being, feeling, like you’re being treated like a family member and when they say family comes first and work comes second, you know it follows through in action.

Scott’s analysis (ibid.) is a strong demonstration of Covey’s ‘Integrity’ and ‘Intent’ trust traits in action. It also raises questions about whether hiring for ‘fit’ in the way Scott describes negatively impacts on diversity in its broadest sense? Hiring for values as a primary goal shouldn’t be interpreted as hiring the same kind of people. The values surveys undertaken worldwide have established that people can be morally guided by the same value sets whilst identifying with different ideas about cultural, national, and political interests. In the next chapter on trust and individual values, I will identify that sharing a belief in social justice doesn’t prevent people from bringing different viewpoints, behaviours and personality characteristics to the collective aspiration to create the new. In fact, seeing and welcoming such differences

are a vital part of critical community practice as a power-with approach (Butcher et al. 2007).

6.2.6 Supporting personal growth and development

Power-with is a systems approach and there are a number of examples from both case studies where staff are collectively empowered through the action ‘supporting personal growth and development’ bringing community engagement into organisational processes (ibid.). Using coaching methodology as a method of managing and a basis for team work, and by mixing staff from different departments, both organisations are teaching people skills that align with embedding community practice. Interviewees from both case studies reflect on how they are trusted with having the knowledge to deliver. A virtuous circle develops as they describe trust coming from being challenged because you feel trusted to do the work well. It suggests a form of leadership initiated by line managers who had been supported in a similar way themselves. Several interviewees reflect on how they had been encouraged, supported, stretched and trusted by their line manager to take on additional roles. The experience inspires them to adopt similar behaviours, to be the same kind of supportive manager to others, echoing the ‘one relationship at a time’ multiplier.

Lewis (2015) celebrates the fact that people can literally work their way up and puts her current position down to others “pushing and pulling” her; otherwise she would “probably still be sitting in the Celtic Village [as a museum assistant]”. She is highlighting the fact that others saw potential in her. A consequence of her experience is that she actively supports people to fulfil their own potential. She describes wanting to give support to staff in the same way the St Fagans volunteering project does for the “Pauls of this world”.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ ‘Paul’s story’ is a web-based film created by NMW, charting the transformative process volunteering with NMW’s historic buildings unit had on an individual named Paul whose life circumstances and self-care were damaging him. His story has become emblematic of the power-with approach to community engagement NMW are developing through their volunteering programme at St Fagans.

The role of line managers is a recurring pattern from the fieldwork analysis, revealing it as a critical factor in building a positive trust environment in staff groups. Many staff from both organisations describe how they value and recognise their line manager for his or her role in their professional development. It applies even when managers are personally at risk from major structural changes, such as an organisational restructure. Staff gave multiple examples of line managers encouraging, giving opportunities, challenging staff and opening doors. The evidence points to a form of very active development in which line managers play a pivotal role in staff maturing their values and dispositions, as well as technical skills and competencies. By focusing on people, line managers provide the support to optimise individual potential, which enhances staff performance and productivity, thereby creating a virtuous circle of activity and trust in staff groups.

The challenge here, as will also be shown in the next chapter on individual values, is whether there is the capacity to build performance on a person-by-person basis to develop the group, and then the organisation as a whole. These types of concerns are also discussed within sector practice in terms of the scale of impact museums can have in communities when working with low numbers of people, for example, in an outreach programme. If agents in the system act as gateways connecting to other system elements, then supporting other people should create a flow across the system between agents to realise the potential of the whole, rather than create a dependency or to waste knowledge through a closed loop of activity.

Baumber (2015) describes how the Academy has learnt to explore and understand with staff the working culture they've come from, coaching them to shift their thinking level and transform behaviours that increase performance. The intention is not to change the person but to allow their strengths to thrive. However, even those who believe they are acting in a supportive way to address social justice may behave detrimentally to this endeavour if the gateways beyond them are not open, thereby creating a (co-) dependency. Not all social justice work is good practice and, just as with the notion of a traditional curator, some practitioners will work to 'protect' their specific role, even if that role is justice related, rather than support its expansion across the system. In effect, this comprises another form of control through repetitive

approaches and a lack of reflexive activity. The exploratory study revealed elements of this behaviour amongst practitioners, whose activities also showed a lack of value alignment by the ‘othering’ of managers and directors.

At the Academy, allowing staff autonomy in their work or encouraging them to stretch and develop is finely balanced with risk, and a concern for the wellbeing of staff so no one gets overwhelmed with what they are being asked to do. Part of this balance is the role of the manager to identify when there is a ‘waterline’ decision to be made in terms of staff wellbeing; as hub manager Bryan (2015) says, “Certainly you don’t want staff at risk of being on long-term sick due to stress, so these are occasions where we need to step in.” It contrasts with the example Baumber (2015) shared in chapter five when he had not given sufficient credence to staff, resulting in negative outcomes for a range of staff relationships and confidence. Baumber (ibid.) also reflects on initial ‘errors’ he considers were made by the organisation when embarking on the replication programme, namely being led by grant funding criteria to bring in ‘new’ staff rather than utilise existing expertise, or supporting staff to stretch into new skill sets. Despite these challenges, the Academy demonstrates a strong virtuous circle of personal growth and development with connections that provide resilience when the impacts come, which inevitably they will.

In the final category for this chapter on trust and staff group values, I present interpretations of data that return to the powerful role direct experience plays in creating change.

6.3 Direct experience closes the psychological and structural gaps between values and structures

A strong pattern from the fieldwork transcripts suggests an action of ‘transforming mental processes through experience of change’. In coding the text, it became apparent that in directly, physically experiencing change or a new situation first-hand, the individual is able to experience a radical shift in his or her previous ‘norms’ or mind-set. The emerging theory is that, although the concept of social justice work may be discussed and indeed adopted through changing visions, academic discussion or organisational policy, change won’t happen without *direct, first-hand experience* of

this in *practice*, without which dominant social and cultural values remain unchanged, reinforcing marginalisation.

The alternative scenario, where individuals actively understand change by *experiencing* the change, can transform ways of thinking that benefit society through the adoption of an intrinsic moral commitment rather than an extrinsic (for example, legal) one, as well as the individual who finds excitement in their work, lives the values, connects with stories of direct impact on individuals and gains a sense of purpose through their work. The experience of first-hand human experience through contact and relationships brings particular human values to the fore (intrinsic versus extrinsic) and has the power to close psychological and structural gaps between values and organisational structures.

Properties identified through coding connect direct, first-hand experience with human sociality, such as generating collective knowledge (made possible through reimagined roles, tasks and teams) and fostering relationships with individuals – person by person, in the organisation as well as society – to support their career and/or life development.

6.3.1 Shifting ground creates resilience, adaptability and trust

From both case studies the data offers a range of actions relating to the significance of direct experience in driving forward change and social justice by reducing the psychological and structural gaps between values and structures. The consequence is highlighted through contrasting examples where the abstract *idea* of change has no traction to *deliver* change and may also serve to create feelings of distrust and suspicion around a proposed scenario. The impact of direct experience is most keenly expressed in data from museum staff, signifying the extent of change being experienced through the St Fagans project from a range of staff and board positions, but also through the larger change programme where whole departments have been restructured and job descriptions rewritten.

Changes have taken place within certain staff departments (and not necessarily the whole department, for example only some curators and NMW sites were impacted by

the first tranche of change) as the organisation chose not to undertake wholesale change across the service at the one time. Those in the position of experiencing radical change through a revision to organisational values, job roles and significant staff movement were prompted to reflect on their personal and professional development. As a consequence, the philosophical and the financial changes – the need to redistribute resources differently – have had a positive impact on trust, relational practice and aspects of building value fit for many. All interviewees located within the St Fagans project, whatever their departmental discipline, describe their focus now as having a moral commitment to people.

That is not to say the experience is a binary situation where one scenario replaces another; too often we have seen this type of polarised argument engaged with by the museum sector when discussing social justice. As a member of the St Fagans team reflects, it is about identifying a museum context where you have to work with both collections *and* people as the focus, and how relationships connect through material objects. St Fagans interviewees also describe how the project has been a vehicle for exploring the capacity of the team and *the reach* of their capacity, linking to the notion of a multi-agency approach and a network system. Their experience and adaptability suggest a form of re-training and a means of re-aligning values.

The change they have been obliged to adopt and adapt to has driven them to generate new learning and a shared understanding. Consequently, change has produced a high level of trust in, and a commitment to, the ‘new’, enabling them to move from cognitive to affective trust. All interviewees describe themselves and their work in positive, thriving terms. They work together tightly as a team, in synch with each other in terms of dispositions, the wider aspirations for their professional investment and what they give of themselves professionally and personally. As a staff group, they forge an identity shaped by having freedom and flexibility, but also the drive to go the extra mile. Staff are doing that because they empathise with the values and feel empowered. However, they also share concerns that, beyond the project staff team, the size of the organisation still encourages silo and bunker mentality. The data suggests experiencing something new requires seeing beyond what’s in a job description and that the challenge is in breaking down the barriers in people’s minds

by emphasising change through *action*, a recurring theme. As a project curator explains:

Changing mind-sets takes longer than changing the organisational charts... It isn't just that people were being re-graded and new job titles; there is an ethos change, which is a challenge for people to whom their subject is a faith... I don't see the same level of change in other areas [of NMW].

As a result, interviewees are concerned that, more widely in the organisation, there may not be the clarity of thinking that there's been for St Fagans and, in fact, finding resentment rather than good wishes from other parts of NMW that the project has received such a large investment at a time of financial contraction. More significantly, the impact is that staff not required to work differently don't work differently, risking silos of another kind and creating a schism in thinking and values across the wider organisation, as described here by Hughes (2015):

I think there is an element within the organisation between colleagues that some have, you know, what you call buy-in to the process and perhaps others view it with scepticism... I'm not sure that they agree with some things that are involved in the project and don't understand why the museums are working with some community partners and what the benefits are. So there are polarised members of staff.

Another member of staff gives the following example relaying a conversation with a curatorial colleague:

[He] said, "I know I've got to get community groups in because it's in my job description and I've no idea at all what I can do", and so just because we had the time I said, "well, what about this and that, and try this or this sort of thing..." but I remember having met this blank face for a very long time and [he] said something like, "well I suppose I could design a project and get them in to do it and basically act as gofers for my project." You saw then that it wasn't just, it wasn't enough to put it in a job description, it had to be understood why it was

there and it wasn't about business as usual, there was more change involved than that.

6.3.2 Physically experiencing change

Lane (2015) believes NMW's most successful approach to generating support for change is to find real examples of people in their work meeting it head on, physically experiencing change. By having to work differently, people have to think differently, embedding the strength and understanding of the vision through practical experience. Lane (ibid.) says:

The penny will drop, and either they will hate it and...then you have to deal with that, but really, mostly when people start to work in a different way quite often they sort of think, "well, actually I wasn't comfortable or happy in the way I was working before anyway" but you actually have to physically allow them to have that experience.

Similarly, Williams (2015) describes the project as investing in change through actions, so that physically, emotionally and intellectually, people can experience the change versus it being only a philosophical discussion. It is something that has been felt across the team as well as more personally for individuals who experience 'light bulb moments' in having their presumptions challenged, including their perception of themselves as experts. In turn, this has supported the development of values through recognising them in the first place. The fact that experiencing something first-hand can provide a switch of mind-set is something I heard from many people. Here, a curator describes the change for himself and his professional role:

[It] was about a more purposeful curation, it was linked to those social values, the ones that David [Anderson] brought with him but I think we were already on track with before that... [That] was mentally for me a complete switch from being an expert to being part of a group, where it wasn't necessarily my academic credentials that would be leading the project, but it was about trying to develop a sense of team that went not just with the staff but also with the volunteer cohorts that we were getting... So yes, from my point of view, my

role, my mental space around what curation is just flipped completely upside down.

The reference in this quote to a socially purposeful curation mirrors my own interests in developing the shift I observe in my workplace to an expanded curatorial practice. Many St Fagans staff articulate their own belief that the shift in direction is right, having no qualms or queries in focusing on equalities as an underpinning principle for their work. They express comfort in moving from an idea of material objects as the primary focus to understanding they are working with people, realising the importance of creating deeper understanding and relationships with people. There is widespread belief that the change in emphasis to participatory practice is part of a wider, cultural heritage movement, with interviewees citing other examples in literature, theatre and performance.

The significance of physically experiencing change, in terms of working directly with people, is also reflected in St Fagans' overall ambition in terms of the wider community the project is seeking to work with, emphasising an alignment of values across the system, described by Thomas (2015), one of the longest serving members of staff there:

We're trying to move away from almost, I suppose you could think of it as ram-raiding people's lives in order to tell the story that we want to tell, it's more about involving people in the whole process... to get people involved as volunteers, and creating apprenticeships and so on, in order to get them involved physically.

She further clarifies this by adding: "The main reason for involving people is for them to benefit from the process, to use museum processes as opportunities to make a difference to people's lives and for the museum to learn from doing so" (Thomas 2017). The power of direct experience breaks down barriers. In a change process, or to create change, direct physical experience is the route to understanding. What are the implications of directly experiencing change in terms of closing structural gaps? More

specifically, is it possible for front of house staff to physically experience change at the same level?

6.3.3 Making structural barriers permeable

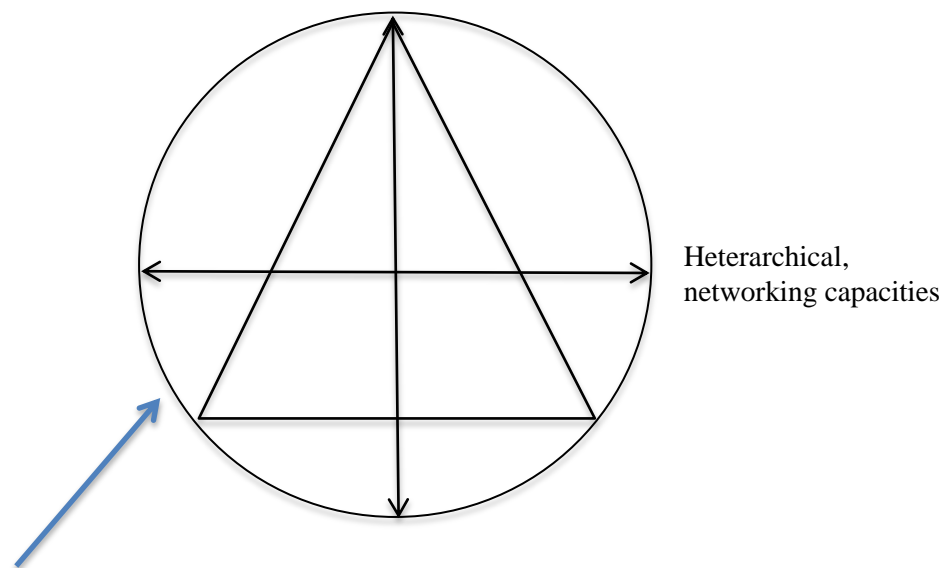
Direct, hands-on experience has the ability to break down barriers, support personal development and growth (described as transformational for one interviewee) and align purpose, values and roles in the broader network of activity. It closes round the structural and psychological distances in hierarchical organisations as I highlighted in chapter five where the project was described as bringing the two ends of the hierarchy together; enhancing people's ability to share and embed values, high trust behaviours and learning. The St Fagans project involves all levels of staff, including trustees, and, by communicating in a multi-directional way across the system, it enables both ends of the structure to meet at what a board member calls 'the project point' (see Figure 19), referencing again the importance of first-hand experience within a project or change process. Direct project experience underpins the philosophy. The practical, therefore, generates the meaning.

The fieldwork research reveals actions reflecting how staff working on change recognise the importance of personal values, for example, 'building relationships to create space' in areas where shared values are recognised, 'preferencing values over skills'. In practice, those actively working to deliver, live or support change were bypassing the hierarchy to achieve change more quickly. Similarly, it was particularly evident at St Fagans where, due to NMW's scale, it isn't possible to know 600 people and work with them fluidly and creatively. Bringing people who have the same values together, making structural barriers permeable and being energised by shared thinking is also about creating teams and groups with kindred spirit as part of the adapting and reimagining process. The relationship between trust and staff group values, then, is critical to being able to work with scale and find a networked way to combine small teams with the broader reach of the system. As Thomas (2015) comments:

I've thought about this quite a bit in my time. I think it's difficult for [the structure] not to be hierarchical, it's how we work with that hierarchy really, and what structures around the hierarchy you can create that allows people to

have a voice in different areas... I think that's working more with projects, and having different project teams together enables new thinking to happen.

What Thomas articulates is a close description of the way the Academy and organisations like Gore work horizontally across a vertical structure, with an equality of respect for different expertise wherever that is found (Thomas 2017). The 'project point' is an opportunity to build these horizontal capacities (Lederach 2005). Equally,



Project point where both ends of the hierarchical structure meet by people working across the network.

Figure 19 – The structure meeting at the 'project point'.

Thomas echoes a key principle from critical community practice in its endeavour "to jointly develop and shape patterns of social relationships and social institutions" (Butcher et al. 2007, p.55).

At St Fagans, the opportunity to connect with other staff groups also enhances mutual understanding and closes the psychological distance between groups that would otherwise be distantly located according to the organisational structure. For many interviewees these distances are also perceived as a manifestation of 'them and us' – 'us on site and them in the offices', 'us at Cathays Park (site of National Museum

Cardiff) and them at St Fagans', with more than one example reflecting that the 'other' had not previously been seen as human beings, referring to both the top and bottom of the hierarchy. Overall, the need to work creatively across an organisation's hierarchical structure, as a means to innovate and determine a shared, socially constructed community, emerge as a key findings, enhanced by staff being engaged as a community. These findings are represented by mapping further additions to the virtuous circle supporting trust and value alignment in Figure 20. Dotted lines indicate permeability where connections can be made to wider network characteristics. Conversely, not working with, or across, a hierarchy (such as through the 'project point' illustrated in Figure 19), impacts negatively on trust due to the psychological and structural distances established by the traditional, vertical arrangement. These limitations will be particularly felt in organisations of the scale and complexity presented by St Fagans, NMW and the future Academy in its anticipated replication programme.

A hierarchical structure can predispose thought patterns to focus on the polarisation between 'top' and 'bottom'. However, the fieldwork data from St Fagans reveals particular consideration of the role of middle managers. As Lane (2015) comments:

Everyone says if you're going to do something you have to do it from the top down – yes you do – but actually it's the people who manage the people on the ground that you really have to win over. They're the ones you have to put the effort into because they're the ones that will block, they will block change, so that's the bit where you have to work the hardest and that's the bit that we have to work the longest as well.

Feedback from middle managers indicates a conflict between their structural and pastoral obligations. They describe the challenge in trying to communicate the organisation's new vision and associated decisions when they are not part of the decision-making 'level', nor are they personally being exposed to the level of change impacting front of house staff or those on lower grades. The reflection for middle managers in this double bind is how to be convincing to their staff. Given that both

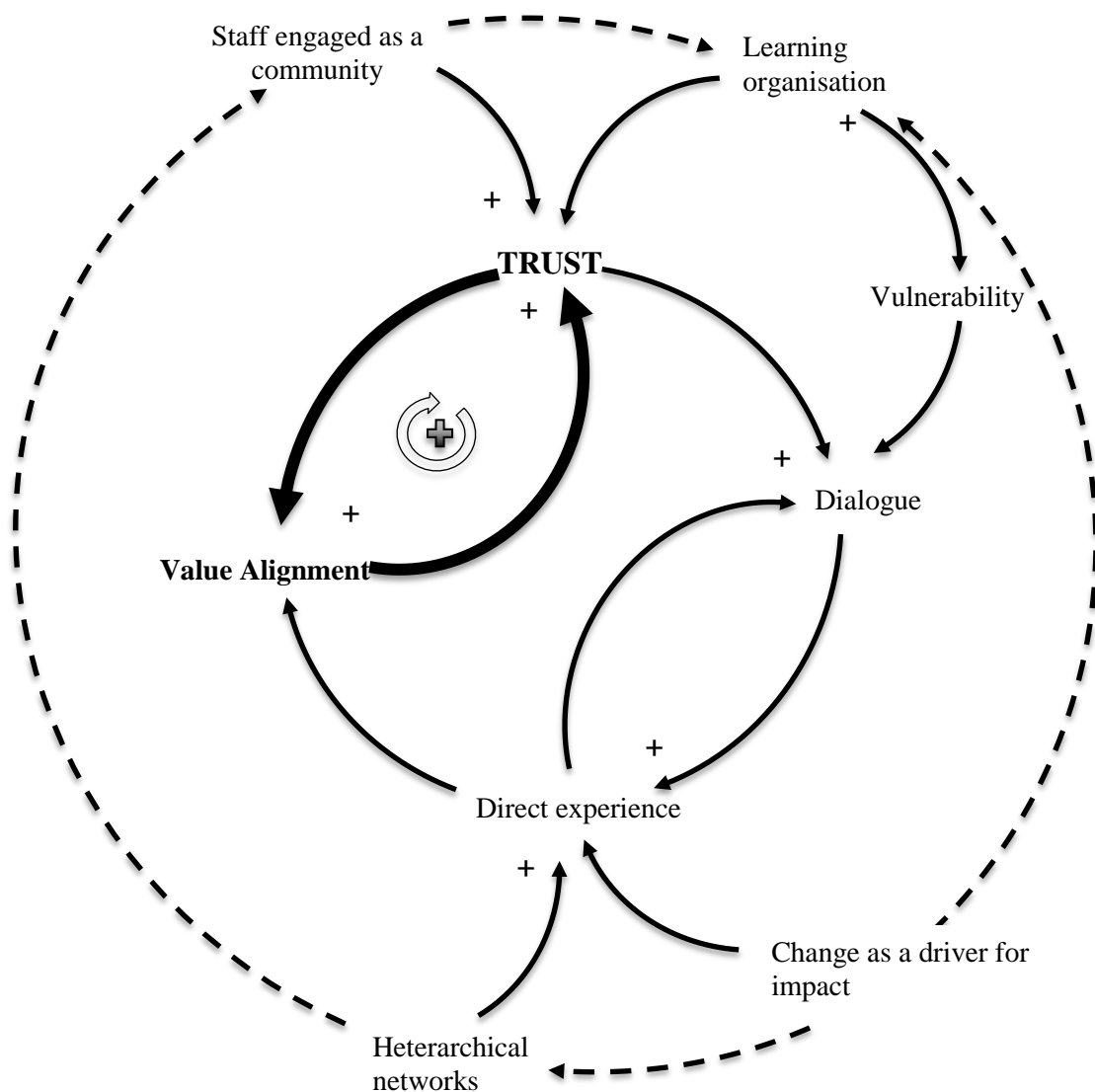


Figure 20 – Expanding the virtuous circle by engaging the staff as a community.

line managers and staff report a strong trusting relationship (within St Fagans), the concerns raised by managers about being ‘convincing’ is another indicator of quality relationships and care for people. So whilst the experience of middle managers can be perceived as a risk to trust, within the St Fagans project specifically, it could also be an indicator of a high trust environment.

The more people in the structure, the more distance is created and, inevitably, it is not the same relationship with 90 people as with 19. Referring to the Academy's planned expansion, Baumber (2015) reflects:

[S]ome of its going to go really badly wrong, unless we have centrally got a good method of recruiting the right people that we can see already have some of that culture and value fit and will act in certain ways, when faced with a certain problem.

He goes on to clarify the Academy's approach to engaging with a larger system network:

What we're not building is an empire...So very much the idea is that hopefully people in China may never know me, or certain people won't, but people we've got running the same model will hopefully diversify their own relationships in that country...that the relationships we have across that web become really important, that we empower the right people to do their job well and then it's their relationship with [other people] that is crucial.

Baumber's articulations of the Academy's approach connects to 'passing it on, creating a multiplier effect'; that if it can be started off right they can let it go. Baumber (ibid.) confirms this, saying: "absolutely and that's our whole ethos... if we had to tell them what to do all the time then they're not going to get going, but if we can help them, guide them, then they build their own strengths." The Academy's group values include the duty to share something that's working positively. 'Share and learn in return' is a key Academy principle with learning culturally adapted across the network through a co-design process.

The Academy doesn't operate a rigid hierarchy so they don't work to manoeuvre around a bureaucratic structure. Their sub committees and working groups are reminiscent of project teams like those of St Fagans and are a way of conceiving group elements across the network system. NMW could consider a similar approach as a way to establish a series of interconnected elements flowing between each other

to address the values change it seeks for staff groups across its estate. Without that connected network – a system – it will be a challenge to achieve change. With it, the scale of the organisation could support people to understand and build values in a power-with enabling practice, mirroring the scale of the challenge to support change and social justice in plural communities more broadly.

Overall, both organisations demonstrate an ability to reach across the hierarchical structures of their organisation to reduce the physical and structural distances between staff groups, which consequently enhances their ability to share and embed values, high trust behaviours and learning. The opportunity is how this develops into a virtuous circle through a multiplier effect, thereby building compound benefits across the wider system network.

6.3.4 Passing it on, creating a multiplier effect

In St Fagans the quality of line management relationships is influential in generating change through direct experience with many strong examples volunteered. All describe similar qualities such as an open door policy, being provided and stretched with opportunities – a virtuous circle of impact mirroring the ‘one relationship at a time’ scenario (Silverman 2010). As a St Fagans interviewee says, “I’ve only been a line manager since last summer and I’m hoping that I’m doing similar things...” Such behaviour suggests a form of a trust multiplier, where trust breeds trust to develop patterns of growth within learning organisations and the critical community practice model. Is there consistency in this at all levels? How might it be possible to translate the experience of this trust multiplier across a large staff body like front of house?

Throughout the St Fagan’s interviews in particular, there are numerous references to direct experience of supporting other people. In every instance cited, there is a desire to give others the benefit of that experience and same type of support, to realise potential in others they may not see for themselves. I have coded this action as ‘passing it on, creating a multiplier effect’. Two examples best illustrate this property. The first is the story told by a NMW curator who recalls a chance meeting with a geology curator some 15 years ago that had stayed with him and echoes his experience with the St Fagans project:

The thing that made his career worthwhile to him was there was one chap who, aged 18, whatever, left school very early, no prospects of developing, but he kept hanging out in the quarry and gradually over the years [the geology curator] who made contact with him gave him a sense of purpose through the work he was doing there. [The young man] volunteered, he went to university, he got his doctorate, he ended up studying palaeontology somewhere, and that was quite amazing really that we could have an impact at that level. Not just we write books and people can read them and review them and “oh, wonderful” but that we can, I know it comes across as a cliché, but genuinely we can change lives.

In terms of the multiplier impact, he recalls the geology curator describing the young man as the epitome of why his career was worthwhile, “I don’t know how many other people he felt he’d had a similar impact on.” Likewise, another interviewee makes the connection that someone they helped may, in turn, help other people along the way. If, over the course of a life or career, people do that with five more people and then those five people help five more people still, you have a virtuous circle of expanding connections within the system.

The other interesting observation is the equal reference made to staff, as much as members of the community, so that collectively it’s simply about helping *people*. As Lewis (2015) puts it, “like playing a game of touch”, multiplying the experience and seeing the impact grow out. She describes the support she had given a young man without qualifications but who had a summer job at St Fagans a few years previously (and who is now a supervisor for museum assistants and security):

[Rylan] kept coming up, “right, can I do this, can I do that?” Just all he needed was direction and a bit of encouragement and for me that is such a, I just feel a sense of immense pride that I’ve been part of his journey, because you don’t know what, who, he’s going to influence next.

The scenarios where individual relationships have been fostered reveal that people often seek an opportunity to nurture others as a way of giving back for having

similarly benefited by someone supporting them in this way; indicating a strong intrinsic value set supporting a multiplier effect.

These examples simultaneously represent an internal and external alignment but, in the museum sector, we typically only reference the ‘outside’ aspect. Yet, there is no boundary between internal and external in these examples, expressing that we are all people, overlaid by the construct of the organisation. It can suggest separation when in fact the people and human connections within that construct are “changing the world one relationship at a time” (Silverman 2010 p.109). These examples reveal and address the oppression manifest in museum organisations but we can see the potential for aligning the value systems. The staff within are people, “they are our community” as Lewis says (2015); it is a false boundary between who is out there as ‘community’ and who is in here in the museum.

Museums are a resource as institutions, but those of us working with museums are a resource in how we can help and care for people. The issues that people are facing can, and do, happen to any of us. By the same token, if we align these systems we might also address diversity, as it would be part of dismantling the notion of ‘other’. It is a measure of the systems network effect in demonstrating how we can work differently, “and that it is possible without crisis” according to the experience of a St Fagans curator. The experiences of both NMW and the Academy show how values and dispositions (as well as technical skills) can develop across the system. How you are treated impacts how you treat others. It is about whom we each support along the way – a collective endeavour through multiple, *mutually enhancing*, individual commitments, which in turn indicates trustworthiness (Hawley 2012).

6.3.5 Working across social relations

I have identified advantages for staff of project working through the attributes shared with critical community practice. Yet if the project is not actively part of a wider system then it can be seen as peripheral, something that will come and go, can therefore be avoided or not considered ‘real’ business, so diminishing its potential. The role of values is key in addressing these kind of internal barriers. Unlike the Academy, which was established with an explicit social purpose, when an

organisation such as a museum shifts its values, there are inevitably people working there who signed up to a completely different (previous) value set.

The St Fagans project managers worked with Open Space methodologies⁶⁶ (Owen 2008) to engage with staff right across NMW, and day-to-day development of the project is being driven forward by deciding, as Williams says, “we would actually just work with the radical voices”. She goes on to describe how they cut across the hierarchical structure to activate a network to create change through these voices:

You know that we’re not necessarily going to respect the hierarchical structure of the museum because I don’t think that will create change quickly enough, and actually by bringing some of the people who have these values, who have the same values, who have thoughts that would challenge me in my thinking about what we could do in our community engagement, and put everyone in a room together...that was great, and really energising for them to know that there are people who share the same thinking as them, and that we can build on this and create something that is far more dynamic really.

Although the St Fagans project sits within the wider NMW hierarchy utilising the same grades and role structure, in practice, they are operating a flatter network, built through shared values and a quality of relationships positively impacting on trust and vice versa. St Fagans’ interviewees also reflect how the nature and quality of relationships are improved through the physical space and office layout that St Fagans has and, by contrast, indicate feeling disconnected to Cathays Park (National Museum Cardiff and NMW headquarters), ‘lost’ in terms of its physical layout as well as a psychological distance in ‘belonging’.

The Academy operates sub-groups consisting of a mix of board and staff members to make their structure thinner, wider, flatter; to empower people. They position the structure intentionally as an inverted hierarchy, visualised in the structural chart to serve a web of relationships, working with hierarchy but also across it. Actively

⁶⁶ Open Space methodology is a way to convene a group to consider a topic or issue without a preformed agenda. It is designed to support a self-organising, participatory approach.

working with the values they espouse requires buy in at the highest level with a strong sense of what happens at the point of delivery bringing the ends of the structure together in a similar way to St Fagans, again having a positive impact on values and alignment. In effect, both case studies are producing a layered, scaffolded approach to networks and relationship building. Having connections throughout the structure and support at the very top is indicative of everyone working as critical community practitioners. Close alignment of principles and practice like this is one of the best ways to minimise the risk of, and impact from, a double bind scenario. The critical element is not the structure itself, but that these connections focus more on people than process. Using relationships to make things happen is not the same as the formal structure. Sharing values as staff means working on a network basis, avoiding sticking to the literal fit of a job description or list of tasks, and going beyond the 'role' relationships to maximise capacity, as opposed to existing as silos of different cultures or organisations.

For the Academy, a key part of seeing beyond the role is creating a friendly (rather than formal, corporate) environment, encouraging staff to take down any presentational front they might think others expect in a work context. Baumber (2015) describes supporting staff to adapt as learning to explore and understand previous work cultures with staff "and not to debate and not to discuss, but to dialogue, really well". Coaching them, working with them to shift their thinking level transforms behaviours, increasing performance. It is not changing the person, but allowing their strengths to thrive. Trust plays a role in this as well, as Baumber (ibid.) explains:

People use the word family a lot, but a family can also be dysfunctional too, so I think its incredibly trusting and I'm interested actually in new staff starting who are coming into that. They come with baggage from elsewhere and they assume it's going to be like that and in some ways they put their own agendas on. And sometimes I've had to sort of snap out of my trusting behaviour and think "actually we've got a bit of work to do in helping this person align a little bit and figure out that actually we do trust you, or that their judgement needs to be a little bit more aligned or a little more thought there..." So I stopped assuming people will turn up and be a cultural fit.

I think this expresses well the complex nature of people in the workforce. As individuals, new recruits shouldn't be expected to provide an off-the-peg fit. If we value the full person, then a mutual respect is required from both new and existing staff during a period of adjustment that should be supported by self-awareness. I suggest this is the processing of a new psychological contract, for which there will be a time lag. As visualised on the trust arc in chapter three, trust isn't an instant manifestation, and this cannot be the case even in the most trusting organisations or when people are explicitly hired for trust and value fit.

In developing quality relationships, the Academy emphasises welcoming and supporting people into that culture and people are expected to translate that culture outwardly – to embody it, adapt their email style and so forth. Academy interviewees express belief that these behaviours mean everyone is treated the same, that the Academy isn't the CEO or another senior manager, it's whoever you speak to because it will be the same quality of relationship. During the fieldwork this was exactly my experience. Furthermore, I suggest the action 'sharing the responsibility' emerging from the fieldwork is the converse to 'relinquishing power', an action and key property I discussed in the previous chapter.

Nurturing this sharing of responsibility as a staff group is also sharing what they value about each other. Indicative of the values staff share at the Academy is the way they treat each other on a day-to-day basis, favouring talking through face-to-face conversations over email communication, for example. Creating values, and therefore trust, within the staff group is an important part of working across social relations and demonstrating a shared responsibility to each other. Ewen (2015) reflects on how people appreciate one other, and whether we actually share this appreciation with each other. She describes an impromptu afternoon feedback session she initiated where staff left post-it notes at each other's desks as a way to show what qualities they value across the group. For Ewen, who shares the messages left for her in Table 5, these small gestures have had lasting impact. Showing and sharing appreciation in this way has since been repeated and she still looks back on the post-its left for her, finding a lift in those messages on "difficult days" (ibid.).

- Enthusiasm for Futures rubs off on her team
- Leads an inspiring product and team
- You have the most contagious passion and smile – you made me join SEA
- Schools and colleges – great knowledge and smile
- Fantastic management skills and enthusiasm for schools and young people
- Passion, hard work and incredible warmth but you don't stand for crap x
- Very passionate with the warmest smile
- Superb knowledge of schools
- Making Futures fantastic for young people in Scotland and beyond
- Passion and energy you bring every day!

Table 5 – Set of appreciation messages left for Academy team member.

6.4 Concluding thoughts

There are two distinct aspects in defining trust and staff group values. The first is to ensure no one is excluded within the staff group – we have to be really clear about what it means – not just officers, curators, or learning teams, which can be small in number. The combination of the full range of staff groups – top down and bottom up – is what will deliver critical community practice and there will be time needed to develop those relationships and trust – just as with any community group. The second aspect is the strength of team values that develop through shared values and direct experience. Shared values creates strong trust in teams, in particular for the early group working on St Fagans and their belief that they “should be doing something more for society”, as articulated by one curator, which resonates closely with the Academy’s very strong sense of ‘learning to change the world’. As Baumber (2015) says, “people want to change the world and that’s who we want to work with.”

Moving from the organisational to the staff group context provides the opportunity to consider staff as participants and community. In organisations working for social

change, the responsibility for critical community practice does not fall to one staff group. To achieve change, the organisation's aims must be supported and importantly, acted on, by every member, wherever they are located in the organisation's system. If this happens, there is a much better chance of withstanding the double bind dilemma of the kind experienced in the exploratory study (Banks et al. 2013).

The fieldwork presents examples of the organisations taking a systems approach to relationships. By expanding their horizontal capacities across staff groups to share learning, they are able to challenge assumptions and reconsider practice. In particular, direct experience helps staff to positively commit to 'the new' and take action. It also has the ability to break down barriers, support personal development and growth (described as transformational for one interviewee) and align purpose, values and roles in the broader network of activity. It closes round the structural and psychological distances in hierarchical organisations. Examples were given of positive engagement impacting on an individual's life, career, the sector and wider society, often accompanied by the desire to 'give back'. It consequently triggers a multiplier effect, supporting Silverman's argument that we can change the world "one relationship at a time" (2010, pp.109-110). The potential is a mechanism for progressive change to destabilise existing power structures and engage fully with the power within the system.

However, the fieldwork also shows that, whilst the organisations are evolving working methods to align values in action internally and externally in the way they engage with their people, the value of their staff groups as knowers is incomplete. Untapped relationships, and their potential reach across the system, results in knowledge as waste. A lack of trust can build up because large organisations get dissected into very small parts (literally 'divisions' in NMW's case), creating friction and an unrealistic expectation of others' contributions, without fully understanding what it is they do, or have the potential to do. Yet these negative characteristics can be avoided in a networked system. It is a system, not a silo, with depth, not division. However, in large organisations particularly, foregrounding human values is challenging and Gore offers a useful network of hubs, again supporting horizontal capacities as a way to connect a large organisational structure, to see staff as people through multi-

directional communication, meeting at what a St Fagans trustee identifies as the project point.

Broader participation and connections across the organisation are blurring the idea of ‘them and us’ where staff feel valued and are participating in shared decision making. For example, there is a growing mix of direct connections across the structure through constructs like the staff forum and sub-committees and creating spaces around the hierarchy. Making structural barriers permeable, supporting others in change, finding routes to connect staff with changes and ‘not respecting the hierarchy’ are forms of activism. I will explore this concept, and staff as agents, more closely in the next chapter on trust and individual values.

The quality of relationships I witnessed in the field reveals a lot about the personal and the professional investment in terms of caring for people, the quality of those relationships and the dialogue that supports them, particularly at the Academy where it may be less restricted by the type of patriarchal governance associated with the public sector. It takes effort and can be emotionally draining. It is not about replicating processes but consciously evolving emotional intelligence and human values that define the culture, a form of bounded emotionality (Putnam and Mumby 1992). I believe there is significant correlation here with the working environment in museum teams and the level of care shown for others so that trust and staff group values are about **creating change through relationships, values and structures** by understanding those social relations and that emotional processes are part of the workplace.

Chapter Seven: Trust and Individual Values

7.1 Introduction

The discussion of trust and values for organisations and staff groups in the previous chapters necessarily relates to the interaction between people, as they are the components forming a social group or larger organisational construct. As no two people are the same, how do these groups or systems relate to individual values, and what is the impact of trust at the intersection of personal and professional identities? In this final analysis chapter, I explore how values and trust align for the individual, and address questions around individual ‘fit’ concerned with personal agency and workplace diversity in its broadest sense.

The fieldwork data reveals key actions suggesting how staff working for social justice recognise the importance of personal value fit by: ‘preferencing values over skills’, ‘identifying if you personally fit with the organisation’s values’, ‘having a personal responsibility to your value fit within an organisation’, and ‘recognising that change can create a clash of organisational and individual values’. In addition, there is strong evidence that those actively working to deliver, live or support change in practice, were energised by shared thinking on social justice, bypassing the hierarchy to achieve change more quickly, thereby making structural barriers permeable. Although not always intended as such, the use of personal agency in this way is a form of activism, literally doing something to subvert dominant, institutional power structures.

Hierarchies are usually understood as structures where power is held by the few at the top. Throughout this study, power has been a returning concept, featuring throughout the literature reviews in the conceptual analyses of social justice and trust, as well as a discussion point in fieldwork interviews. During the interviews I asked, “where and how does the power lie?” There were two interesting factors in terms of participants’ response to this question. The first was a significant pause in dialogue as if power was the last thing they were thinking of, that it just wasn’t a conscious or foregrounded area of thought. The second factor was that, having considered the question, all but one interviewee described power as dispersed across the organisation or project, therefore suggesting that power sits with everyone.

The identification of power as something shared or dispersed, and held by individuals across the organisation (rather than those at the top of the hierarchy), raises an important question about personal agency. Are we alert to this personal agency and consciously aware of our use of it? That we can employ it in both positive and negative ways? In this chapter I consider these questions through emerging properties outlined in the following two categories:

- Power sits with everyone,
- Alignment of values with an organisation is a choice of personal agency and activism.

7.2 Power sits with everyone

Perceptions of power are subjective and contingent on social, political and economic frames. Perceptions of where power *lies* has implications for understanding the role and impact of personal and professional values. Within my research, I chose to study power in an organisational sense to interpret concepts of leadership; the ethics of relationships and working practices in organisations undertaking social justice work; the type of structural behaviours at work within each organisation, and how these compare to the structure on paper. Power is an important element in critical community practice as it is conceived as the way communities can bring about change through their own actions. In the model presented by Butcher et al. (2007, p.22), they consider power as: ‘power-over’ – a form of dominance and oppression – and ‘power-with’ – the ability to find common ground through dialogue, even where there is a conflict of interest and/or values.

At the Academy, interviewees are universal in their opinion that power is distributed, and they express comfort that shared power does not negate or confuse role responsibilities or decision-making processes. For St Fagans, their responses similarly indicate distributed power, but in a more complex and nuanced way, revealing a view that this is not necessarily the intention of the hierarchy they inhabit but indicative of the way they are evolving; aligning values to effect change. Thus both organisations demonstrate qualities of critical consciousness. Weber (1968) refers to bureaucracy as a modern form of work organisation that is patriarchal and hierarchical, describing how the “legitimacy of power [resides] in technical knowledge of the rules and

expertise as opposed to tradition” (Rothbard and Ollier-Malaterre 2016). ‘Tradition’ in this instance is the term used to describe the experience shared and passed on through work patterns organised by communities and families in pre-industrial revolution times. The industrial revolution effectively separated family and community from the realm of work. These family and community based social structures correlate strongly with critical community practice and ideas of social justice, as well as Putnam and Mumby’s bounded emotionality (1992), recognising individuals and community groups as keepers of their own knowledge. I consider the different characteristics of these work organisations in Table 6 (after Parsons 1949) incorporating Weber’s hierarchical, patriarchal perspective (1968).

Industrial	Community/family
Work	Non-work
Rational	Affective
Impersonal	Expressive
Rules	Freedom
Public	Private
Male	Female
Paid	Unpaid
Office	Home

Table 6 – Comparison of work characteristics post- and pre-industrial revolution.

7.2.1 Interpreting the hierarchy

The division posed by the characteristics above, echoes my research interest in the role of a hierarchical structure in relation to internal and external value alignment, and the potential risk it might present to the development of trust and values in organisations. At St Fagans, interviewees describe seeing the hierarchical structure starting to soften, although comments include “feeling strange about describing the structure as a hierarchy” as staff simultaneously recognise ‘management’ (‘them’) with a feeling of “we’re all similar together”. It suggests both vertical and horizontal structures at play, thereby accessing a network of voices and skills irrespective of structural or pay grades (terminology that, by contrast, doesn’t feature at all in the

Academy's language or thinking). The St Fagans feedback therefore suggests an active means of 'interpreting the hierarchy'. By valuing the different strengths self and colleagues bring, the organisation creates a sharing of leadership that works, because there is no single ego trying to claim it. Instead, their practice is evolving through a community-based approach.

Size and structure are not necessarily the defining elements of an organisation's potential. Instead, it is how you work with these characteristics, and what horizontal structures can be created around a vertical hierarchy for everyone to contribute across the system, consequently enabling new things to happen. Development of systems thinking, and an attitude of shared and devolved leadership, link central elements of the learning organisation with critical community practice. Systems thinking is also based on trusting other people's knowledge wherever it is located, as referenced in the previous two chapters, so contribution is not restricted by job role or position.

From the CEO right across the organisation, Academy interviewees describe the structure simply as 'flat', with power distributed and therefore collegiate. One of the reasons the structure is described this way is that, although power may technically lie with the board, it is recognised as sitting with everybody on a day-to-day basis. The references to a flat structure are also part of recognising the value of each other's different skills and abilities, 'empowering staff to make decisions' and 'appreciating the freedom given to take risks'. There is universal identification from Academy interviewees of their shared ability to influence and take decisions at every level, without fear of ramifications, and that decisions made 'in the room' are fully supported.

The freedom enjoyed by Academy managers to take risks and incur opportunity costs, is in turn shared by them with other staff, thereby echoing the multiplier effect presented in the discussion on trust and staff group values. Although interviewees generally don't associate the word 'power' with the Academy, they agree it isn't held at the top. Through their roles, individuals forming the organisation share power. Additionally, they recognise it moves around according to when the spotlight is on a particular work programme, such as the development of a new website at the time of

the fieldwork. There is a collective attitude that, by sharing the spotlight and who is 'leading', everyone is important, hence the multiple references to a flat structure. Baumber (2015) makes an interesting reference to diversity through his comment on power and the structure, in which he says they support "a diversified, dispersed power and an encouraging, strengths-based culture", indicating that the organisation benefits from diverse skills and perspectives.

The impact of these benefits is a diverse and dispersed culture, socially constructed with everyone moving forward and contributing together (Butcher et al. 2007). The Academy's hierarchical structure, even though (or because) interviewees only fleetingly reference it, is interesting in that it is presented visually as an inverted hierarchy (see Figure 12, page 117). The fieldwork reveals evidence that group working is the Academy's typical operating structure, resonating with the idea of a networked system, further enhanced in the Academy by a set of sub-committees with members drawn from both board and staff. There is widespread belief amongst Academy interviewees that the sub-committees, and the board's input into them, are a well considered construct, allowing multiple relationships to be established between the structural elements, rather than the two traditional and privileged positions of CEO and Chair of the Board (see Figure 18, page 149). Feedback from across the Academy reveals enormous respect for McLean and the board in developing these shared conversations, where the social construction of the organisation's culture can be seen in action by sharing power as a network.

7.2.2 Sharing power as a network

What the example above articulates is the Academy's welcoming approach to the contribution each individual makes, as well as his or her individual responsibilities. In line with critical community practice, academic research also demonstrates that diversity outperforms homogeneity (Page 2007). However, Academy interviewees acknowledge risks associated with flattening the structure, where people take a lot of individual responsibility, such as potential isolation or becoming remote from the organisation's overarching goals. As a counterbalance, there is similarly a shared understanding that some circumstances will bring a need to do things in a slightly more controlled way, before letting go again.

Allowing for this flux is welcomed and identified by interviewees as an important part of the 'sharing power' code. Whilst describing the Academy as towards power-with, interviewees recognise that, at times, it moves back towards power-over (Butcher et al. 2007), depending on the nature of the decision to be taken, although this is understood as a move along a continuum rather than a polarised way of being. They acknowledge that some things have to be done and said by specific team members; for example, that ultimate responsibility for the big 'waterline' decisions lies with McLean. The critical element is being open about when flexing back to greater structural control is required and appropriate, rather than constantly operating on a rigid command and control basis. How, then, to define the relationship between power and responsibility, not just at the CEO level, but also throughout the organisation? The question raises the idea of how individuals actively take personal responsibility, and the limitations of this if diversity is an issue. I will return to the theme of personal responsibility and activism in the second category of this chapter.

In an echo of the Academy's views, and by similarly working across the hierarchy, there is also evidence from St Fagans that power moves around the organisation and that large-scale organisational change heightens this movement. As such, St Fagans interviewees identify an important element in trust and individual values as consciously learning to find where you can put your footing when power keeps shifting; to stay active in the change process and maintain responsibility to a power-with model. The qualitative data suggests that being able to do this is a sign of adaptability and resilience, and requires the ability to calculate decisions against knowledge; to have an awareness of your own agency whilst remaining conscious of the wider network and other people's expertise.

The discussion about where the power lies at St Fagans has similarities with feedback from Academy interviewees, but suggests the St Fagans experience is at an earlier stage of its learning journey. In St Fagans there is recognition that a primary decision to design the project bid with community partners vitally enhanced the perceptions of ownership, decision making and shared authority between partners at the delivery stage. There is also recognition that the project benefits from 'support from the top'

and the team acknowledge they are fortunate to have consistent leadership in directors Anderson and Lane. In practice, however, like the Academy, St Fagans interviewees see power lying with individual staff and community partners, regardless of position, title or status.

Overall, St Fagans interviewees describe starting to change the traditional hierarchy and where power lies in NMW through the vehicle of the St Fagans redevelopment project. That is to suggest that power is moving away from senior management and trustees; Anderson in his directorship being widely acknowledged as generating the energy behind this move. In my conversations with interviewees on hierarchy and asking, “who are the most important people in the organisation?” one interviewee summed up for me the notion of shared power by answering, “well that’s me isn’t it?” Seeing oneself as the most important person in the organisation may be a tongue in cheek answer, but it shows a valuable mind-set in terms of personal agency, an element I will go on to explore in more detail in the next category. For now, there is a sense that managers within the St Fagans project are identifying forms of personal agency in the organisation by asking who the ‘change enablers’ are, as termed by Burge (2015). I define change enablers as people whose individual values have the power to support trust, building a virtuous circle of activity more widely. In terms of power, change enablers help to shift where power is located and are important connectors to new values across the network system. Burge (ibid.) explains further:

What we’re starting to look at now in terms of the project is who the change enablers are... when you’re looking at really big cultural change it doesn’t really happen from the top down, it needs to be everybody getting involved... It’s about sharing authority and decision making, right from the outset... [We were] talking about “who are the enablers?” and that it’s not the people sat round this table even, it’s how we can spread that information out and it’s people who are really passionate about working in that way.

There is evidence from the fieldwork of this networked approach in action where, over the course of the St Fagans project, more people within the wider NMW

organisation have come on board with the philosophy and become excited by it. At an external evaluation meeting for the project, Burge (ibid.) notes that:

We were seeing supervisors from front of house, supervisors from the historic buildings unit, curators, so lots of other people who aren't directly involved in that community engagement team... looking at changing their practice to be more inclusive and are interested in things that we're learning as part of that. And interestingly, the better quotes... for the evaluations and the kinds of things they focused on, were from those people.

What Burge describes is the role of individuals whose values align with the organisation's social purpose and how that role is significant in terms of addressing the wider system. As she suggests, "if we're getting it in right at the beginning and we're changing people's perceptions and their ways of working, hopefully it should become organic, it'll become second nature. You won't even consider working in another way" (ibid.). Her experience also indicates the importance of self-awareness in identifying with particular values.

The power and agency of individuals in recognising and forming individual value fit with their wider social domains, clearly includes fit with their organisational employer. Having control over social and life boundaries is "critical for leading to compatibility between coactivated identities" (Rothbard and Ollier-Malaterre 2016, p.114). In museums, as in other social spheres, we recognise that everyone's social and life domains are far richer and more complex than the work-non-work polarisation considered by Parsons (1949), even if we often find it challenging in our own practice not to identify others in a similarly binary 'other' frame. My research data points to organisational cultures where individuals self-determine boundary management as a form of power and control over their lives and identities. For example, people managing their own time and being trusted to do so, and sharing and caring for each other in wider life realms. Power can, therefore, also be interpreted as a form of self-leadership and the way people work, like energy.

7.2.3 Seeing power as energy

Both organisations share the view that enabling staff at all levels to take ownership and leadership is the way to get things done, that leadership is about an attitude that includes self-leadership. Power in this study is therefore situated as the *way* people work (the ‘how’), like an energy, rather than their position within a structure. We all have it; it’s what we choose to do, how we use ourselves (our agency), to consider or create opportunities for action. Taking the analogy a step further, power as energy is also something we can pass on, and it can be in both positive and negative forms. We can also be consciously active in balancing system elements that will inevitably peak and trough, according to individual energy and agency.

In seeking other scholars’ views on power as energy, I found relatively little. However, the following quote (MSS Research 2016) helped to support my thinking:

Social existence represents a huge reservoir of energy, either in motion or capable of movement. When that social energy is focused by human intention to acquire a direction, it becomes social force. When social force is organised, it becomes social power.

The quote suggests a dynamic force that echoes Foucault’s view of power as an interpretation of leadership and something that only exists through relationships (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009). Describing his working life in terms of what he has had the energy for, rather than as a linear or progressive career, McLean (2015) recognises there may be more talented people than him who could do his role, but in acting on his beliefs and his energy, he is the one that has stepped up to take on the task. For me, this is a great example of personal power as energy.

Recognising your own power and agency supports the system and therefore other people. Echoing McLean’s example, the way people work in the Academy is supported through the encouragement of self-leadership whether they are staff or learners. Demonstrating internal and external alignment, Academy learners have power and influence over their outcomes in that they are central to the decision making process that shapes their training experience. In this respect the Academy’s

wider communities share in the power-with approach. The Academy demonstrates authenticity in terms of its underpinning values by generating trust amongst its people and learners that the organisation doesn't just talk about self-development, but acts on it as well.

Self-leadership is also encouraged by the nature of how the Academy grows and shares skills amongst staff. For example, the new website was set up as a project to develop existing staff, rather than 'buying in' the required expertise. The risk to the system is posed when people are not recognising, and therefore not utilising, their power or capacity to develop. It is contingent on individual, staff group and organisational values being aligned to truly unlock this potential. The quantitative survey results for social enterprise employees is illustrative of alignment across all three value systems (see Appendices 4 and 5), and this alignment was further reflected in the staff's high ranking of organisational trust drivers.

Conversely, in trying to quantify underutilisation I find it useful to return again to the concept of the circular economy, which frames food as waste (Ellen MacArthur Foundation 2015). A lack of recognition of self or other's strengths, capacity or ability is a form of *knowledge as waste*, reflecting current thinking in museum practice about 'other' (community, for example) knowledge, and social justice. Do we consider the meaning making capacity of staff in a way that isn't about an academically framed expertise and knowledge? The circular economy resonates with the discussion on social justice in museums by describing the 'real world' as fundamentally non-linear, and complex. If we believe change can come from anywhere, we are participants not controllers. In a systems analogy, the state of the parts depends on the state of the whole (Senge 1990) so multiple perspectives, failures as well as achievements, conflict as well as consensus, are therefore all contributory factors in how we may internally dissolve the 'margins and core' of traditional organisational structures, and so reconsider the role of power as energy rather than knowledge.

In developing models of critical community practice for socially purposeful organisations and finding knowledge across the system, hierarchies of expertise and resource power are shifting. The notion of expanded practice, as I highlighted in the

previous chapter on staff group values, is part of this shift, generating energy through a different focus for curators and museum practice. St Fagans interviewees emphasise the importance they place on learning to work with people who want to engage in the possibility to create change, rather than focusing on those people who don't. Negative thinking, such as risk avoidance and concerns about what people want to avoid, is a drain on positive energy and focuses activity in a self-limiting way of being, therefore committing us to tread the same path time and again (Butcher et al. 2007; Argyris and Schön 1996). It also frequently focuses on what we don't have in common rather than what we do. By contrast, high trust between people and groups can support organisational risk taking⁶⁷ and aligns with being able to withstand uncertainty and embrace alternative ways of being. Consequently, power as energy affects trust.

The fieldwork data also describes the value of allowing individuals to arrive at their own conclusions and to own those decisions (even if their manager saw it much earlier), presenting this as a sign of good leadership and a means of building trust. Therefore, it is possible to build trust by making space for self-leadership, linking to the Academy's principle of living its values as a learning organisation. Giving people the space to travel there themselves (although it can be challenging when you want to get there faster) demonstrates leadership by supporting individuals trying to make a difference, to be activists, supporting confidence in their skills and ability to build capacity. However, if energy is a similar concept to agency, but not everyone has the self-awareness or follow-through to act on what we claim our values or life position to be, can we trust *ourselves*? In this frame of energy and agency, the way that we work, and the emphasis on self-leadership, is an essential part of trust and individual values. To examine this in more detail, the role of personal agency and activism in the alignment of values is the focus of the final category in this chapter.

⁶⁷ The term 'risk taking' can be feared by organisations, especially those in the public sector. Its interpretation may vary depending on context. For example, for some organisations avoiding risk may simply mean avoiding doing things differently.

7.3 Alignment of values with an organisation is a choice of personal agency and activism

Emphasising personal agency reinforces why critical consciousness is so important. It is people who make things happen, through choices informed by their values and beliefs. Organisations are simply made up of individual people and processes devised by those people. *We* make it happen, together; not ‘other’ people. In a social justice frame there is no ‘them and us’. It’s *us*.

Individual power can be mapped as either blockers or, for the most part in this study, drivers for a high trust culture. These blockers and drivers relate to personal value sets, which also impact an individual’s personal professional portfolio. That is to say, there has been a significant change in the labour market away from the ‘job for life’ expectation of the 20th century; with the fieldwork indicating individuals carry their values with them into different scenarios during the course of their life. St Fagans interviewees offer many examples of change being driven by people coming into the sector from other backgrounds, as well as those within it foregrounding alternative value sets and ways of being emerging from their direct experience of change. I suggest there is an individual responsibility, therefore, as opposed to an expectation on the organisation, to ensure that the value sets at the core of this lifetime portfolio are a good fit with the organisation or role the individual inhabits at any given time.

The emphasis on value fit raises the question of how it plays out in practice, and whether it threatens the social impetus to recognise and celebrate diversity and the recognised weakness in the museum sector of a particularly non-diverse workforce (Museums Association 2016). In terms of employment, the fieldwork findings suggest a number of ways it is possible to consider the role of values that may support diversity in the workforce. The case study organisations also offer pertinent examples of individuals recognising their personal value fit and taking action and responsibility for it. However, I suggest this only works if the organisation is clear on the values it is working to, and how they translate in action, versus what is espoused (Argyris and Schön 1996). If this is the case, the sector has the opportunity to address its lack of diversity (particularly in terms of knowledge, life experiences and perspectives), and permeate barriers with communities, by focusing on values rather than technical skills

and traditional notions of expertise. As I presented in the earlier chapter on organisational values and trust, by developing critical community practice and learning from others, museums can engage with a wider range of voices and views to reframe the institution in a form of co-production, thereby replacing limited, repetitive internal processes.

7.3.1 Understanding values and identity

If we consider the boundary management between life domains as permeable and welcome, then individuals and the organisations they work for, or interact with, can make the best use of the full and rich set of individuals' identities and social realities. The adaptation process on joining an organisation also suggests the case against non-diversity. The Academy gives clear examples of this adaptation process in rebalancing the psychological contract by responding to new information brought in by joiners. The opportunity exists for people to alter and shape the culture as they join, rather than finding an obligation to change self to fit. Instead, self enhances the whole, unless values associated with care for others and the blurring of the work-non-work boundary and family ethos are violated. McLean's (2015) instance of ending a manager's contract described in chapter five is a powerful example of this. Adaptation to different perspectives, knowledge, politics and personalities is therefore possible and welcome. It may challenge both sides but, in critical community practice, the ability to dialogue well means it is a natural process for joint learning to collectively build, or rebuild and reimagine, social structures (Butcher et al. 2007).

Value alignment is a choice that individuals make (or at least have the capacity to make) and is linked to personal agency and activism. Individual choice affects whether one uses that agency *actively* in the service of any given community, or not; whether one's personal activism or agency is engaged in benefiting a wider purpose, or potentially to engage in conflict (either actively or passively), as touched on through the exploratory study. Self-awareness of one's own values and fit with the organisation, the value system operating across the team and the impetus to act on these symbols of authenticity, is vital to critical community practice. In the words of a museum interviewee, it translates as a "moral commitment to people" through "purposeful curation".

There is evidence within St Fagans, specifically, of a spectrum of value sets held by individuals across the organisation that chimes with the values circumplex defined in the methodology chapter, ranging from the ‘extrinsic’ status driven values to the ‘intrinsic’ social justice values. In NMW’s case, the range has become apparent following a period of significant structural change and desired changes to its underpinning organisational values. Where there are examples of the type of resistance one might expect in this instance, there are also examples of where an individual has found themselves now working in a way that is an unexpected, but *better* fit with their personal values. However, it has taken an imposed change for individuals to become *aware* of this improved fit, perhaps even of their own underlying values, emphasising the importance of self-awareness and reflection in the role of personal agency, and an individual’s responsibility to their relationship with, and their experience of, their role.

Without self-awareness, however, and the impact of direct experience as discussed in the previous chapter, it is challenging for people to be able to utilise their agency effectively. A manager at St Fagans describes seeing people who have gone on a journey, where she could see light bulb moments for people working on the project, sometimes in new roles, which led them to question, for example, how they do research and who benefits from the work they do. Such questioning has helped people move to an understanding of their personal values identity. By contrast, she describes other people who retain a role/status identity and who “absolutely see themselves as the experts”, where they perceive “the expertise of someone who works in community ... [as] not as valid if you like.” In a similar vein, McLean (2015) describes change as not necessarily transformational in itself unless people change how they see themselves.

7.3.2 Repositioning for a better value fit

Both case studies provided examples of people repositioning themselves for a better personal values fit. For example, NMW curators as a result of the St Fagans project referred to in the previous chapter on trust and staff group values, and Ewen and Gordon Jamieson at the Academy who moved to the third sector from the civil service

and commercial business respectively, and who describe their positions at the Academy as an opportunity to personally grow and develop. In taking the risk of moving from a typical ‘job for life’ career with the civil service after 35 years, following a secondment that had involved working with the third sector, Ewen (2015) describes how working for the Academy is a closer fit with her personal values:

I kept thinking the whole reason you go into a secondment is to grow and develop and do things differently... [It’s] been a big shift for me, going from an environment where you were really tied into very high level strategic objectives around what ministers needed, around the publicity they get, around making figures fit to what they needed and everything else, to come to an organisation where it was really all about that we believed we were able to change the world.

Ewen’s insight provides an example of double-loop learning, in that she was intentionally seeking a fundamental change, rather than a temporary break or a different role in the same environment. Just as I explored the potential to challenge fundamental assumptions in terms of organisational learning, self-learning – self-leadership – can also address primary dispositions and value sets for the individual. Ewen embraced the uncertain. It was more important to have a good value fit than to maintain job security. Furthermore, when Ewen (ibid.) describes her personal identity she expresses it in terms of personal values, emphasising that there is no boundary between her work at the Academy and the rest of her life, that it is porous: “I don’t see it as a boundary, I think it all kind of comes together.”

In a similar way to the direct experience category in the discussion on trust and staff group values, intentionally ‘destabilising existing (social, academic) power structures’ through change, either empowers or obliges people to think differently, creating the potential for radical change for individuals. Academia has been a strong feature of curatorial expertise at NMW and whilst the organisation still values and needs curators, the shift in emphasis to community engagement through the St Fagans project has impacted on individual values by changing mental processes. It is not about letting go or devaluing curatorial *practice*, rather how it is conceived and

positioned. It is about repositioning its status in the activity, in a team of staff and community participants, and actively making choices to maximise and democratise community involvement. The St Fagans project curator's experience includes learning that it is not his academic expertise that is leading his work and the team. Instead, by letting go of his academic expertise as the 'lead' factor in his work, he is identifying what actually gives him a sense of worth at work – the participation within the team and community.

Just as in critical community practice and social justice methodologies, change is person by person, in the organisation as in society. In this instance, the project curator is someone who has come to this viewpoint, and had his worldview aligned with his professional role, because of the shifting ground within the organisation at large, and the wider socio-political network – like a kaleidoscope clicking into place. He is now aware of his personal values and sees them making sense, providing self-worth not only to his professional role, but also to him as an individual in his own life position. He says of this shift:

So on my wall on my noticeboard I have a quote from one of the community partner volunteers who came to St Fagans and said exactly that. It was the most exciting thing he'd ever done with his life and at that point you think, yeah, this has arrived; we're actually doing stuff now that makes the museum more than just a store house.

Change can be a key driver to have the potential to impact on value sets (one's existing, underlying value set). Without a change impetus, fundamental values are not challenged, or conversely, brought to light. Change may also be the opportunity for individuals to alter their position to fit their values that perhaps they had not been fully conscious or aware of before. Individuals are finding this type of shift to be powerful once they have the awareness and experience of deeper human values and their meaning *in action*, enabling them to consciously inform their choices and actions against that awareness. The St Fagan's project curator's story above is a specific example of the museum sector's potential, but ultimately anyone can change lives if they choose the appropriate actions (even without scale of movement or protest, it is

still a form of activism) and utilise their personal agency. For the staff directly involved in St Fagans, that is what the project has offered.

7.3.3 Recognising personal alignment with values

In trying to evolve a culture that will support a new way of thinking for NMW, consideration is given to the way that staff involved are professionally and personally investing in that change. The St Fagans project team describe how the organisation at large employs staff because of the skills they have, instead of looking at the type of person they are, the values they hold, and the type of environment they want to work in, when in fact the philosophy behind the change is about working with values upfront. If, as an example, we consider a typical recruitment process of advert, interview, selection, induction, I propose that an organisation should make its values public through its social interface, its staff interaction with other agents (echoing the Academy proposition that everyone 'is' the Academy), the recruitment literature and advert. At interview, there is a conversation about alignment of these organisational values with the individual's values. If we accept the worldwide research into humans sharing the same key value sets, regardless of background, nationality, religion (Schwartz 1994), it is possible to share the same values yet have many areas of difference that can work co-productively in sharing the aim of social justice. Interview questions would be structured to engage in this conversation, as well as the individual's range of skills and competencies.

St Fagans, with its reworked philosophy, is positioned as the main driver for NMW's new vision. However, there are fundamental barriers to this change from previous iterations of the institution's social construction, for example, the lack of alignment between personal and professional values, which also poses a risk to trust. Williams (2015) reflects:

I think when you're working in the museum, and I felt this quite strongly before David came, you almost left your personality at the door, you know your, what you hold as your political values were kind of... You came to work and you did your job and they were separate things. And I think that's really a mistake of the organisation really and it loses its... And if you do [drive it]

from the values then you're asking people to bring their personality absolutely into their work.

Williams (2015) is challenged by what she perceives as a clash in values within NMW as an organisation. Observing their community colleagues she comments: "Most of the third sector partners we're working with have the values upfront, and so when you're applying for a post you know what the values of that organisation are". Her observation indicates a disconnect for NMW with its wider network system and alignment with its community partners, but also for the alignment of its organisation and individual values. The disconnect is essentially caused by the differences in what people feel is important in museum work: community benefit and tackling poverty clashing with what might otherwise be seen as the 'traditional core' of the museum – the care and display of collections. The challenge for NMW is the status and scale of being an existing, large, national organisation used to dominant, patriarchal, hierarchical modes of operating, contrasting with the organisation's revised values and new vision. In a sense, the organisation is under tension from characteristics of both bounded rationality and bounded emotionality (defined in Table 1, page 50) being simultaneously activated.

St Fagans interviewees suggest it is timely for the organisation to initiate a large change as Thomas (2015) observes: "people often work for nationals for years and it's easy to stay in the groove." However, Williams senses a limit in the change potential, precisely because the majority of staff joined for different values than those being espoused and acted on now. The Academy has a similar dialogue around the role of the tutors when, as one manager expresses it, "some of them have been here for ten years and just expect that they will be here for the next ten". Although this can be read as loyalty, and there is an importance in that, it doesn't necessarily suggest self-awareness, reflection or a responsibility to their continued value fit.

On the other hand, working for values is increasingly observed in recent, particularly younger, recruits at NMW who are bringing experience with them from a range of other sectors. The role of millennials is expressed as an enhancement to the service rather than a source of tension (Barnett 2017). A learning manager for St Fagans

comments: “A lot of the younger curators and marketing people and finance people and so forth. They understand, and they’re really keen... They have been working in this way before.” His view is echoed by Burge’s observation of her own sector transfer (2015): “Before I started working for the museum... I was working for Cardiff social services... a little bit different to what I’m doing here but some kind of common themes around being inclusive and getting people involved”.

At the Academy, Scott (2015) believes that personal alignment with values is more important than skills. One of her current priorities is to make sure that the new job evaluation process being brought in to support the Academy’s expansion does not counter their learning organisation’s principle to work with learners wherever they find them, including staff. The Academy acknowledges that, during recruitment, people may deselect from jobs requiring a degree, an example of the knowledge-as-waste scenario. Scott (*ibid.*) also shares experiences from her career where people have joined with the right bit of paper, but were not a fit for the job in practice. By maintaining awareness of this potential risk, she supports McLean’s view that the Academy can fill a gap created by the perception of an ‘oppressive’ academic culture. It does not necessarily mean oppressive in the structural sense, many universities and educational organisations are trying to work in a flatter way, but oppressive in terms of sector power, a power-over (those who haven’t engaged with academic scholarship) dominance.

People contributing to the St Fagans redevelopment recognise the significance the alterations to staff roles have on repositioning, and emphasising, individual values, to be able to deliver change through practice. As previously discussed, the intention is that individuals right across NMW will be similarly challenged and supported in the values change, expanding the strategy out from St Fagans to the wider organisation. Clearly this will impact on every individual in a different way. Individuals also have the potential to accentuate their personal politics with their agency, referencing the ‘negative’ energy element, if they want to resist organisational change. Lack of alignment is therefore not just about organisational values, but also about individual values, hence the unfolding emphasis on individual responsibility to alignment.

Organisational learning change is a long-term process and commitment. Time is inevitably a feature of the process, reflecting the Academy's 'constant journey' approach. For individual values, however, no timescale is necessary. It is a way of being, just as critical consciousness includes "an ability to analyse and evaluate your own beliefs" as well as "a capacity to critically appraise the personal 'lenses' that shape and influence the way we perceive the world" (Chaffee 1998, quoted in Butcher et al. 2007, p.60). Part of this way of being is recognising constant change, recognising that the job for life scenario has gone and, instead, being aware of one's own essential 'for life' values. However, these are situational and all people can and will change dominant value sets depending on what they are alert to (Holmes et al. 2011). Whilst caring for others as a primary social justice value set has been a common theme through the fieldwork data, there are also examples from both organisations when outside forces cause tension with 'caring for others'; for example, through the risk of potential job-loss, which activates self-interest and competing self-identities. Boundary management is therefore a useful tool with which to understand the complexity of individuals' overlapping social and life domains (Rothbard and Ollier-Malaterre 2009; Parsons 1949).

7.3.4 Delivering social justice through transformational change

As an example of individual self-awareness, a learning officer at St Fagans consciously recognises that his personal values are a close fit with engagement values. His awareness helps him to recognise how he has benefited from the change process. One of the fundamental challenges he raises about personal alignment with the new vision is the importance of interpersonal skills in developing and using community methodologies in curatorial practice, which may not suit everyone, or what he terms "old school curators". However, the quality of interpersonal skills cannot be a pre-requisite for believing in, and working to, social justice, or holding a certain set of personal values. Large-scale change may be required in order for NMW to work explicitly towards its social purpose, but everyone involved can be treated with care so that we do not risk the polarisation of viewing old ways as 'bad', new ways 'good'. Difference and diversity is an essential resource to deliver change (Page 2007). There is a need to jointly locate individual values fit within the larger construct of the

organisation, and I would point to my earlier discussion on the importance of *direct experience* in achieving this that I previously described in trust and staff group values.

As with organisational values, the role of self-awareness in the development of individual values is critical. It plays a key role in terms of managing the boundaries between multiple life domains, and the opportunity to positively build trust at the intersection of engagement with other people through relational practice. Social justice emphasises democracy and diversity, working for shared aims for the benefit of other people or society as a whole, rather than more extrinsic values that focus on self-interest. Values are a way of understanding common ground in the principles of how people engage socially. Sharing the same values that are social justice orientated is therefore not about finding ‘people like me’, but people who care about similar ideas beyond themselves, ideas about human motivation and how human values relate to each other. It is not about *being* the same. Even though the Academy has a very strong alignment of values, personality tests show how different they are from each other as individuals, but that they value and respect those differences and work with them to enhance their shared aims. In doing so, they grow affective trust and increase their chances of high performance to achieve their social aims. This is a powerful example of a virtuous circle at work in the system.

In evaluating the balance between ‘expert’ and ‘community’ curation and the resulting impact on the organisation, further actions of ‘experiencing conflict with the academic community’ and ‘acknowledging blocks to career progression’ imply power is still perceived by curators as held by the academic community. It suggests academia remains an oppressive ideology within the museum sector. Although there is evidence this is changing, with university departments researching and teaching community curation, for example, the academic qualification structure remains oppressive as the dominant form of knowledge recognition and validation in the workplace. In one particular instance, a St Fagans project curator describes his participation in creating access for the community as perceived by peers elsewhere in the sector to be doing “a bad job”. In a further example of knowledge-as-waste, such evidence suggests cultural power holders in our societies exclude those who are not in, or who have not been through, the academic system.

Without the support of an organisation or a staff group to develop and practice self-awareness, change for social justice won't be easy. After all, organisations are not mechanised entities; they are a human construct populated by human beings with all their individual behaviours underpinned by their value sets. As a member of the St Fagans team puts it, "it's difficult isn't it, when you abstract aims and objectives for a vision level, for people to see themselves in it ... Where am I in that picture, where do I fit into it?" Yet, as I have highlighted, direct experience can impact change at a whole-life level (as opposed to a professional-only capacity), with the potential to transform an individual's sense of worth. Thinking about people as individuals, and relating to them directly as part of your life and network system, can have a profound impact on how people view human sociality and their ability to have a positive influence for the common good. The personal impact on a curator, who engaged early with the St Fagans redevelopment project through the demands of the wider change programme, is understood by returning to his story of the geology curator who encouraged a young man with no prospects into a life-long, positive career (see page 172).

The St Fagans' curator's recalling of this exchange that took place many years ago is significant in terms of connecting with stories of direct impact on other individuals, but also on him, at a whole life level. He describes living with (note: not 'working' with) feedback from participants and 'being transformed' by the level of change for him, reflecting, "Change for most other people has been awful [because of the financially driven change programme] but not necessarily transformational of itself." The type of change is the critical element. His was a values recognition and shift, informing his work and his approach. A structural change (single-loop learning) can therefore develop into a double-loop 'transformational' change. He expresses this change in the difference between his previous, academically focused, 'expert' curatorial role, compared to now finding new excitement in his work as it becomes meaningful to him in a way that explicitly links to, and has helped him to recognise, his social values. In appreciating the value of participants and his work with them, he is recognising the impact on a life level for everyone involved. He is also acknowledging that his previous academically focused work didn't in itself have the

same intrinsic sense of worth. He is now living his values through the St Fagans project, and by doing so, is changing his mental processes, echoing the self-awareness presented so clearly by Academy interviewees in their descriptions of life positions and authenticity. He says:

It's transformed my sense of worth in the workplace and I think it's much more exciting than what I was doing before... There's a bit more risk involved in it... it would have been easy just to stay where I was, but [this is] far more satisfying.

The role of personal experience in understanding personal value fit is critical to transformational change. By having the first, does one recognise the second? Does it take this type of direct experience for individuals to have the self-awareness of what their values are, and therefore to have an understanding of their value fit? In considering his experience and what he describes as transformational, individual value alignment is a pre-condition for organisational (and social) change. Within the museum context, this curator's comments indicate a change towards delivering social justice: "I think that last point, relationships with others, it strikes a chord that what we want this place to be, we don't define it anymore and it's defined by the people who come through the door." In any job it's about human interaction, wherever people are located, echoing Academy hub manager Bryan's description of all jobs as customer facing (Bryan 2015). As critical community practice suggests, it isn't an expectation of universal views and participation, rather that the opportunity to participate should exist and that obstructions to participation are minimised (Butcher et al. 2007).

7.3.5 Considering personal agency

In many ways, museums are at a crossroads of ideologies and the work of projects like St Fagans are an important part of questioning fundamental, taken-for-granted social and personal beliefs. The equality of opportunity suggested by the curator above would enable everyone to benefit from each agent in the system, actively shaping the context for his or her own lived experiences through the choice and agency to do so. The stronger the system, combined with a supportive environment, the more closely

aligned actions for change will be. Personal agency is a gift but requires individuals to have the capacity to make choices to act. The *structure* individuals operate in will shape the forces affecting an individual's capacity to act independently and make free choices. Developing self-awareness of structural influences is a critical part of engaging personal agency and raises particular questions for the ability of those in certain staff groups, such as museum front of house, to do so.

Power relates to people, but it is often seen as held or directed by the few, not the many. Culturally, we therefore risk deserting our own capacity and power as an agent in the systems we inhabit, if we don't challenge this perception. Furthermore, we will also have very subjective, unique views of our and others' power within these different systems, such as family, community, workplace, museums, nation states. Returning to the work of Rachel Duckhouse, she describes her experience in engaging with staff at GoMA: "As I got talking to the diverse range of staff working in the galleries and library, it became clear that their perception of the institution of GoMA as a whole system was not a singular one" (Duckhouse 2015). Equally, there are striking differences in her interpretation of interpersonal connectors within the gallery system, even amongst the front of house staff. In the images below (Figures 21, 22 and 23), we can see three different interpretations of gallery assistant connections and, I would argue, representations of different activations of individual personal agency within the same system.

The stimulation of personal agency is a form of activism, whether it happens intentionally or unintentionally. Activism is usually understood as action, or actions, undertaken to challenge the norm or to impede change, or it may be a choice associated with personal values, such as choosing to buy local produce out of ethical, environmental, or fair trade concerns. Activism doesn't have to mean conflict, protest, or be large scale. It does not have to be conducted by someone who identifies themselves as an 'activist', or who holds a particular position in society or within an organisational structure. Activism doesn't belong to 'other' people; we all have agency and therefore we all have the capacity to make change. It is about what we do and how, and equally what we don't do. It is possible to understand social enterprise



Figure 21 – *Gallery Assistant iv*, Rachel Duckhouse 2015 (photograph: Caro Weiss).



Figure 22 – *Gallery Assistant ii*, Rachel Duckhouse 2015 (photograph: Caro Weiss).

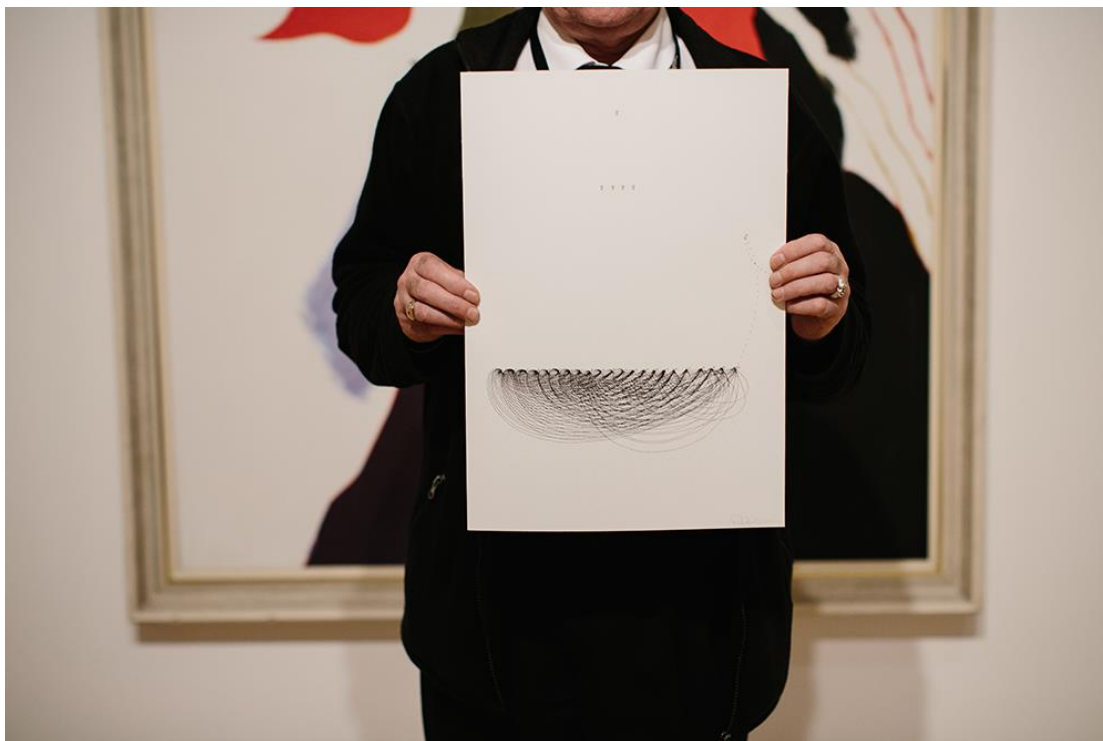


Figure 23 – *Gallery Assistant iii*, Rachel Duckhouse 2015 (photograph: Caro Weiss).

as a form of activism and indeed some definitions of activism echo the Academy's strapline 'learning to change the world'.

Many Academy staff members describe their motivation to work for the organisation as driven by the desire to literally 'change the world'. My observations from the fieldwork are that this form of words is not included in their dialogue as a sweeping statement, or a form of extreme arrogance, or to be sensationalist. It is a reflection of their belief that individuals have the capacity as activists to use their own agency, to be a conduit for change that will benefit others. That in this change, if it is multiplied through a virtuous circle of activity, then the capacity to make change can be a global one. For me, there is a bravery to talk unapologetically in this way. I also consider it a strong trust marker that this belief and motivation is expressed so openly, and repeated throughout the organisation.

Perhaps this way of thinking and being will be harder to replicate across the museum sector in the way that the social enterprise sector plans to expand its impact. In effect,

however, there is the same potential to develop changes within museum practice and perceptions that can similarly help others so that, in a compound form, and making use of the multiplier effect, they will benefit society more widely as a form of social justice. We each have the capacity to make this difference and the value alignment of *individuals* with *teams* and *organisations* offers the scope for collective, scaffolded action to enhance such potential. Even everyday conversations are places where forms of activism can occur on a daily basis to acknowledge and challenge oppression. Jennie Rideout (2015) summarises our individual potential for activism as “only limited by the boundaries of our own visions” whilst at the same time recognising the importance and value of self-care (ibid.):

When we get right down to it, we can only give what we have. If we do not help ourselves, it is not likely that we have a ton of left over energy to help others. In the words of Audre Lorde, “*Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare.*”

Agency is a capacity we all have, all the time; activism is something we make a choice to use our agency for. Without self-awareness of these conditions, power as energy or personal agency can also, like knowledge, be conceived as waste. Duckhouse’s visual interpretations (2015) can be read as offering insight into forms of activism, personal agency, self-preservation or waste as demonstrated by the differences between the gallery assistants. They also present a visualisation of power as energy.

Returning to the concept of authenticity, which I explored through trust and organisational values, Academy interviewees present a strong understanding of how they engage their personal agency to live and work ‘authentically’, influenced by the organisation’s supportive, socially constructed environment. They connect the word authentic to the Academy’s, and their individual, values in descriptions of how well they express alignment of self and their work. Self-value alignment can be considered another layer to trust development in terms of *being* who you are and living your values. Agency and authenticity are dynamically linked and, without authenticity,

personal agency is inhibited. The Academy's interviewees describe the frequent use of the word authentic in relation to its values base. Baumber (2015) expands on this:

You look at people who are unhappy in their job and you look at folks who are basically putting on a suit as a costume and it's about power and it's all sorts of rubbish that goes on, and if you can just live a little bit more true to yourself and everything else, you'd be happier for it... I believe that things, that where I work... I want it to be linked to who I am, so your work is part of your sense of self, and being, and identity.

Baumber (ibid.) goes on to describe self-sacrifice and self-care as two ends of a spectrum; that you need to be in tune with yourself to value and care for yourself in a similar way to Ewen's belief that the boundary between her work life and her personal life is porous (Ewen 2015). The Academy shows particularly close alignment of intrinsic values across personal association, role fit, and perception of organisational fit. In many respects this is no surprise considering the Academy was established relatively recently on the basis of a set of core values. Equally, however, evidence from the data reveals people work hard to protect this value system and its associated authenticity through self-awareness of their personal agency and individual 'fit'. They perceive this protection as central to achieving their aims, a principle reason for joining the Academy, and the basis for the high levels of trust enjoyed by those who work there.

7.3.6 Leading through personal agency

McLean (2015) defines very clearly the boundaries of how staff behave towards one another, and if those boundaries are crossed, taking action to prevent damage to trust. Whilst challenging, he believes people recognise and generatively respond to authenticity and integrity. The fieldwork presents strong data to demonstrate how individual awareness of personal values and living them in action – being authentic – builds trust with self and others. Understanding the role of awareness and authenticity in personal agency is to align your personal values with your professional role and the values of the organisation you are part of constructing. There is also collective agreement amongst Academy interviewees that authenticity “cuts to the cause a lot

better”, as described by Baumber (2015). He believes authenticity gets rid of baggage and “asks people to perform better”. When your work is linked to who you are, your work is part of your sense of self, and being, and identity; thereby suggesting that organisational alignment of internal and external values is complemented by individual value alignment. Figure 24 further builds the virtuous circle supporting trust and value alignment with the additions of ‘individual self awareness and authenticity’ and ‘power sits with everyone’.

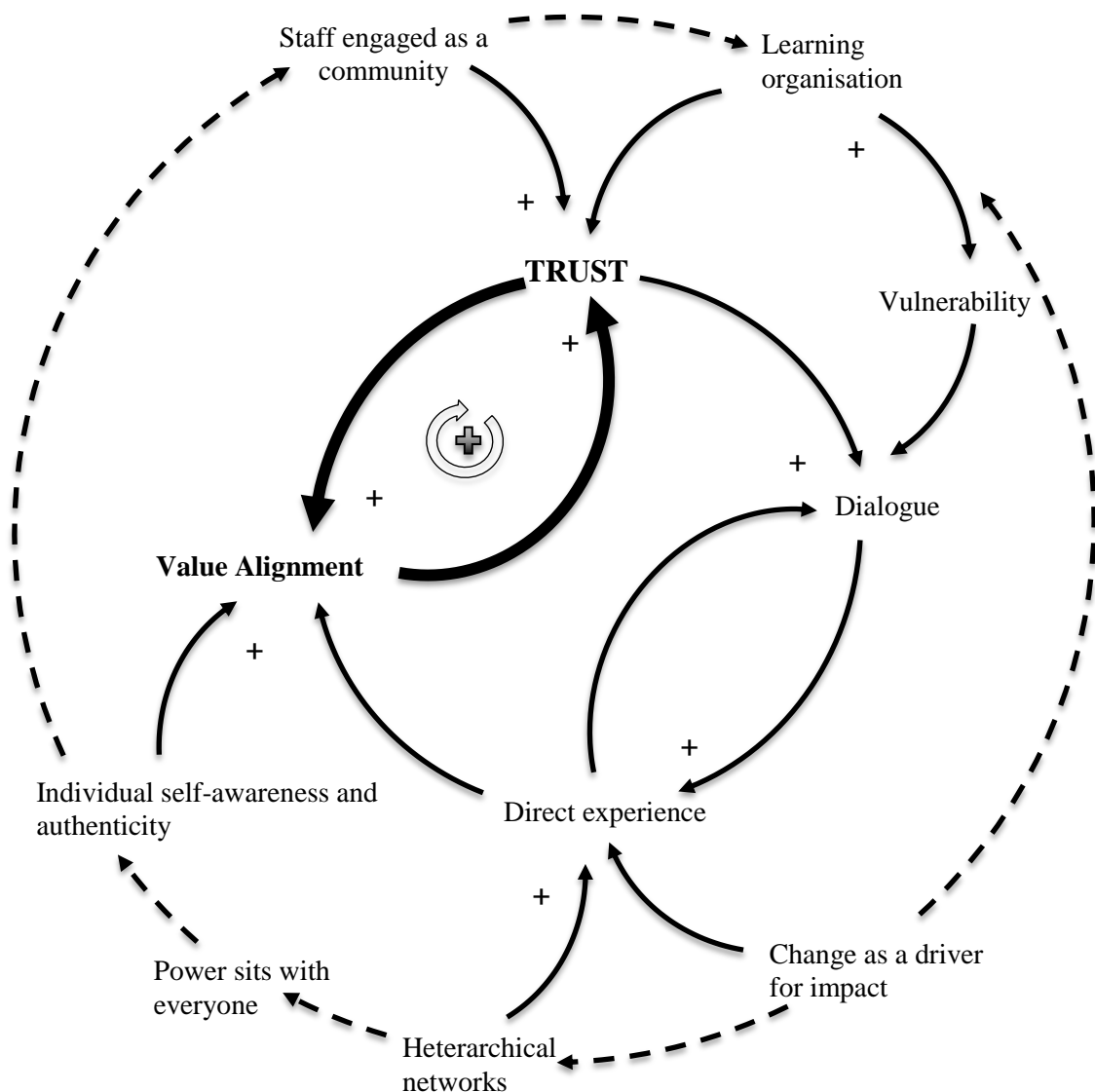


Figure 24 – Virtuous circle showing the system elements for trust and value alignment.

Individual values that support social justice are not about having blind faith in human nature. McLean (2015) is open about the risk in accommodating negative relationships or staff that don't share the passion, motivation or values set, such as the example of ending a manager's contract. Baumber (2015) offers another example where a tutor was let go for not completing a required facilitation qualification, instead choosing to take paid work on the final day of the course. The tutor is perceived as not valuing the process and letting others down. Whilst technically, the course could have been completed at another time, it was the principle of that individual not valuing the shared learning with, and commitment to, the rest of the tutor group that was the organisational principle the Academy upheld.

At St Fagans, a manager echoes these Academy examples in her reflection that museums need to take action to "unpick the tolerance level" and be upfront when things are not working. They suggest the public sector is too accommodating of poor performance, or people whose values are not in tune with those of the organisation. It is important to have absolute clarity about the role of the organisation, its values and boundaries of related behaviour to know what to say 'no' to. Having these in place makes for "easy" decisions, as described by McLean (2015), and supports the work of staff in the right areas. McLean and Williams express similar views about the 'difficult' decisions being "between right and right" (McLean 2015), a judgement call between competing scenarios that equally meet the organisation's values: or an ethical dilemma. Both wish to involve staff in creating criteria to assess when work is excellent, mediocre, or simply not good enough: they want to be able to embrace these challenging conversations for the benefit of their larger social aims. In particular, there is concern that a time of less resource is a time when there is less capacity to carry that tolerance and accommodate it.

By raising awareness of the Academy's and St Fagans' values, and what each organisation prioritises, individuals can take responsibility for their own alignment as well. Scott (2015) quotes McLean describing the Academy culture as "family first, business second"; that is to say, it is the people that matter, and if that is in place then everything flows from there. Without alignment, an organisation is held back from achieving its social outcomes. Every individual's contribution to those values and the

collective trust that builds from them is essential. McLean (2015) reflects on the credibility Bryan has brought to the Academy's work in the Highlands and Islands, through his communication across the network, drawing on his personal connections and being trusted through values, evidenced by his track record (Covey 2006). Emphasising that technical expertise isn't enough, the significance of McLean's observation of Bryan's approach is to recognise the importance of personal and professional value alignment, in an understanding of the broader range of competencies that will more effectively support an organisation's overall aims.

The examples offered by the case studies speak both to the role of personal agency in value alignment, but also the role of organisational size and governing structures to protect it. A trustee for NMW acknowledges that the role of leadership in endorsing key principles creates the right environment for these to be enacted by the organisation as a whole. The fieldwork data around leadership foregrounds people skills, patience and tolerance; allowing others to contribute in their own way and to work within the value position of what the organisation can actively do, as opposed to a heroic, follow-me type of leadership. Ewen (2015) unpacks this in more detail:

I think, you know, understanding who we are as an organisation, understanding what we can deliver, what we do really well and also what our limitations are, really helps us to build who we are as well, because I think sometimes, when you do start to diversify... in certain circumstances it can, you know, that can be the thing that breaks you.

What is interesting about this example is the collective reference of the individuals to the social construction of the organisation. At a time of severe financial contraction for UK museums, there will be huge temptation for these organisations to diversify to survive. That can work, but in considering what Ewen has said, it takes confidence in who you are, and your collective beliefs, to know what decisions to make. For many museums in a hierarchical structure, this is likely be a much more directive process that will risk the alignment of individual values and the associated trust formed through that alignment.

7.3.7 Understanding that agency can promote or impede change

In contrast to the Academy that was established in 2007 based on a set of guiding values, NMW was formed in 1905 and is a much larger, established service that is seeking to *change* its values position. Furthermore, NMW, and therefore St Fagans, is working predominantly with the same staff as before, retaining a traditional hierarchical underpinning structure, which a manager at St Fagans suggests is symptomatic of the public sector:

I mean, we have situations here where some people can make that leap [to work to the new values] and some people can't and I think there is a, I think this idea that people are allowed to continue in a certain mode of behaviour is actually quite bad for the individual as well as the organisations... I've always found it's incredibly unfair on the people who are achieving, and you see it right across the public sector.

Whilst the St Fagans project team describe experiencing a clash of organisational and employee (individual) values in NMW by positioning community benefit at the core of museum work, they are maintaining the energy behind the change by hand-picking staff from the wider organisation to work on the project. The emphasis is on finding opportunities in change that speak to personal values and can be expressed professionally by the contributing individuals. Williams (2015) describes seeing the team self-educate in the new values very quickly, demonstrating a personal commitment to the change, whilst she describes others who are further away from the project as "just carrying on". The emphasis on the new value system has brought recognition that the organisation's previous approach meant individual personalities and values were 'left at the door', viewed as separate to the job and therefore lost to the organisation.

As one of these contributing individuals, the earlier story of the St Fagans' project curator's transformational change demonstrates how it is possible to invest in change (for the team and personally) through *actions*, indicating the role that personal agency has to play. He achieved this within the St Fagans redevelopment project, NMW's focus for change that operates on a smaller scale and more networked basis than the

overall hierarchical structure. For more ‘traditional’ hierarchical, and perhaps larger organisations, do people consider the potential of their individual agency and how it affects the dynamic of the wider system (positively or negatively) on a day-to-day basis? Does a hierarchy communicate messages of control that mitigate against personal agency, and the size of an organisation prevent clarity on values?

If people (staff) have the freedom to define their own roles, it also gives them scope to ‘opt out’ of community engagement and public service if their values aren’t aligned with the commitment to, in this case, social justice. It is of particular concern for NMW where St Fagans interviewees question the advantage of having participation and engagement in everyone’s training when individuals can make a choice about whether they are working to support or avoid it. It also depends on the organisational environment (for example, at NMW the change programme has been perceived as threatening and enforced), as well as the quality of relational dynamics in the system where, for example, there is a clear difference in the way the St Fagans project team functions compared to other sections of the service.

The example of Gore and its networked approach to team work is suggestive of a potential way forward for NMW’s wider strategic expansion of its value change and the Academy’s replication programme. In utilising the concept of multiple facilities to service one organisation, Gore ensures that within each facility “everyone knows everyone” and the sense of connection between people reduces the need for a hierarchy, increasing individual commitment to the organisation’s overall values (Gore 2017). Gore is also interesting in terms of its frequent references to personal commitments in the work place, to yourself and other people. A commitment is a promise; you’re expected to keep it and for me this is the practice of self-trust, driven by personal responsibility and self-motivation.

In line with critical community practice, many Academy interviewees express the wish only to stay as long as their work is of use to the organisation’s social purpose, believing this purpose to be the most important thing (beyond self, beyond the professional role, beyond the organisation). Many interviewees describe their work as ‘doing something you believe in’ and building trust with others because people don’t

feel they're trying to do something for the benefit of the organisation they work for. That is, it is not about the Academy's self-interest. Instead, the organisation is a vehicle to do something for the benefit of others, a further horizon. Scott (2015) comments on her own alignment in her work for the Academy, liking what the organisation does in caring about the development of people, making things better, and the amelioration of problems: "I couldn't see myself in a job where it didn't have some kind of more altruistic purpose to it. I just wouldn't be able to feel motivated about that." Academy interviewees also strongly describe enjoying what they do, that their collective work is mutually supportive, and through alignment of values and agency leads to positive descriptions of the work and workplace being 'fun' and 'happy'. McLean (2015) provides an example of change observed in a colleague who recently joined the organisation:

That was him in semi-retirement [before] and [now] he just really, really enjoys that nature of mutually supportive fun but getting the job done... His wife bumped into [a colleague] at a football match and said, "I wish he'd worked here years ago, it's the happiest he's ever been".

There is a challenge and a dichotomy in terms of the Academy's planned replication programme through the desire to 'control' the values in new hubs. However, what lies beneath this is, in a similar way to the Gore example, the desire to ensure a shared intrinsic values base with others who support social justice because they care about better conditions for other people, rather than financial reward for themselves. Values need to be visible and understood that they apply across the network. We each have a responsibility to recognise our own and other people's values in order to develop them. It is also about the personal fit between the organisation and individual values through self-trust. Without that trust, such aspirations have insufficient oxygen to live and thrive.

Managing and supporting this kind of culture is not easy, there are still misunderstandings and misconceptions such as Baumber's earlier example of not listening when people needed him to (Baumber 2015). Valuing high levels of emotional intelligence in the organisation and in individuals is critical. The planned

replication programme is not just about replicating processes, but also about emotional intelligence, nuances, qualities, and culture. Finding a partner to replicate the Academy in other countries is not a financial transaction, but a question of values fit. The evidence shows it is hard to balance the decision to walk away from a potential partner, to let someone go, or critique staff performance when participants in the system are so tuned into human values and emotions. Using personal agency to remain authentic to individual values supports courage and strength in these challenges, rather than being weak, uncaring, even cruel. Investing of yourself authentically builds credibility in your track record, and trust as a result (Covey 2006).

7.3.8 Investing of yourself authentically

The fieldwork presents strong evidence to suggest people are investing of themselves authentically, enabling the Academy as an organisation (that is the people within the social construct) to live what it (they) advocates to communities. Scott (2015) suggests people do this because they ascribe to similar aims in life: a care for social justice rather than financial reward. It describes an intrinsic values base and is suggestive of the quality of the system generated by the individual agents. She explains:

The people who are interested in social justice, in ensuring better conditions for people to work in and improving the environment, they do come from a background where they do care about it. You don't get into it for the money, so it's got to be a different slant, which usually means you are a certain type of person.

This is not a reference to class background, but a way of thinking and being, as an agent in a global system. Similarly, Jamieson (2015) is interested and excited by seeing the alignment with his own desire to help others. Like Scott, knowing his work will have a positive impact on others is important to him, finding the third sector and emphasis on social change appeals to him as an individual, where the emphasis is on people over 'corporate speak' and a more personal, positive change. I explored authenticity in the chapter on trust and organisational values, yet it is also significant in trust and individual values as a number of interviewees comment on the importance

of their values (where they are aware of these) to ensure they hold true in their work. Jamieson (ibid.) implies that his time and role at the Academy has made his values visible to him; that he is aware of them now in a way he wasn't in his previous employment, where he was vaguely aware of "something missing". He explains the importance of his value awareness and fit:

I know for me what my values are and what's important for me... I want to get to 60, 65 or whatever and feel that I've been true to myself and... if in five years' time all of a sudden I've become some corporate juggernaut or whatever, then you know, as long as I can answer the question, "Am I being true to myself?" I know that would never happen, because I know how strongly I hold my values.

Like most workers, Jamieson also describes having stressful times at the Academy but that he has never dreaded going in to work as he might have done in other organisations. He considers this to be a "really telling factor" in terms of the difference for him in fit and values, "and I think if that happens I think I would know that I need to move on" (ibid.). He talks about his friends' take on his experience at work as very envious: "95% of my close friends all work in commercial business... and a number of them have thought about [whether they] can make that transfer over to an organisation like [the Academy]" (ibid.). In fact, on the back of just such a conversation, one of his friends left her role as a research scientist to join a third sector organisation providing support on drugs and substance abuse.

Culturally, socially, do we sufficiently question how and who we spend our (professional) time with? Individuals have a responsibility to find a role that is a good fit for them – to have that self-awareness. Ultimately, they may need to change organisation. An Academy board member believes the Academy changes lives, not just within communities 'out there' but for the people who are part of those communities who also work within the organisation. Her views recognise the Academy's investment in getting the right people, acknowledging the scale of their impact for a relatively small organisation. The Academy's reach is another demonstration of the multiplier effect, reinforced by the board member who says,

“they’re credible, they’re impactful, they’re authentic”, echoing Covey’s core trust traits (Covey 2006).

Being self aware to the extent that one can recognise or tap into elements of self and motivation that have been dormant is a critical skill, and as previously highlighted, the Academy’s emphasis on understanding personality types and life positions supports this recognition. Being in the right place for self and understanding one’s motivation is part of being ‘authentic’. Are we, as a society, supporting each other to develop that grounded awareness in our own values as individuals? Are more people waking up to seeing something other than status or climbing the career ladder? Certainly millennials are aware of the length of their potential working life, and there are indications from the fieldwork that, as a result, they are taking increasing care in the consideration of work roles for the best potential values fit.

Recruiting people for their values and commitment to going the extra mile is a characteristic of those who work for the Academy because they understand the impact on people. Being empathetic with values shows in their commitment to the organisation, and how they communicate the values of the organisation to each other and to stakeholders. Academy interviewees agree social enterprise values are ‘human’ values (the human nature of care, concern and compassion for social or community needs), that understand diverse cultures, geographies, economies and, just like people, recognise places as composite rather than single identity. The values they hold as individuals build trust by respecting local and community insight (including of staff) because it enhances the organisation and its social purpose. Is this what museums are grappling with? The move to *enhancing* for *everyone*, from a ‘should-do’ for some?

The basis on which the organisation is established and structured is a critical element in defining an appropriate response. Despite many positive examples of alignment with values, agency and activism, the Academy’s tutors present a different scenario. A former tutor group coordinator recognises that, as self-employed consultants, tutors may be more financially driven than socially. As highlighted in the earlier example, they will perhaps choose to take paid work that is best for them, rather than what will achieve the best social outcomes for other people. It implies a closer value fit at the

‘core’ of an organisation and less of a fit the greater the distance between agents across the system. Whilst I am keen to avoid oversimplifying through polarisation, this scenario suggests that tutors, like communities, have complex variations, meaning we cannot characterise them as a single entity.

The drive for the Academy’s change through growth, just as with the values change for NMW, means it is not possible for the relationship with longer serving staff, or tutors, to stay the same. Academy interviewees cite divisions amongst tutors because they have been categorised as either specialist (typically the original, founding tutors) or generalist, the newer tutors. It seems to be an unusual classification for the Academy and has echoes with NMW’s longer serving curators feeling a challenge to their ‘traditional’ expertise. The consequence appears to be a disconnect within the system between these groupings. It may be more productive to develop the tutor role within the Gore-referenced project team framework discussed for the Academy’s replication hubs, so that they are part of a diverse system network, rather than a parallel tutor network of their own.

It is important to consider other factors too, in that organisational expansion, structural development and clarity of values as previously mentioned will influence behaviours, actions and choice. New recruits at St Fagans, and the recently appointed tutors for the Academy, are joining in different times, coming from other sectors and attracted by new (social) aspirations. The organisations are therefore attracting people with different expectations. There is real convergence here between the evidence from both case study organisations. They both prioritise building good relationships with everyone to support them to do the job, building relationships with learners, staff, and partners through communication and coaching. Supporting people like this forms positive outcomes. Both sets of interviewees discuss the importance of being open to other backgrounds, not being limited to staff already working in social enterprise or the museum sector. It suggests everyone values one another, each other’s skills and hard work. In turn this builds trust because there is also recognition that even with the same values, people will have different viewpoints.

For St Fagans particularly, Burge (2015) describes actively *not* employing people from within the museum sector but seeking difference and input from other sectors. Intentionally or otherwise, this is a form of activism, at the very least a conscious act. Taking it a step further, the St Fagans project is also building a bigger team from its connections with different (not just other) organisations and people from their community partners. For St Fagans, Burge (ibid.) terms it as seeing and recognising the strength of the museum's inclusive approach, connecting the work environment with what she perceives as "old fashioned values", where people look out for each other and the culture amongst colleagues is to care and protect. As someone who is relatively new to her job, and the organisation, she has quickly become aware of the ability to develop work organically with what she terms "friendships", striking a parallel with the Academy's 'family' reference. The role of friendship in the organisation or museum connects with the personal investment and emotional capacity required to build relationships with community partners, 'giving of yourself' as described in the exploratory study. For one interviewee, it is the most enjoyable part of the job, passing on the enjoyment he has had with the museum, working directly with other people and, in turn, witnessing their enjoyment.

Similarly, Hughes (2015), as NMW's head of public history, describes being personally inspired as a curator by the project's social outcomes and how she shares the same values, goals and understanding of learning values as colleagues in the learning department. In harnessing these shared and individual values, her work on the project is bringing public engagement to the curatorial sphere, seeing the outcomes of public engagement as part of curatorial practice and, conversely, looking curatorially at participatory practice. Hughes (ibid.) describes being "refreshed" by working on the St Fagans project that supports social outcome values by being more agile and fluid in their collective practice, and so being able to bring in values previously considered 'separate' to curatorial work. In describing what is meaningful in her work she says:

I mean, we both [Hughes and Williams] value working with other people – rather than working in isolation – and working towards something of value. Not just for ourselves personally, within an organisation with a hierarchy and

all the traditional sort of ‘ivory tower curator’ doing something for their own benefit... (ibid.).

Lane (2015), as the NMW director most closely linked to the St Fagans redevelopment project, describes being challenged on a personal and professional level and the importance of knowing where these boundaries are:

You have to know professionally, I think, where your own personal belief system [is]. There will always be a line I guess where you say “I can’t cross that line”, and you know there will be certain things that you can’t, you won’t, be able to do.

7.4 Concluding thoughts

Critical community practice is concerned with the potential to imagine alternative scenarios by unpacking power dynamics and exploring how power can be redistributed for social justice. As individuals ultimately (in)form the organisation, what role do trust and values play in their engagement in organisational learning and facilitating change?

The question of how personal and professional values intersect was raised by the exploratory study in Glasgow, which revealed a lack of alignment between organisational values internally and externally, and the challenges faced by some staff who felt their personal values conflicted with those of the organisation, or that they were not able to express their values in their professional role. A lack of alignment in values can therefore also occur at an individual level, between personal values and the professional role people inhabit; in other words, their value fit.

The fieldwork suggests power is identified as an individual capacity and relates to individual choice in terms of their professional and personal investment. Instead of two different worlds, these are overlapping domains within the same world. However, both the exploratory study and the fieldwork data raise questions as to whether individuals are fully cognisant of their ability to make choices in terms of these

multiple identities, and the potential each individual has to contribute through their personal agency, including forms of activism.

As I have presented in the previous chapters, there is no real boundary between who is internal and external. They are people, overlaid and connected by the construct of the ‘organisation’ or staff group, yet the people and their individual human contacts within those constructs are changing the world “one relationship at a time” (Silverman 2010, p.109). These changes are achieved through a personal responsibility to value fit and personal agency, self-leadership, and understanding that power sits with everyone. How we choose to act in the workplace, and take ownership of our responsibilities, drives trust and shared values for action. It takes critical consciousness to change individuals’ perceptions of how they relate their values to their employment, the contribution they make, giving to the whole, working with others. Trust and individual values thus underpin the ethics of relationships and the principle of **working for social justice as a primary personal and professional investment**.

Activism and agency are forms of critical consciousness. For me this links back to self-awareness and how the Academy provides clear examples of supporting self-awareness within the staff body, as well as promoting tools to develop self-awareness to communities through its learning and leadership programmes. For example, the Academy interviewees believe the organisation grows because people in the Academy find new ways of doing things, or they meet new people in an on-going process of learning. Alignment of values is a personal responsibility to that continuous learning. Working for social justice might mean giving up control for some people yet, in doing so, they recognise they have replaced it with creating a sense of worth (a form of agency and contribution) through a personal values fit. People also have the power and choice to trust, and choosing to trust requires an acceptance of risk.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

The thesis set out to explore ways in which values intersect between organisational and staff group constructs and the individuals that comprise them, and the relationship of these attributes to trust in the museum. The focus of the research grew out of my professional experience as a museum practitioner working for Glasgow Museums, an organisation with a long history of commitment to social justice. A particular experience for staff working on *sh[OUT]*⁶⁸ – a social justice programme considering LGBTI culture and concerns – raised a number of questions about how we understand the role of, and impact on, staff in our social justice work. It also caused me to consider when, how, or even whether, trust is actively considered as a workplace practice, and the role it has in organisational learning to support social change.

I positioned the study within the frame of the human, not only because the search for a definition of social justice reveals the human within those sources, but also because I do not believe museums are adequately referred to in terms of the people who comprise them, public or staff, who are themselves human beings. Yet museums are social places and catalysts for interaction with other humans across time and space and culture. The consideration of staff is central to my research in exploring the impact of social justice, particularly when much of the literature positions the role of museums in social justice as an outward-facing issue. That is, as something that needs to be done ‘out there’ rather than ‘in here’, a museum-centric approach perpetuating the ‘margins’ and ‘core’ terminology frequently adopted by many writers on the subject. It can also be understood as a critique on the ethics of, and the value we place on, relationships with ourselves as well as with our communities and whether we can recognise staff as a community.

Using the frame of critical community practice, the study investigates the impact for staff working within organisations that express social justice values, developing the concept of trust as a critically conscious practice. Against a background understanding that values are perceived differently for self, role and organisation amongst museum

⁶⁸ *Sh[OUT]* was a major social justice programme presented at GoMA, Glasgow Museums in 2009 exploring ideas and culture with and about LGBTI communities.

staff, the findings focus largely on the interpretation of participants' reflections from two case study organisations as an ethical exchange of ideas. Within this exchange I position myself as a participant, as well as researcher, to fully recognise my part in constructing the social dimension of the findings (Bohman 2005). Through the interpretation of these reflections, I have been guided by the principles of critical theory to engage reflexively, so that my thesis contributes to museological thinking for social justice in the consideration of trust as a conscious practice.

Critical community practice is a useful conceptual model in that it encompasses many elements of key change management theories and attributes of the learning organisation within a social justice frame. In the museum specific context of this research, citizens and communities can be conceived as employees and organisations. An understanding of the interrelationship of systems, trust, values and ethical relationships is essential for effective social justice practice. However, a deeper and more productive practice comes from the interdependency of trust at organisational, staff group and individual perspectives. The level of interdependency between them will reflect the degree of value alignment. Value alignment is therefore reflective of the depth of trust in operation.

8.1 Contribution to scholarship

The research adds to a growing body of scholarship that considers museums' role in social justice, building from community engagement and participation. Its particular contribution is the rethinking of museums' social justice practice in relation to staff as a community. The interconnectivity of these ideas with the people positioned 'inside' the construct of a museum recognises staff are also *of* the community and therefore simultaneously both inside and outside the museum; that is, conceived as part of a much larger system. The thesis therefore argues for an understanding that museums are situated within a greater network than we are consciously aware of, so that different knowledge and knowers may be recognised and valued, ensuring an equality of opportunity to participate in a form of community governance to socially shape the museum.

The challenge to my research is the paid contract; that the paid contract somehow transcends the same level of care and consideration we anticipate for ‘external’ communities. Whilst a paid contract suggests certain expectations, there is a choice about how these are actioned, delivered and promoted. The Academy shows us a very intentional approach to work to, and with, social justice values, revealing values of kindness, consideration, inclusion, equality and care. By and large it demonstrates this in action, not just in what it says it believes in, or is going to do. Part of the essence of the Academy’s achievement is everyone’s collective reflection, dialogue and self-questioning that identifies it as a learning organisation. The Academy does not, nor anyone who represents the Academy, think they have it figured out, that they have ‘arrived’. It is *how* things are done, and a commitment to ongoing learning, that is emphasised as important.

The research contributes seven major ideas that support the development of critical consciousness to build trust in response to my overarching research question: ‘In working for social justice, how do we practice trust within the workplace aligning internal and external values as part of a broader set of organisational processes?’ The thesis argues that these findings can be employed as strategies for building trust in the museum to avoid the development of contradictory and defensive behaviours.

Together, the findings suggest an emerging theory that developing critical consciousness is a process of building trust through the following sub processes:

- generating a high trust organisational culture,
- creating change through relationships, values and structures,
- working for social justice as a primary personal and professional investment,

and that the degree of value alignment across all three sub-processes impacts on trust and workplace motivation. Thus, an awareness of their interconnectivity and an engagement with the wider system in which they operate is critical. The role of trust and organisational values is about generating a high trust culture, the role of trust and staff group values is critical to creating change, and trust and individual values support working for social justice.

8.2 Findings

My professional experience in museum social justice practice gave rise to the research questions and therefore my subjectivity has no doubt influenced how I have shaped the findings of my thesis. However, despite the experience of practitioners in Glasgow during *sh[OUT]*, I have not set out to compare organisations with Glasgow Life, favourably or otherwise. I believe the bravery of Glasgow Life and Glasgow Museums in the work they undertake is rarely matched elsewhere. The experience of the exploratory study is eight years old and museum practice is constantly evolving. My goal with this research has therefore been to expand my professional understanding and critical reflection of the limitations of learning organisations, social justice practice and trust in the museum, to support organisations to continue to be brave and truly, collectively, move forward in our social justice practice.

Some of the research findings may feel intuitive to the reader, but in reflecting on my research, I know in practice that the fast paced, complex nature of our environments means that more than ever we must take notice of critical factors like trust as a conscious practice. In doing so we will certainly challenge our own assumptions we undoubtedly have about how we engage in fair practice, equalities and trusting/trustworthy behaviours. The contribution of this research has therefore been to establish trust as a critically conscious practice, both as an input and output in management terms. That is not to say this research should be mistaken for trying to ‘proceduralise’ trust. Rather, it is to ensure we are prepared to consider our deeply held assumptions and values, to test our authenticity, the impact these have on others and the level of trust we generate in our relationships across the systems we inhabit.

In the first instance, the quantitative survey offered an insight into how staff working for museums and social justice perceive values and trust to be operating within and between organisational, staff role and individual identities. Echoing the experience of the exploratory study in Glasgow, it identified trends of fundamental differences between people’s identification of their individual values and the perception of their organisations’ values, as well as the correlating impact on their levels of trust with their organisation. Conversely, where values are more closely aligned, such as the responses from social enterprise staff, trust levels were correspondingly much higher.

The survey reinforces the hypothesis drawn from the exploratory study that a lack of alignment in values, positioned as differences revealed in internal and external relationships, adversely impacts on trust.

From this base, the qualitative case studies are a means to investigate the lived experiences of staff working for socially purposeful organisations to unpack the practices impacting on value alignment and trust. Through the literature review I identify that critical community practice and organisational learning theories intersect where people, emotions, flexible structures, participation and commitments to inclusion are foregrounded through relational practice. Evidence from the fieldwork shows how the case study organisations demonstrate ethics of relationships through trust and critical community practice that can support high levels of trust. Whilst the majority of the data is tied to the specific contexts of the case studies, they are also detailed reflections on interrelational experiences and consequences that can be applied to any workplace, or indeed, other human social contexts.

I will now present my conclusions that have supported the identification of the emerging theory that developing critical consciousness is a process of building trust, through the following sub-processes.

8.2.1 Generating a high trust organisational culture

The thesis argues that authenticity – the philosophical basis on which people are consciously aware of, and faithful to, their internal values and life positions – is the determining factor in generating a high trust culture. The evidence presented on trust and organisational values, reveals authenticity as a form of self-awareness and critical consciousness. Authenticity is important because it is the means by which values can be aligned through the self-identification of one's life position and ensuring that this correlates with behaviours in practice in the workplace. The Academy shows a particularly close alignment of intrinsic values across personal association, role fit and perception to the organisational fit. Interviewees expressed the importance of such alignment as a symbol of being true to themselves, simultaneously reflecting their characters inside and outside work. It gives meaning and value to their work and is seen as a positive driver in generating high levels of workplace trust where colleagues

recognise, respect and welcome difference. Thus, critical consciousness of alignment through authenticity supports a virtuous circle of high trust culture in organisations.

Examples of community governance are seen in both case studies where there are employees functioning as active citizens, empowered and aware (or growing an awareness of) their own agency. But even in organisations with close alignment of values practiced with internal and external communities, there are still groups of people lying outside this value practice such as St Fagans front of house staff and the Academy's tutor group. Organisational blind spots can occur even in very reflective, self-aware organisations, risking marginalisation of other people. Such blind spots tend to be whole groups of people and these blind spots may undermine the potential for change or social justice work, because they act as a blocker to, or cut off, part of the system. Being subconsciously unaware of this or not intending to marginalise in this way is not an excuse, it demonstrates the lack of awareness, or at least limitations in awareness. Understanding the system is one thing, having the peripheral vision to fully engage with it is another. What these blind spots have in common is a different type of relational framework for front of house and tutor groups, one that is more mechanised and therefore less personal.

A high trust culture is symptomatic of a learning organisation. A learning organisation indicates the presence of self-awareness and reflection. Authenticity is a significant factor both in achieving trust but where authenticity is deemed to be low, trust will be correspondingly low. Museums, like other organisations, must create the space and culture to support authenticity and self-awareness as a form of critical consciousness. We need to do this to challenge our ingrained assumptions and detect the blind spots in our peripheral vision. Diversity in thinking and lived experience is part of the resource we have (or in the museum sector perhaps the resource we need to build) to give us the best all-round perception of where we are, what and where our limitations are, and to highlight those blind spots. Scale of operation increases the likelihood of blind spots in that the greater the number of potential individual connections, the more likely a whole group will drop off our radar as having equal value.

The opening premise for my study was that little is known about the impact of social justice work on museums and their staff. In undertaking social justice work, Sandell (2012) has written that museums will have to renegotiate their role with society. I proposed that this renegotiation is also required within their organisations and governing structures through a process of change and (re-) learning. Learning is a dynamic concept and I use this term deliberately to emphasise the continually changing nature of organisations and their contexts. For St Fagans, in particular, and its wider parent organisation NMW, learning is also characterised by un-learning (Dodgson 1993) by which means the organisation is able to move on from its past behaviours to support new ways of being. Characteristics of organisational learning correlate with critical community practice and the ever-present danger of returning or defaulting to ‘the way things are done around here’. The thesis therefore argues for museums to embrace the complex dynamic of relationships between individuals and organisation, to recognise the psychology of those relationships. Doing so supports the development of a high trust culture through shared understanding, alignment and authenticity, and supports the possibility for us to find alternative structures.

Learning organisations, and critical community practice, embrace the role of emotions as a particularly human trait. Yet over the past 150 years or more, industrialisation has mechanised workplace processes. Museums have not been immune to such developments, particularly and perhaps with greatest irony, in very recent times, due to the financial pressure to operate more like commercial businesses, at a moment when business management is increasingly recognising the benefit of embracing emotions and value principles within the workplace (Senge 2006). There is a mirroring of this change in other public spheres. For example, shifts away from projected outcomes in the popular vote for major political results have led to headlines such as “Data is out. Emotion is in.” (Stanley 2016) where the public are seen to be decision-making using alternative value criteria. In the same way that pollsters and politicians can trust the data too much, so organisations can place too much faith in processes and technology. What are the values that support museums’ ideology? If they are based on social justice, then values that, by contrast, support self-interest, material growth, status and wealth are not aligned and ultimately cannot provide the environment where trust will flourish. As Tim Stanley (2016, par.6) points out in his

article on the 2016 American presidential election outcome, “the success of a [process based] approach rests on the idea that human beings are rational actors whose votes can be bought and their behaviour predicted.”

For me, this is a very clear demonstration of the limitations of systems governed by bounded rationality and supports the argument and findings of this study that, by contrast, heterarchical approaches allow for greater collective contribution, in recognition of human values, which speak to Putnam and Mumby’s bounded emotionality (1992). As the Academy evidence demonstrates, this type of alternative organising is not without responsibility or any adherence to processes. Rather, it offers the flexibility and opportunity to create the new in not pre-determining a fixed or rigid set of outcomes. Vulnerability and risk play a significant contributing role in building a high-trust organisational culture. Such bounded emotionality directly supports individual and group needs, yet it is the interconnectivity between the different agents across the system that is the way to challenge traditional organisational thinking, rather than reinforcing and repeating it. Within a large-scale organisation like Glasgow Museums or NMW, the potential to support these principles in typically hierarchical structures was addressed by the networked structure example offered by Gore, or the way St Fagans activated horizontal capacities within a vertical operating structure.

The case studies demonstrate the positive impact on trust of the involvement of people from across the structure. They include directors, chief executives and board members who all actively identified with the underlying social justice values expressed for the organisations in a demonstration of organisational authenticity. As such, there is a much better chance of withstanding the double bind dilemma of the type experienced in the Glasgow exploratory study because there is a collective sharing of the identified properties. These include: embracing a dialogic approach, employing reflective practices, an expectation there will be uncertainty in navigating the new, an ability to relinquish control and valuing the learning provided by direct experience. Change is powerful in improving structural relationships, and creating deeper understanding with people is one of the positive impacts on trust. Vulnerability is an important element in achieving that level of trust. Whilst change is identified as a key driver for

impact, it can be a threat to value alignment if it disconnects relationships in the system, with fieldwork data suggesting we must pay particular attention to how we apply a network-based working structure in organisations of scale.

8.2.2 Creating change through relationships, values and structures

The importance of systems thinking was reinforced through the fieldwork evidence in understanding our multiple network relationships across the whole organisation and with organisations beyond. Therefore, as critical community practitioners, we must develop the self-awareness to refrain from only thinking within our immediate horizons, whether as individuals, staff teams or entire organisational structures. Many references within the literature reviews were also made to wider systems thinking, but not generally from within the museum sector itself as if, to echo Anderson (2012) and McGonagle (2012), museums themselves exist outside of the social. Whilst there are many significant examples of social justice programmes within museums, there is still an unwitting (although sometimes intentional) focus to position ourselves as ‘of ourselves’ and little more. These are false boundaries and ones in fact that we expect practitioners and community members alike to cross within the framework of participatory engagement. However, any publicly funded organisation may stand accused of reproducing the problems that it is supposedly attempting to resolve “since it is, necessarily, part of the system and thus part of the problem” (Young, 2002: 204).

There are clear psychological factors at play, some identified already in the psychological contracts of employment and relationships generally, but also in group behaviour and the influence this might have on the support (or not) for social justice practice. Psychological behaviour also plays out in the ethics of relationships we form and maintain, not only with communities but also with each other in the sector and our own specific organisations. The issue of organisational structures and learning is particularly pertinent here and this thesis argues for museums to build systems thinking and an understanding of the circular economy (Ellen MacArthur Foundation 2015). Although these are both frequently discussed in much broader social applications, I believe they have merit in supporting a move away from our museum-centric, ‘in-here’ mind-set to seek the alternative ways of ‘thinking and being’ (Butcher et al. 2007) that was a consistent theme throughout this research.

The circular economy is also interesting in that it looks beyond the financial frame (positioned by some museum practitioners as the rationale not to undertake social justice work). It presents the opportunity to negotiate resetting values (McGonagle 2012) to include waste as knowledge and the concept of sustainable communities, something I don't yet have clear evidence of for museums, even in the Happy Museum Project. Yet change and shifting ground develop resilience and trust. Direct experience is a powerful vehicle for people to connect and understand change, demonstrating the importance of the concrete (the ability for transformational, whole life level change) over the abstract (and therefore avoidable) idea of change.

However, the fieldwork shows that, even in organisations working hard to align social justice values, there are still dominant 'norms' at work in terms of power over others. Such norms are particularly strong in the treatment and perception of the role of front of house and tutor groups by 'others' who had the opportunity to choose not to engage them. As well as the lack of inclusion, this finding also presents a situation where others presume, and aren't questioned in, their assumption of a dominant role. Although not necessarily due to lack of care or desire to be inclusive, it illustrates the invisibility of powerful ideologies we live with on a day-to-day basis (Gramsci 1988). Such traits currently belie our own belonging within a wider social framework or system, the need to build relationships – with each other, the organisation and the wider social issues we all face – the central focus for Silverman's human social work (2010). We must recognise the community within to see the 'whole together' (Senge 1990).

We neither need to be in full control of everything nor be overwhelmed by the different factors at work. Systems thinking underpins community methodology such as critical community practice, at times more familiarly (and with limitations) described through terms such as reciprocity. We do not operate in a binary world or situation. Whilst every relationship is between two people, we each have multiple relationships balanced with different sets of forces and nuances of circumstances, so none can be seen in isolation. It is this type of awareness that is needed within our social justice practice.

The thesis does not claim one set of values as better than others. It does, however, assert those commonly held values that are associated with social justice as the territory of critical community practice and that these values should be upheld and acted on with everyone; colleagues, line reports, managers and directors, as much as people we seek to work with, support and learn from, outside our own organisation. If we do not, then we act hypocritically to say we work in this way with ‘others’ but not with those in our own organisational community, suggesting we only put on a mantle of care for other people as a task to be performed, rather than as an authentic expression of our values. This thesis argues that even under employment contract, there is no situation where it is acceptable to remove the human and societal basis for understanding and engaging with each other. We should not prioritise ourselves over other people, equally we should not treat each other less well than we would people beyond the organisation.

This thesis argues that personal agency is a choice, and that activating this choice in concert with social justice values can resist the vertical dominance of hierarchical structures. Such an approach and resistance encompasses everyone rather than, for instance, a revolution to remove power, or those in position, at the top. Instead it supports the ‘us’ approach in that we all have a choice to generate a counterbalance to hierarchies with heterarchical ways of working that can be forged now, without being dependent on a revolution: one thing is not thrown out to make way for another. It is not to create a divisive or binary perspective. By foregrounding a common understanding of each other as human beings first, we can guard against falsely othering people by structural means, creating psychological distances. In overcoming psychological distances, we can recognise shared experiences from different perspectives. Equally, shared experiences can also overcome those psychological distances, by recognising staff as people connecting the system.

Even in a high-trust organisation with close alignment of values, however, there are significant challenges and debates about how this is sustained in an expanded situation. We can treat each other with the same values on a one-to-one basis, and hold a number of these one-to-one relationships, but as humans there is a distinct

school of thought and research to support that, past the point of 150, we struggle to maintain the ethics of relationships at this scale and beyond. In an echo of an expanded or centralised approach to productivity, the limitations of industrialised manufacturing cannot be applied to relational practice as it dehumanises through scale and mechanisation. It returns us to the thinking of bounded emotionality, to recognise how to work within a wider system and to constructively use that system – we don't have to control, to own, to do it all. We all have relationships with other people, this is not something determined by a structure. It cannot define how those relationships play out; we have a choice to make in that. We must engage our relationships and equally, not work to restrict them.

By avoiding dissecting the organisation through a rigid departmental structure, or utilising our personal agency to circumvent the structure, we can activate the power within. The fieldwork shows examples of it being connected through direct experience and a related activity of 'giving back'; creating a multiplier effect that amplifies the benefits. The quality of relationships within and between staff groups is shown to positively impact on values as well as structures, developing networks across the system, destabilising dominant structures and ideological power bases. The fieldwork demonstrates how this can be achieved by recognising and working with horizontal capacities, building bridges to other groups, thereby connecting the system and finding spaces around the hierarchical structures.

By aligning values, the positive aspects of collectively doing something purposeful and meaningful for society beyond ourselves, as a team, are demonstrated to include increased innovation and productivity for 'purposeful curation' and passion for the moral commitment. These are energies that can bring about change as well as trust, the engine of the virtuous circle. Equally, to achieve change we must not only engage the community within, but also recognise the value of the whole person. Not just a single dimension based on an employment contract but as fully human (O'Neill and Silverman 2010), seeing staff as people, enabling everyone to give their full contribution.

8.2.3 Working for social justice as a primary personal and professional investment

Practitioners must invest authentically in aligning their values to participate in critical community practice where the ethics of relationships are the defining feature, building trust as a way of developing critical consciousness. The literature review highlights several calls for museums to move towards practices and policies that suit the complexities and opportunities of diversity (O'Neill and Silverman 2012, pp.xx-xxii). However, given the debate about the role of social justice in museums, and as O'Neill (2006, p.96) states, there "seems no societal or professional consensus about what museums are for", can we seek clarity at the same time as embracing complexity? In the exploratory study I identified the gap in alignment between internal and external values. Gaps in systems thinking reflect the incompleteness and inconsistency – the lack of Lynch's "through and through" (2011, p.9) – in which we currently operate. For example, we emphasise planning (the mechanical) but spare little focus for reflection (the emotional). In our focus on material culture and increasing demands of quantitative target setting, we converse less about the qualitative such as human relationships and our personal agency.

The acceptance of the museum's social and moral agency raises innumerable complex issues for those who work within them. Particularly looking towards this wider horizon, can we keep pace with the shifting landscape of "new social movements and changing norms of justice" (Sandell 2012, p.199) and the changes and impacts on our individual and collectively lived experiences? We are challenged by terms like social justice and community as if they are known, fixed, understood rather than subject to fluidity and change. Issues of sustainability, widening inequalities, the effective discounting of future generations, propositions for a circular economy, issues of health and wellbeing and our increasing disconnection with the natural world are overwhelming and complex, but this is also the world (the system) museums inhabit and share.

In working for social justice, we must align both personal and professional investment. The role of personal agency and activism is therefore a critical concern. One of the ways I engage with it in the fieldwork is through the discussion of power.

The study reveals contradictions about how people consider power, their recognition of the formal structures and control processes governing the organisation set against their subconscious recognition of their own power. The fieldwork suggests power is infrequently considered explicitly as a personal capacity, yet the opportunity for reflection in the interviews enabled participants to consciously shift their perceptions of where power lies. We must recognise this distributed power both in our organisations and the wider system at work. We are all connected and power lies with everyone, distributed, and can be conceived as energy. Whilst museum practitioners are already making a similar case on this basis for communities considered ‘outside’ the organisation, this thesis argues that to truly have trust in the museum we must address these same issues in relation to staff as a community.

As a researcher, my use of gerunds in grounded theory (Charmaz 2011) identified activities through which change is discussed, reflected, identified, proposed and, most significantly, through which it has occurred. The potency of experience is about investing in change through actions and understanding selves as active participants rather than detached experts. My observation from the fieldwork is that this experience offers a direct route to individuals understanding and recognising their personal agency. In our growing awareness of working to an agenda of social justice, the role of the museum as an agent of activism must include a greater understanding of the role of the human components of the institution. The people of the museum are not divorced from contemporary issues. The opportunity for activist practice derives from the levels of authenticity and trust in the museum, which are dependent on how closely individuals’ personal and professional values are aligned, as much as the museum’s alignment of values used with ‘external’ communities and the ‘internal’ staff community.

Value alignment is a choice that individuals make (or at least have the capacity to make) and is linked to personal agency and activism. Individual choice affects whether one uses that agency actively in the service of the community or not. Self-awareness of one’s own values and fit with the museum, the value system operating across the team and the impetus to act on these symbols of authenticity are all vital to critical community practice. Lack of alignment can also be a personal conflict.

Investing of self must be authentic. Fit is a personal responsibility, organisations are made up of ‘us’, not ‘them’. We must, therefore, not polarise differences but work collectively; that is our agency. Power is an individual capacity and the fieldwork reveals many examples of self-leadership as a form of power. Self-leadership is also identified as a particularly strong way of defining the personal responsibility to value alignment and fit, in knowing what your belief system is. As an active process, self-leadership also supports the concept of power as energy, in the way people work and our individual choice to utilise ourselves, connecting personal and professional concerns, sharing beliefs and care for others. This thesis argues that without alignment of self with role and organisation, we cannot trust ourselves. Without self-trust, how do we engage in ethical relationships with others?

Change enablers are people whose individual values are strongly in alignment, helping to shift the power and connect social justice values across the system, actively shifting perceptions of where the power lies. Some change enablers are those people who bring their values from other sectors and backgrounds. Both are examples of people working for social justice as a primary personal and professional investment. Creating value fit should not be mistaken for searching for ‘people like me’. Rather it is about focusing on the way of doing things, the ‘how’, and the ability for the ‘how’ to be democratic, unfolding, inclusive, participatory, contested. The fieldwork provides many examples of recruiting for fit from the wider system, that is to say not necessarily museum careerists, but those who hold social justice values and a democratic approach to their practice.

The thesis also argues that diversity is not at risk in emphasising value alignment, highlighting they are different things. To address the major concerns about the lack of diversity in the museum workforce, I suggest there is potential to build on the concept of change enablers from outside the sector at the same time as challenging the tolerance given to the “continuity of experience” (Williams 2015) in museums and people who are “allowed to contribute in a certain mode of behaviour”, highlighted by a NMW manager, as individual capacities that impede change.

8.3 Trust and critical consciousness

Trust is a daily activity, whether we are aware of it or not. What consideration do we give to its application in our daily lives? Trust is sometimes mentioned in conversation about our work, perhaps the length of time it takes to build trust with a community group; or perhaps we wish to create a ‘trusted space’ to support learning and thinking. Maybe we hear a colleague talking about a lack of trust. How much thought though, goes into what the positive or negative outcomes of that means to our practice, our personal and professional investment, when trust is absent from many change management and learning organisation theories?

Through this research, I have become ever more conscious of trust as a constant thread connecting people, ideas, behaviours and decisions. It has become foregrounded in my own practice as my professional role has changed and expanded to cover the overall management of multiple sites with various staff group teams. This awareness has shaped my thinking and approach to organisational development and learning, because every day we are making thousands of adjustments to the status of our trust levels with other people and with organisations. Other people, too, are making adjustments to the levels of their trust with us. So trust is dynamic, in a constant state of flux.

We understand the role of ethics as part of our practice, particularly in social justice. However, ethical relationships involve trust, and the ability to build trust is co-dependent on values. Trust and values are co-dependent; trust and ethical relationships are co-dependent; trust and change are co-dependent; trust and learning are co-dependent; trust and social practice are co-dependent. Trust is not something that is located in one part of the organisation or system. Like critical community practice, trust is part of the lived experience and working practice of every member of the organisation or system and, therefore, we have the choice to be consciously active in its development and alignment.

Value sets and the concept of trust are uniquely characterised by individuals, but this study has also sought to map these elements across the wider system framework for staff groups and organisations as a whole. There will always be external forces that

are unique to organisations and which may change with governance, political parties and funders. However, the mainstay of internal trust and value interplay will always consist of the overarching organisation, its staff groups and finally the individuals that make up the two former categories. Senge (1990, p.69) emphasises that teams of individuals are critical in “moving from seeing parts to seeing wholes, from seeing people as helpless reactors to seeing them as active participants in shaping their reality, from reacting to the present to creating the future.” As much as Senge’s description could be used to describe social justice practice, so it can equally be posed to consider the role of staff in the shaping of the organisation’s work, characteristics, and future direction. It also suggested to me the potential to view staff as participants and as a community.

8.4 Potential for future development

Specifically, the analysis starts to build an understanding of the differences in experience for front of house staff in larger organisations, including the physical and psychological distance for them and their potential exclusion from decision-making platforms of meetings. Their marginalisation became a strong counterpoint to the generative trust drivers emerging elsewhere from the data. Whilst it was not possible for me to mine this area further within the scope of my own study, I believe there is the potential for further research into front of house staff groups as valuable knowers, to unpack how they have been structurally, procedurally and historically marginalised.

More generally, the findings and strategies of the analysis do not present a single thunderbolt recommendation for practice or theory change. They contribute a range of seven key ideas that support the development of critical consciousness to build trust through smaller, nuanced changes that, applied together, have the potential for significant impact in creating museums that foreground people, human qualities and behaviours across internal and external relationships. In essence, they echo the concept of systems thinking and the best application of this research will be to use all elements as a system approach to build an authentic social justice practice through value alignment. By developing our critical consciousness in this way, we will have the confidence of trust in the museum.

Appendix 1: Questions / areas of interest for evaluation in fieldwork

	Subject area	Question	Application to research
1.	Do staff feel trusted?	What is your position in the organisation? Do you feel (you are) trusted – what are the indicators of this?	Blockers and drivers; Role of the structure; Processes; “being trusted will translate to better performance” (Covey, 2006); Symbols of trust.
2.	Do staff trust others?	Do you have trust with your colleagues? How would you describe this? Is it the same across all sections? How does it vary and why? What helps/hinders?	4 Cores – Integrity, intent, capability, results; Blockers and drivers; Role of the structure; Role of processes; Distance/co-location; Role of internal auditor; Symbols of trust, values.
3.	Relationship with organisation	How would you describe your organisation – its personality traits, its skills? Why do you work here? Describe how you invest in the organisation / staff. Are you able to be yourself, speak up in meetings, contradict, make a mistake, discuss career options, asking for help, take risks? Are consequences negative or supportive?	4 Cores – Integrity, intent, capability, results; Personal and professional investment/motivation; Loyalty; “[Are you] able to show and employ one’s self without fear of negative consequences to self-image, status or career.” (After William A. Kahn (1990, 708) quoted in Edmondson 2007); Symbols of trust, values.
4.	Communication	What is your primary means of communication with others -(team mates/supervisor/senior management/organisation)? Who are your strongest relationships with and why/how?	Distance/co-location; Face to face; Symbols of trust; values.
5.	Organisational structure	How would you describe the structure? Where/how does the power lie? Do you include senior managers in term colleagues/co-workers? Who are the most important people in the organisation and why? Describe the networks you operate in/with (internal and wider)	Role of hierarchy; Role of networks; Role of power; Distance and type of relationship between staff at opposite ends of the structure; Symbols of trust.
6.	Social purpose and Power	Describe how relationships are developed with people involved with SEA as clients/third parties Moral implications of the commitment?	Perceptions of power; Implications for structural role; Symbols of trust, values.

		Where does the power lie?	
7.	Betrayal	Do you have any examples of an organisational crisis/change? What was the staff/ leadership/ organisational response? Any changes to relationships with others or approach to work since? Any adversarial relationships?	Indicators of types of trust at work in organisation; Symbols of trust, values; Jacobs model.
8.	Leadership	What makes a good leader? What is the role of the leader to promote and initiate trust? How is this achieved? Are there examples in your organisation? [If a leader/manager -] Do you have examples of scenarios when you are caught in a 'double bind' of conflicting organisational/staff needs?	4 cores; Behaviours; Implications of change process; Implications of financial pressures; Signs of confidence in staff by leader and in leader by staff.

Through observations:

- Network map of interdependent sections of organisations, showing flow of influence and blockers/supporters.
- Context within which the organisation operates.

Activities:

- Individual's circle of influence –
What /where are your circles of influence inside and outside the organisation? Where does your inspiration come from?
(Indicate on paper provided; discuss)

Appendix 2: Online survey design

(Research Information:)

Values and Trust Survey

Dear Museum Colleague,

I would like to invite you to participate in the data collection for a doctoral research project:

Trust in the Museum – aligning the organisation’s values internally and externally.

This research is being conducted by Victoria Hollows, PhD candidate at the University of Leicester and is in compliance with the research Ethics guidelines of the University of Leicester <http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>.

The purpose of this survey is two-fold: to identify how staff in organisations actively thinking about community engagement hold a range of values and whether this varies across the organisation; and to seek possible connections with how trust is perceived. You have been invited to participate because you work for a [insert museum/organisation] in the [insert name of network] network.

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate. If you decide to participate in this survey, you may withdraw at any time during the survey and your response will not be included. After the survey is completed it will not be possible to identify a person’s data for withdrawal.

Completing the survey will take approximately 10 minutes.

Your responses will be confidential and no identifying information such as your name, email address or IP address will be collected. All data will be stored securely on encrypted media in full compliance with the Data Protection Act (1998) and the University’s Information Security Policy. The results of this study will be used for scholarly purposes only. Data analysis will focus on cross-organisation comparison. It will not highlight individual responses.

If you have any questions about the research study, please contact Victoria Hollows at vlch2@le.ac.uk. If you have any questions about the ethical conduct of the survey please contact Dr. Giasemi Vavoula at the School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, 19 University Road, Leicester, LE1 7RF, 0116 252 3965.

(Informed consent:)

Question 1:

ELECTRONIC CONSENT: Please select your choice below.

Clicking on the "agree" button below indicates that:

- you have read and understood the research information (above)
- you voluntarily agree to participate
- you understand that you may withdraw at any time during the survey
- you are at least 18 years of age

If you do not wish to participate in the research study, please decline participation by clicking on the "disagree" button.

Agree ☐

Disagree ☐

Values and Trust

There are five sections to the survey: three sections on values, one on trust, followed by a request for demographic information. It will take you approximately xx minutes to complete.

The survey asks you to respond to statements about values and trust by ranking your association with them on a scale of 1-10.

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. The information you provide will be anonymous.

(The survey:)

Values and You:

Please read the following statement and rank how closely you associate with the value sets that follow, where 1 = not at all and 10 = very strongly. Please answer instinctively and quickly.

I closely associate with these value sets:

Question 2:

It is very important to understand, appreciate, show tolerance towards and protect the welfare of all people and of nature; to be broad minded and promote equality and social justice

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 3:

It is very important to preserve and enhance the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact; to be forgiving, honest, helpful and loyal.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 4:

It is very important to have respect for tradition, to demonstrate commitment to and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self; to be moderate and humble in actions, accepting my portion in life.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 5:

It is very important to have self-discipline, to restrain from actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and which might violate social expectations or norms.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 6:

It is very important to have safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self; to be healthy, have family security, social order and a sense of belonging.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 7:

It is very important to have social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources; to have wealth, authority, social power and recognition.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 8:

It is very important to have personal success by demonstrating competence according to social standards; to be intelligent, ambitious, capable, successful and influential.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 9:

It is very important to have pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself; to be self-indulgent enjoying life.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
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Not at all
strongly

Very

Question 10:

It is very important to have excitement, novelty and challenge in life; to be daring and seek variation in life.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not at all
strongly

Very

Question 11:

It is very important to have independent thought and action, to be curious – choosing, creating, exploring; and to have freedom, independence, privacy and self-respect.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not at all
strongly

Very

You and Your Role within Your Organisation:

Please read the following statement and rank how closely you associate with the ten value sets that follow, where 1 = not at all and 10 = very strongly. Please answer instinctively and quickly.

I can express these values in the role I have within my organisation:

Question 2:

It is very important to understand, appreciate, show tolerance towards and protect the welfare of all people and of nature; to be broad minded and promote equality and social justice

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not at all
strongly

Very

Question 3:

It is very important to preserve and enhance the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact; to be forgiving, honest, helpful and loyal.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not at all
strongly

Very

Question 4:

It is very important to have respect for tradition, to demonstrate commitment to and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self; to be moderate and humble in actions, accepting my portion in life.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not at all
strongly

Very

Question 5:

It is very important to have self-discipline, to restrain from actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and which might violate social expectations or norms.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 6:

It is very important to have safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self; to be healthy, have family security, social order and a sense of belonging.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 7:

It is very important to have social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources; to have wealth, authority, social power and recognition.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 8:

It is very important to have personal success by demonstrating competence according to social standards; to be intelligent, ambitious, capable, successful and influential.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 9:

It is very important to have pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself; to be self-indulgent enjoying life.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 10:

It is very important to have excitement, novelty and challenge in life; to be daring and seek variation in life.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 11:

It is very important to have independent thought and action, to be curious – choosing, creating, exploring; and to have freedom, independence, privacy and self-respect.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

How You View Your Organisation's Values:

Please read the following statement and rank how closely you associate with the ten value sets that follow, where 1 = not at all and 10 = very strongly. Please answer instinctively and quickly.

These values are a good description of my organisation:

Question 2:

It is very important to understand, appreciate, show tolerance towards and protect the welfare of all people and of nature; to be broad minded and promote equality and social justice

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 3:

It is very important to preserve and enhance the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact; to be forgiving, honest, helpful and loyal.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 4:

It is very important to have respect for tradition, to demonstrate commitment to and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self; to be moderate and humble in actions, accepting my portion in life.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 5:

It is very important to have self-discipline, to restrain from actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and which might violate social expectations or norms.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 6:

It is very important to have safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self; to be healthy, have family security, social order and a sense of belonging.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 7:

It is very important to have social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources; to have wealth, authority, social power and recognition.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 8:

It is very important to have personal success by demonstrating competence according to social standards; to be intelligent, ambitious, capable, successful and influential.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 9:

It is very important to have pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself; to be self-indulgent enjoying life.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 10:

It is very important to have excitement, novelty and challenge in life; to be daring and seek variation in life.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

Question 11:

It is very important to have independent thought and action, to be curious – choosing, creating, exploring; and to have freedom, independence, privacy and self-respect.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

You and Trust in Your Organisation:

Question 12:

Please read the following 8 statements and rank how closely you agree with them, where 1 = not at all and 10 = very strongly. Please answer instinctively and quickly.

Opportunities to learn and challenge are promoted by my organisation

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

I am able to bond and connect with colleagues and my team

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all											Very
strongly											

I have choice and autonomy about how and when I work

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all strongly											Very

I feel encouraged and safe to express opinions and suggestions

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all strongly											Very

I am aware of and understand my organisation's purpose

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all strongly											Very

My organisation demonstrates fairness in dealing with employees and management processes

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all strongly											Very

I am valued in terms of my individual significance and position within the organisation

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all strongly											Very

I have a sense of security and certainty in the actions of my organisation

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Not at all strongly											Very

Demographic Information:

Please tick the most appropriate answer for each of the following 8 questions.

1) What type of organisation do you work for/with?

Local authority

Charitable trust

Charitable trust linked to local authority

Social Enterprise

National museum

Independent museum

Volunteer run museum

Funding body

Prefer not to say

2) Name of the organisation

Prefer not to say

3) How long have you worked with your organisation?

Prefer not to say

4) What type of role do you have?

Education – Formal/informal

Outreach / Community

Research

Curatorial

Conservation

Design

Fundraising & Development

Front of house

Technical

Supervisor/Manager

Senior Manager

Director or Head of Service

Politician

Board member

Volunteer

Other – please specify

Prefer not to say

5) Your salary range:

Unwaged

Less than 24,000

24,001 – 47,500

47,501 – 68,500

Over 68,501

Prefer not to say

6) Your age last birthday:

Prefer not to say

7) Your gender:

Male

Female

Other

Prefer not to say

8) Do you consider yourself to have a disability?

Yes

No

Prefer not to say

Appendix 3: Example participant information sheet for the Academy

Participant Information Sheet

Dear Colleague,

I would like to ask you to participate in the data collection for a doctoral research project:
Trust in the Museum – aligning the organisation’s values internally and externally.

This research is being conducted by Victoria Hollows, PhD researcher at the University of Leicester and is in compliance with the research Ethics guidelines of the University of Leicester <http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>.

The purpose of this research is to identify how staff in organisations actively thinking about community engagement hold a range of values and whether this varies across organisational structures; and to seek possible connections with how trust is perceived.

Through this research I hope to better understand the following:

- 1) How community practice intersects with organisational processes
- 2) The ethics of relationships and working practices in organisations undertaking social justice work
- 3) How staff emotionally and professionally invest
- 4) Whether we understand museum staff as a community
- 5) How trust is conceptualised and mapped by staff across the organisation

You have been invited to participate in this research because you work for the Social Enterprise Academy which has been selected as a case study because of its commitment to socially purposeful work.

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. It will involve a short interview of no more than 30 minutes in length to take place by arrangement. Notes will be taken during the interview and digitally audio recorded.

You may decide not to answer any of the interview questions if you wish. You may choose not to participate. If you decide to participate in this research study, you will have the opportunity to review a transcript of the interview, with potential quotes highlighted, at which time you may choose to withdraw without penalty. On notification of your withdrawal, all identifiable data will be destroyed.

You may be asked for clarification of content raised in the interview after it has taken place, but you will not be obliged in any way to clarify or participate further if you do not wish to do so.

Your responses will be confidential but data will be presented in the context of a case study. You will not be named, but your organisation will be named in the research and the data you provide will be associated with the organisation. With your permission anonymised quotes may be used. If you request confidentiality beyond anonymised quotes, information you provide will be treated only as a source of background information. Your name or any other personal identifying information will not appear in any publications resulting from this research. The data collected will not contain information that will personally identify you. All

data will be stored securely on encrypted media in full compliance with the Data Protection Act (1998) and the University's Information Security Policy.

The results of this research study will be used for scholarly purposes only. Although the overall research findings may be published in academic journals or presented at conferences, the raw survey data will only be used by the researcher, her supervisor and other relevant University of Leicester representatives.

If you have any questions about the research study, or are uncertain about any aspect, please ask the researcher before, during or after the interview, or contact Victoria Hollows at vlch2@le.ac.uk.

This research has been reviewed according to the University of Leicester Ethics Committee procedures for research involving human subjects. If you have any questions about the ethical conduct of the survey please contact Dr. Giasemi Vavoula at the University Ethics Committee on 0116 252 3965, School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, 19 University Road, Leicester, LE1 7RF.

Yours faithfully,

Victoria L. C. Hollows
PhD Research Student
School of Museum Studies
University of Leicester
19 University Road
Leicester
LE1 7RF
vlch2@le.ac.uk

Appendix 4: Consent form for fieldwork participants

Consent Form

Research Study:

Trust in the Museum – aligning the organisation’s values internally and externally.

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet presented in the letter about the research study <i>Trust in the Museum – aligning the organisation’s values internally and externally.</i>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research study and they have been answered to my satisfaction.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I can withdraw from the study after reviewing a transcript of the interview.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to the interview being recorded and my words being used for the research purposes described in the Participant Information Sheet. Quotations will be kept anonymous.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
I am aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in subsequent publications arising from this research (including publication on the World Wide Web). Quotations will be kept anonymous.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my comments will be presented anonymously but give permission for the researcher to connect them to my institution (but not the title of my position).	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
I request that my comments are presented anonymously with no connection to my institution	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that relevant sections of the data collected during the study may be looked at by relevant individuals connected with the University of Leicester’s academic staff and regulatory bodies.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

With full knowledge of the above, I agree to participate in this research study.

I agree to being contacted again by the researcher if my responses give rise to interesting findings or cross-references.

Yes No

If yes, my preferred method of being contacted is:

Telephone:

Email:.....

Other:.....

Participant name:

Participant Signature:

Date:

Consent taken by:

Signature:

Date:

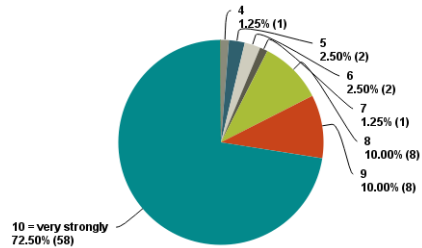
Appendix 5: Online survey results comparing associations with social justice value set (Q2) and dominance over others value set (Q7)

All Museums (80)

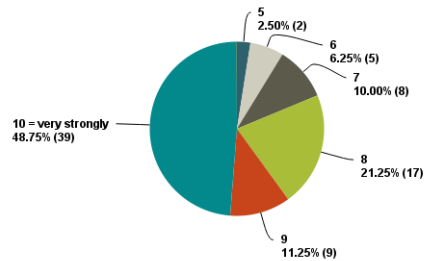
Q2 Please rank the following statements for each of the three categories:

Answered: 80 Skipped: 0

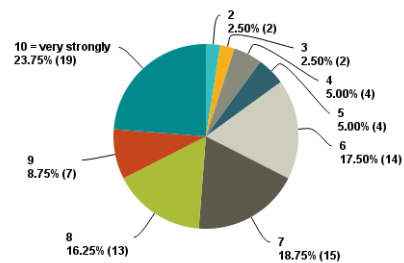
My personal association with this value



I express this value in my role within my organisation



My view of my organisation's association with this value

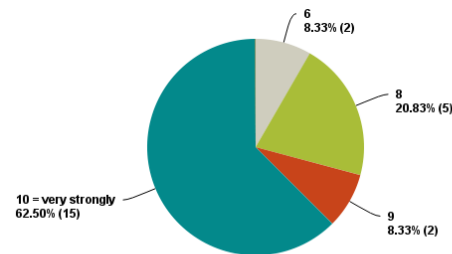


National Museums

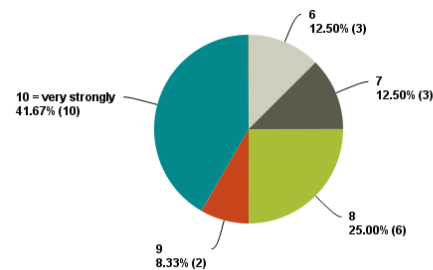
Q2 Please rank the following statements for each of the three categories:

Answered: 24 Skipped: 0

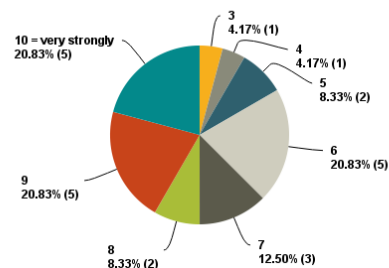
My personal association with this value



I express this value in my role within my organisation



My view of my organisation's association with this value

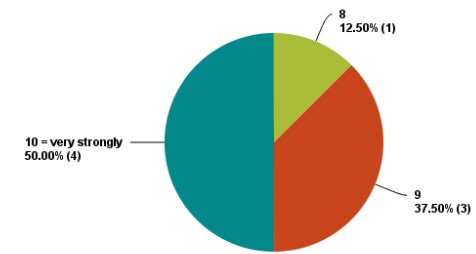


Enterprise Organisations

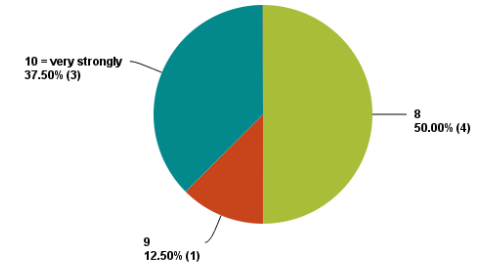
Q2 Please rank the following statements for each of the three categories:

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0

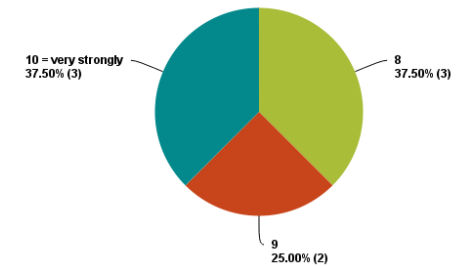
My personal association with this value



I express this value in my role within my organisation



My view of my organisation's association with this value

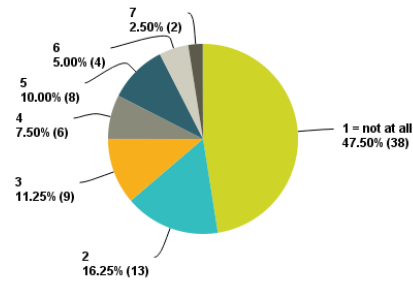


All Museums

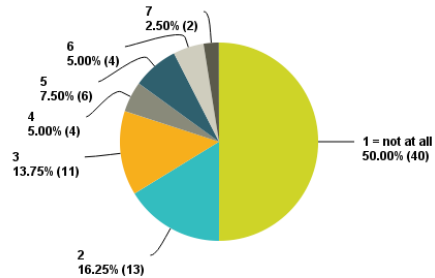
Q7 Please rank the following statements for each of the three categories:

Answered: 80 Skipped: 0

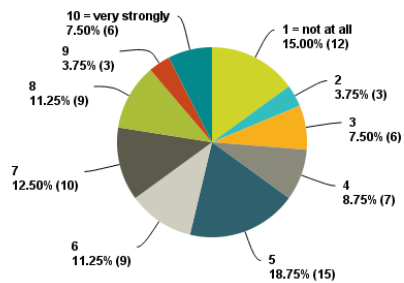
My personal association with this value



I express this value in my role within my organisation



My view of my organisation's association with this value

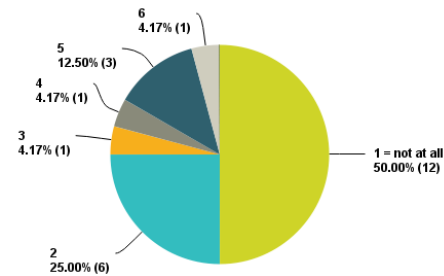


National Museums

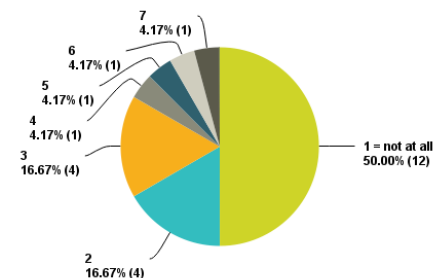
Q7 Please rank the following statements for each of the three categories:

Answered: 24 Skipped: 0

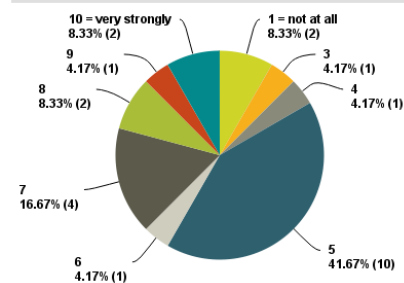
My personal association with this value



I express this value in my role within my organisation



My view of my organisation's association with this value

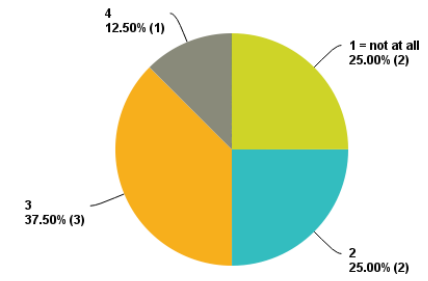


Enterprise Organisations

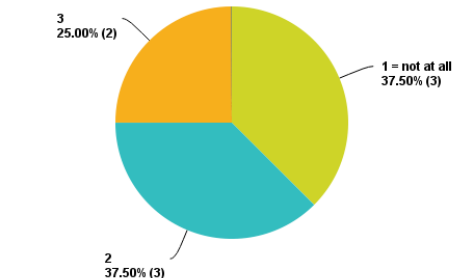
Q7 Please rank the following statements for each of the three categories:

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0

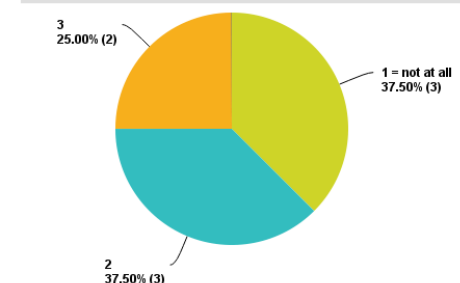
My personal association with this value



I express this value in my role within my organisation



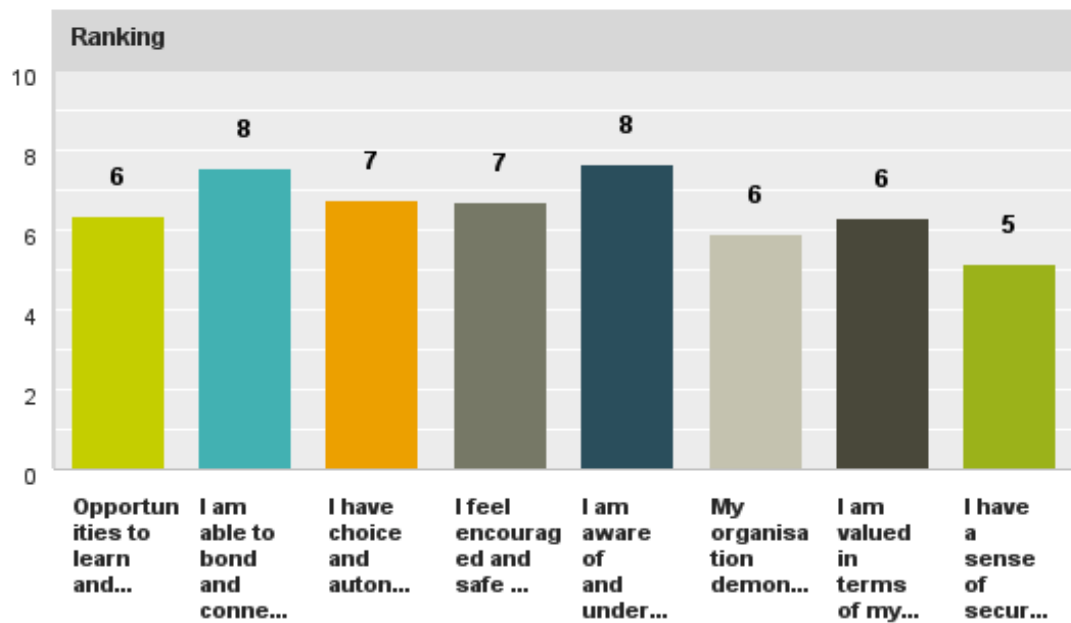
My view of my organisation's association with this value



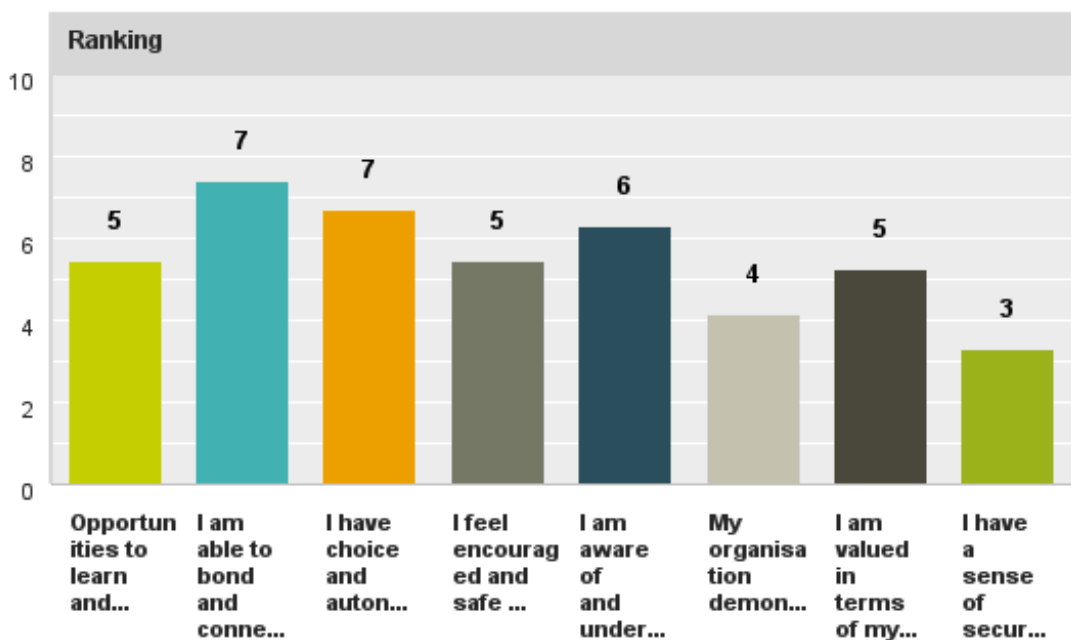
Appendix 6: Results for organisational trust drivers (Q12 of the online survey)

Q12 Please rank the following statements:

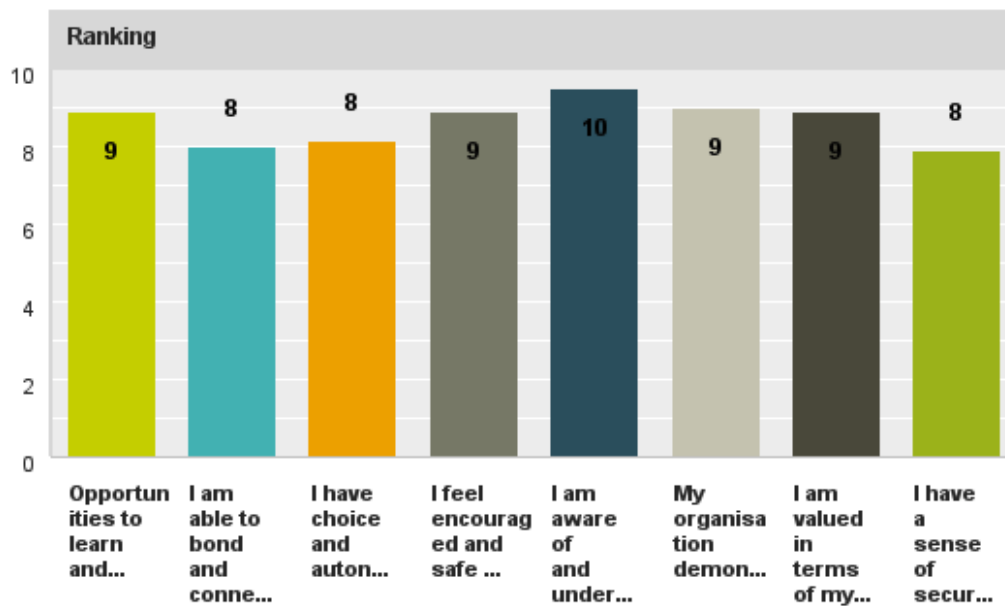
Answered: 84 Skipped: 0



Trust driver responses for staff from all museum organisations.



Trust driver responses for staff from national museum organisations.

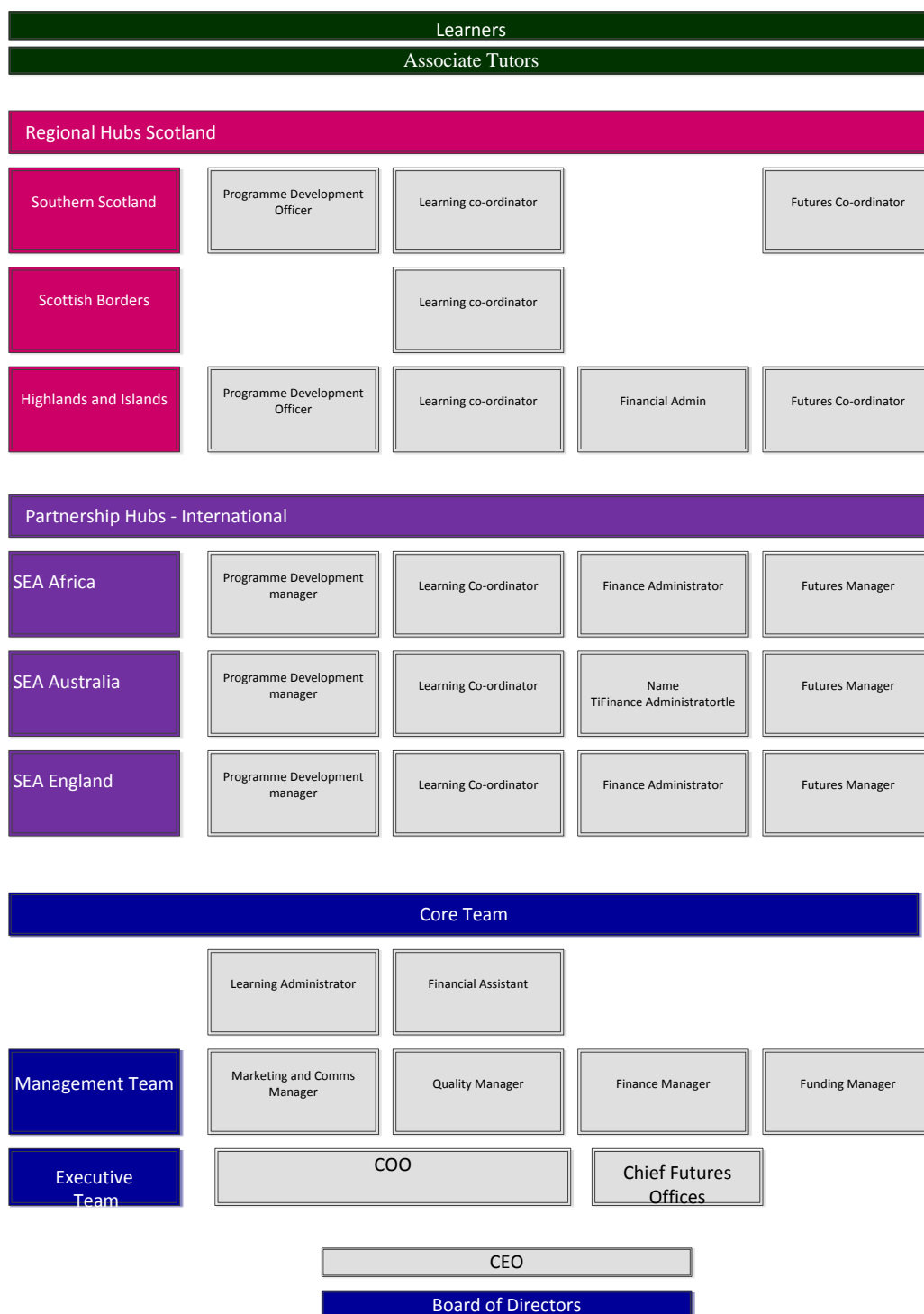


Trust driver responses for staff from all social enterprise organisations.

Key:

	Opportunities to learn and challenge are promoted by my organisation
	I am able to bond and connect with colleagues and my team
	I have choice and autonomy about how and when I work
	I feel encouraged and safe to express opinions and suggestions
	I am aware of and understand my organisation's purpose
	My organisation demonstrates fairness in dealing with employees and management processes
	I am valued in terms of my individual significance and position within the organisation
	I have a sense of security and certainty in the actions of my organisation

Appendix 7: The Academy's inverted structural chart



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