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**METAPHORS OF THE STRING QUARTET:
CONSTRUCTS FOR SMALL GROUP DEVELOPMENT**

by

Howard Robinson

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Social
Welfare, The City University of New York**

1997

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Abstract

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Adviser: Professor Irwin Epstein

This study is an exploratory, qualitative inquiry into small group development using professional string quartets as exemplars of self-directing, task-oriented work groups. Informants representing 23 quartets ranging from formative to mature stages of career development were interviewed, individually and in groups, to collect qualitative data for analysis using the "constant comparative method" established by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Metaphors describing the nature and purpose of the quartet were inductively derived from interviews and organized into five unique theoretical categories that define discrete and contrasting world views for the group as a whole. These five metaphor constructs -- Sacred Quest, Market, Growth, Marriage, and Tao --prescribe distinctly different goals, tasks, and developmental pathways for the group.

This study discovered, as well, that members of the same quartet may invoke contrasting metaphor categories while establishing group norms and setting group goals. This discovery is analyzed from a functionalist, open-systems perspective. Although the presence of contrasting metaphors within one group

increases the potential for internal group conflict, different metaphors provide a varied and useful repertoire of group response to environmental change. Multiple metaphors, therefore, may be utilized to facilitate a better "goodness-of-fit" between a group and its situational context. A non-directive model for group intervention using metaphors indigenous to the group is constructed to empower group members in metaphor management.

Acknowledgments

The courage and honesty that quartet musicians displayed in describing the private aspects of their musical lives allowed this study to take place. I am indebted to those many professional musicians, therefore, who willingly gave their time and effort to participate in this study, even as the pressure of performance was full upon them and rehearsal called. To protect confidentiality, the individual and group identities of these wonderful participants must remain anonymous and are disguised in the text. Their friendship and faith, however, are well-known to me, and I hope that these participants, as well as other musicians, may benefit from the discoveries made in this study.

I am indebted to the friendship and support of Viki Roth, who gave me honest feedback from beginning to end, and to Doris Tishkoff and Dick Waller, whose help was invaluable. I thank those administrators who allowed me generous access to the summer festival where many talented quartets studied and performed but must thank them anonymously to preserve confidentiality.

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I. FROM DESIGN TO DISCOVERY: A QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

This study is an exploratory, qualitative inquiry into small group development using professional string quartets as exemplars of self-directing, task-oriented groups. What began as a highly structured, theoretically-driven research design was transformed into a voyage of discovery to the world of metaphor where the conceptualization of "group development," and even of "group" itself, could not be assumed. As a result, the study evolved into a search for the metaphoric constructs that quartet members used to frame the nature and purpose of their group. This chapter provides an overview to this evolving, qualitative study: the preliminary conceptual framework and goals, the study population and its organizational context, the researcher and his acculturation to the world of string quartets, and finally, the qualitative methodology employed to collect, analyze and formulate the findings.

PRELIMINARY FRAMEWORK FOR STUDY

Bernstein, Goodman and Epstein recommend that grounded theory methodology begin with "a point of view regarding the practice problem and the related theory" (1992, p. 21). Accordingly, two major concepts from social science theory were used to anchor the original research design: (a) that groups undergo common stages of development through time (Balgopal & Vassil, 1983; Bennis & Shepard, 1956; Ephross & Vassil, 1988; Garland, Jones, Kolodny, 1965; Glidewell, 1975; Sarri & Galinsky, 1967; Tuckman, 1965) and (b) that open social

systems, large or small, share common functional tasks of adaptation, goal-attainment, integration and pattern-maintenance (Parsons, 1951).

Understanding common stages of group development and the normative tasks related to each was viewed as a necessary step in developing group interventions with string quartets: if common tasks could be identified for particular stages of quartet development, then "phase sensitive" interventions might be devised that would be proactive and empowering to group members (Berman-Rossi, 1992). By viewing string quartets, moreover, as open-social systems, intervention could encompass more than internal group dynamics; a "goodness-of-fit" model, *sensitive to group context*, would broaden perspectives for group intervention. McCollom (1990) faults small group researchers for not attending to group context and for conceptualizing universal stage-models, as a result, that are not sensitive to dynamic adaptations groups must make to their changing environments. However, by melding these two theoretical frameworks -- stage-group development and open-systems theory -- common developmental tasks might be identified for string quartets in an "ecological" context (Balgopal & Vassil, 1983), a perspective assuming continuous interchange and transaction between internal and external boundaries of the group.

STRING QUARTETS AS TASK GROUPS: **AN OVERVIEW**

Professional string quartets are viewed in this study as exemplars of small, self-directing task groups, defined by Ephross and Vassil as groups formed "to

accomplish some purpose" and to produce "something external to the group itself" (1988, p. 1). In line with this definition, the four members of a string quartet -- two violinists, violist and cellist -- engage intensively with each other as a single unit to create an artistic product unveiled in performance. Murnighan and Conlon (1991) provide a sensitive portrait of the complex, intense and interdependent nature of the string quartet's task:

Members are reciprocally interdependent (Thompson, 1967), using each other's outputs as their own inputs, and vice versa. Their interdependence is also complete and immediate: Their work is done only as a unit; they cannot perform a string-quartet composition without all of the members working together simultaneously. They are artists who collaborate; they must simultaneously devote their concentration to their own and to each other's playing...Their collective task is to reach a high level of coordinated sound...each group tries to achieve a unique interpretation and a forceful presentation each time it plays a piece (pp. 165-6).

The string quartet's livelihood and professional identity depend upon the quality of aesthetic product they craft, its uniqueness, and its appeal to the listening public who financially and emotionally support their work. Murnighan and Conlon (1991) explain that:

Any composition can be played an infinite number of ways, with varying speed, emphasis, rhythm, balance, and phrasing. Thus, a quartet tries to stamp each performance with its own character and style and, even after considerable rehearsal, members can surprise each other or their audience with spontaneous flourishes (p. 166).

Though perhaps unique as team of artists, the performing string quartet represents, nonetheless, a task group "par excellence," as four artist-collaborators who consistently strive to produce a well-conceived and aesthetically convincing work of art for public appreciation and for the art itself.

Organizational studies

Two studies of string quartets as work groups exist: one, a formal research study using a mix of qualitative and quantitative procedures (Murnighan & Conlon, 1991), and the other a more informal and observational study of intragroup relations among quartet members (Butterworth, 1990).

Murnighan & Conlon (1991) interviewed members of 20 British string quartets to understand how management of internal group dynamics relates to professional success. The authors first identified three "paradoxes" of quartet relations: (1.) exercising leadership while maintaining a democratic group ethos, (2.) maintaining satisfaction and commitment to the quartet as second violinist when the role is modest and publically unappreciated and, (3.) managing intragroup conflict without diminishing creativity and individuality. By establishing quantitative criteria for commercial success, the authors discovered that quartets who were aware of these organizational paradoxes and who managed them discretely, i.e., without direct discussion, confrontation, or sustained conflict, were most successful within the marketplace. The first violinist in successful quartets, for example, assumed a strong leadership role yet espoused a democratic ideology:

First violinists in the successful groups recognized the need for a directive leader more than first violinists in the less successful groups. They took active control of many of the group's activities...They did not advertise their leadership, however, within their group. Instead, they advocated democratic action and, it appears, did so sincerely. Thus, they preserved the leader-democracy paradox by acting as a leader while simultaneously advocating democracy (p. 181).

Successful quartets, moreover, absorbed conflict without resolving or escalating it, sometimes by dropping an issue entirely or by talking less within the group and playing music more.

Murnighan and Conlon's study suggests that surfacing group tension and latent conflict, even in an attempt to resolve it, is neither realistic nor functional; The "three paradoxes" of string quartets are viewed by the authors as inherently unresolvable within any string quartet. Strategies that avoid direct conflict, like taking a time-out or refocusing on the music itself, serve as coping mechanisms that temporarily relieve, if not eliminate, group tension. Group ideology also serves as a salve or counterbalance to behaviors that contradict the espoused group ethos. According to the authors, when quartet members advocate democratic participation, praise the role of the second violinist, and espouse appreciation for diversity of viewpoints within the quartet, the impact of contrary behaviors -- like active leadership and open disagreement -- are effectively muted. This study implies, therefore, that group intervention, if utilized at all, should be non-confrontational, focus on task rather than person, reinforce ideologies that espouse democratic partnership, and support those group coping mechanisms that indirectly vent tensions among members.

Butterworth (1990) made a single-case observational study of a part-time professional string quartet supported and sponsored by the Detroit Symphony. He observed intragroup behavior consonant with the low-key and conflict-avoidant strategies identified by Murnighan and Conlon but speculated, in contrast, that the

norm of conflict avoidance might *reduce* a group's capacity to respond adaptively to change. The group he studied disbanded soon after one member relocated. The reasons for the group's termination were not explored since the event occurred after the study. Butterworth's research, however, implies that surfacing issues within the group would strengthen the quartet's capacity to problem-solve and perhaps develop helpful proactive behaviors. These contrary findings suggest, however, that in-group issues may need to be approached differently than out-group ones; quartets might tolerate more focused discussion of issues regarding adaptation to the external environment than those pertaining to their own interpersonal behaviors.

Neither study, however, considered task accomplishment in relation to stage-group development. Perhaps commercial success, and even the management of "paradox," are influenced by the developmental stage of the group and/or the capacity of group members to effectively manage a broader range of developmental group tasks such as group affiliation, differentiation, and intimacy (Garland, Jones & Kolodny, 1973). The two organizational studies of string quartets, at best, focused on issues of power and control; they did not address developmental dynamics, well-documented in the small group literature, that view task completion as a function of "forming, storming and norming" (Tuckman, 1965), or their "equivalents stages" (Ephross & Vassil, 1988). Task performance, in effect, is evaluated without regard to internal group development -- to issues of early group formation (Hartford, 1972), the development of behavioral norms and

methods of group problem-solving (Northern, 1988), or the development of group identity and sense of group solidarity (Garland, Jones, Kolodny, 1973; Glidewell, 1975).

Organizational environments

Although Murnighan and Conlon (1991) define quartets as "self-governing" and "essentially...their own organization" (p. 165), string quartets exist within organizational environments that make group autonomy a relative issue. Compared to instrumentalists within an orchestra -- whose job it is to consistently follow the conductor's baton and conform to sectional playing -- quartet members are *highly* self-directing and autonomous; quartet members develop their own musical interpretations and even exercise the freedom to shift interpretation spontaneously in performance. String quartets, however, must also negotiate the external systems in which they are embedded that constrain decision-making and choice.

University and conservatory residencies, for example, impose work roles that may compete, or conflict, with the ensemble's primary task of musical performance. Rubin writes, "The residency seems to have become the safety net which makes extensive touring by a string quartet possible in the current risky environment of low fees, high road expenses, and relatively small audiences" (1989, p. 16). In return, however, resident quartets may be expected to provide musical instruction, to lecture, to coach student ensembles, and to participate in community education and outreach. Increasingly, quartets must work to develop

audiences that are both interested and knowledgeable about classical music -- a contemporary, non-performance task critical to their survival. As a result, quartets must commit themselves to organizational tasks beyond performance: developing music appreciation curriculum in public schools, engaging in community events to breakdown barriers between artist and audience, and providing pre- and post-concert lecture to educate listeners, demystify classical music and make the concert experience more inviting to newcomers. Although perhaps enjoyable and fulfilling pursuits, these tasks are primarily driven by the current socio-cultural environment, as well as by the organizational needs of host institutions.

Professional managers, regarded affectionately by some as a "fifth quartet member" and by others as simply a necessary evil, are powerful actors within the quartet's organizational environment. They strive to meet dual -- and possibly conflicting -- needs: those of the quartet they represent and those of the management company who employ them. Although sought by most professional quartets to facilitate linkage between the group and significant actors external to the group, i.e., presenters, festival administrators, and audiences, business managers may exert pressure on ensembles to accept less than desirable concert engagements, adhere to demanding performance schedules and participate in time-consuming publicity appearances.

Although solely responsible for their artistic product, quartets do not work in isolation. Quartets are even constrained by listening publics whose emotional and financial support are necessary for quartet survival. Quartet musicians who

champion contemporary music, for example, may not be able to attract a significant audience without including traditional popular repertoire of little professional interest to the group itself. Quartets, therefore, must respond to a variety of forces and systems external to the group. As much as quartets appear to enjoy artistic freedom, they increasingly support themselves by performing within organizational and social environments that impinge, to greater or lesser degree, on group autonomy.

PROJECT GOALS

Project goals encompassed a search for what was unique among these performing artist work groups as well as what was generalizable about their functioning. *Discovery* itself was a project goal since the participant population is not well-researched: what could these artist work-groups reveal in their own words about group tasks particular to them and the ways they found to manage them? This exploratory goal was linked, however, to a more general research question about group development: could common developmental group tasks be identified among professional string quartets throughout their life-course?

Discovery would have clinical implications: if common developmental tasks were revealed, then a proactive model for group intervention might be constructed to facilitate and to enhance the functioning of these performing artist task groups. A typology of group tasks, furthermore, might be theoretically constructed that would enable social work clinicians to differentially apply intervention technologies.

Project goals transformed, however, as data collection and analysis proceeded. The focus shifted to a more grounded, heuristic view of how group members defined their own organization and how, as a result, the nature of group goals, tasks and developmental paths could be differentially constructed. Formulations of group development from the research literature were shed as participant views "from the inside" emerged. Study of these groups became driven by metaphors generated by informants in direct interview. As the study became increasingly "grounded" in participant conceptualization, inquiry into group development was turned "inside-out," attuned to the natural language of group members rather than to external theoretical formulations gleaned from the research literature. New theory was inductively constructed as "metaphors from the inside" were categorized, and their significance to group development assessed. The ultimate project goal, therefore, became the discovery of "grounded metaphors" within the group and their significance to the formulation and management of group goals and tasks.

STUDY PARTICIPANTS

The major participants in the study were members of professional string quartets who were interviewed together as an ensemble, or individually when a joint interview was not possible. Six ensembles and fourteen individuals were interviewed in all, involving a total of 36 participants who represented at least 23 different professional quartets. Several participants had multiple quartet affiliations over the course of their careers, experience that enriched interviews but

complicated a final "count" of ensembles represented. Some participants were re-interviewed to explore previous professional quartet experiences, especially when information about early group formation -- or early group termination -- was sought.

Quartets selected for inclusion in the study were identified from a directory of professional chamber music groups compiled and published by Chamber Music America, a non-profit organization serving chamber music administrators and performers nationally. The directory organized basic data about professional quartets from across the nation: date formed professionally, membership, awards received, repertoire performed, residency history, recording label, management representative and contact person. Accessibility for personal interview was a key criteria for inclusion in the study, and quartets based in the New York Metropolitan region were invited first. As the research progressed, telephone interviews with quartet artists outside the metropolitan area were included to expand interviews or to speak with well-known figures who were on tour or retired.

Although quartets were formally invited to participate through a letter of introduction (see Appendix A), confidential contacts were sometimes used as informal intermediaries to personalize the process, to vouch for the researcher's credibility, and to gain access that might otherwise have been denied. These contacts included friends who were personally acquainted with particular professionals, staff members of Chamber Music America with whom I had worked

as a consultant, and administrators in distinguished conservatories of music who recommended ensembles for participation. One administrator provided access to a summer music festival for pre-study research that aided project design.

THE RESEARCHER

As a classically trained musician and performer, I was familiar with the general culture and language of classical music and could navigate my way through musical boundaries that might otherwise remain closed. I was capable of demonstrating musical knowledge, if necessary, to create a communicative bridge with quartet musicians. As well, I often began interviews with some biographical statement about myself which served to establish my interest, motivation, and expertise in helping musical performers and in doing the research.

PRESTUDY

To immerse myself further in the performance culture of quartets, I spent two pre-study weekends at a music festival where four young quartets were training in residence. They received intensive professional coaching and were scheduled to perform publically as part of their educational experience. The four quartets were competitively selected from around the world and were learning new and difficult music in short-order. Each quartet was under enormous pressure -- both to learn repertoire and to perform it. I ate daily meals, attended private rehearsals, heard performances, and shared in birthday parties and celebratory post-concert dinners with these quartet musicians. As a result, I was able to directly observe and experience some of the stress, conflict, energy, humor, and

work of these quartets. I also had opportunity to discuss research ideas, pretest my interview guide, and shape interview questions with quartet members.

My own bias that groups -- no matter how unique -- share common developmental tasks was challenged early in the prestudy phase by quartet musicians who frequently expressed skepticism: "We are all so different, how can you find out anything that can serve quartets generally?" My first reaction was that informants did not, and could not, understand how information might be generalizable when organized analytically at conceptual levels beyond content. Families, after all, are diverse in structure, personalities, history, and circumstance; yet, theories of family stage and life-cycle have been usefully conceptualized (Carter & McGoldrick, 1988; Combrinck-Graham, 1985; Duvall, 1977; Rhodes, 1981; Scherz, 1971). Indeed, no ensemble would have access to information from other ensembles as I would, and could not, therefore, assume the overview position that I might.

I also, somewhat stereotypically, attributed the musicians' skeptical response to the narcissism inherent in the personality of the performing artist, who seeks to establish a uniquely valued self in performance. Gerald Alper, for example, an analyst and psychotherapist specializing in the treatment of artists, describes the performing artist as "a narcissist who does not simply seek out the love of many, but appears confident of getting it and objectively worthy of receiving it" (1992, p. 14). Quartet musicians might *need*, therefore, to consider themselves essentially different from others -- to be individualistic, inimitable, and

distinct. Professionally and artistically, furthermore, quartet survival may be predicated upon the capacity of artist-performers to develop musical interpretations that set them apart from others. A study that seeks to establish *commonality* might be perceived as threatening by artists like these, who depend and who thrive upon uniqueness.

As the study progressed, however, I began to hear cautionary statements about uniqueness in a "new key" and recognized that theory had perhaps biased me to neglect quartet differences. Though structurally identical -- two violinists, a violist and a cellist -- string quartets *were* extraordinarily diverse! Some quartets were composed of siblings, of all males or all females, of distinct ethnic nationalities, of married and divorced couples, of established soloists and young conservatory graduates; some specialized in contemporary classical music, championed particular composers, played with jazz soloists or arranged rock and pop music for quartet; some formed as peers during music school and others were a blend of established soloists changing professional course; some quartets began with loud public fanfare and generous financial support while others emerged quietly, slowly, and often painfully, without external resources; some quartets started passionately and self-destructed quickly, while others still continue to work patiently, hoping to ignite a public following. Quartet musicians, moreover, developed different technical approaches to sound production, expressed different musical proclivities shaped by teachers, culture and region, and articulated different musical missions. Understanding and appreciating the true nature of this

diversity -- within and between ensembles -- was part of my acculturation to the world of professional string quartets and was responsible, in part, for the shift in critical listening that I made while collecting and analyzing interviews. I was fortunate that participants led me "aground" -- to think and to hear more as they did. I became more attuned to their particularity and, in so doing, began to notice more clearly their special metaphoric language.

DATA COLLECTION

Sampling

The criteria for sampling in qualitative inquiry is based upon theoretical purpose and relevance (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Since the research question concerned small group development in natural groups, professional string quartets were chosen as exemplars; they are small, task-oriented groups who are engaged in continuous professional development. By allowing only string quartets into the study, the number of people in the group was controlled, so that structurally, at least, groups were consistent. Quartets, as well, could be sampled selectively by their career stage -- from those just beginning professionally to those retiring from sustained careers. The quartet community provided a broad age-range of ensembles from which to choose. The potential "universe" for study, therefore, provided both convenience and selection: quartets, in various stages of career development, who were accessible within the New York metropolitan region.

Initially, quartets were sorted for sampling into three hypothetical life-course stages thought to reflect general career development: formative,

established, and mature. *Formative* quartets were defined as those professional groups beginning quartet careers, not yet financially secure or established, and not widely recognized publically (though several formative quartets interviewed had already received public acclaim). *Established* quartets included groups who had well-established concert schedules (including touring), had a public identity, and reputation as a group, had begun recording, and who typically held residency positions within a university or conservatory. *Mature* quartets were ensembles who had earned great public and professional esteem, were known and respected as distinguished performers, teachers, and mentors and who typically had recorded extensively, often setting the standard for excellence in the field. A list of potential groups for study was made based-upon this deductively derived career-stage typology.

Selecting quartets by career-stage provided an organizing framework for beginning inquiry; it was understood, however, that redefinition of career stages would probably evolve inductively as more was learned directly from participants. Sampling strategies, therefore, would follow the course of discovery and, concomitantly, the development of inductively grounded categories as they emerged. As Glaser and Strauss emphasize, sampling is driven by the need to "collect data on categories, for the generation of properties and hypotheses" (1967, p. 69), not for statistical verification. *How many* groups would be needed and *when* sampling would stop, therefore, were left open questions to be answered when core categories for analysis emerged during data collection. At that point,

the criteria for "theoretical saturation" would apply: "(1) no new or relevant data seem to emerge regarding a category; (2) the category development is dense, insofar as all of the paradigm elements are accounted for, along with variation and process; (3) the relationships between categories are well established and validated" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 188).

Interview

Data collection was carried-out by participant interview, in-person and by telephone. All interviews were audiotaped with permission and a protocol informing participants about the nature of the study, confidentiality, voluntary participation, forms of redress and participant rights was read and discussed before interviews took place (See Appendix B and C). Interviews lasted from 90 minutes to three hours. An interview guide (See Appendix D) with open-ended questions and follow-up prompts was used to solicit information about quartet formation, perception of career path, group goals, member roles, rehearsal, conflict management, situational stress, group cohesion, quartet "profile," quartet support, residencies, and competitions.

When an in-person meeting could not be arranged, the interview was completed by telephone. Three members of a long-established, but retired quartet, for example, were interviewed individually by phone, as were seven other participants who were not geographically accessible. Some return telephone contact was made when further clarification or exploration felt warranted. One quartet, interviewed early in the study, was engaged later in a taped, group

consultation to explore changes in quartet membership that occurred during the study period. This material was used illustratively in the chapter on consultation (see Chapter V).

Uncertain whether "mature" quartets would have the time or motivation to join the research, I included one chapter of a published, verbatim interview with the Guarneri Quartet (Blum, 1986, pp. 3-25), in which their working relationships were discussed, as part of data collection and analysis. As it happened, three "mature" quartets (or a representative member) did participate in the research study. Altogether, groups or individuals representing 14 formative quartets, 6 established quartets, and 3 mature quartets were interviewed. The data collection phase, culminating in the group consultation, lasted approximately 17 months.

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of transcribed interviews evolved in three phases: (a) initial open coding to inductively develop categories for content analysis, (b) construction of higher-level analytic categories comprising a "central theoretical framework" and (c) recontextualizing findings to generate new theory. These three phases are all elements of the "constant comparative method" of qualitative analysis in which data are systematically compared and categorized until patterns emerge that usefully describe or explain the phenomenon or situation under study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 101-115; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

I. BEGINNINGS: OPEN-CODING, MEMOS AND USE OF SELF

At first, a content analysis of transcribed interviews was carried-out with

particular attention to statements reflecting AGIL functions of the group: adaptation, goals, integration, and latent-pattern maintenance. However, these system categories did not "fit" the interview data well *as codes*; they felt super-imposed and conceptually removed from the data. Too much material washed through this a priori "analytic net," eluding description altogether. As Glaser and Strauss write, "forcing the connection between theory and data is completely opposed to our emphasis on a fit between them" (1967, p. 29). A more inductive approach was needed to adequately capture the data at its most grounded level.

I then discarded the AGIL schema as a code source and began to listen carefully to the data in its own terms, using open coding techniques to label "raw content" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Code labels quickly suggested themselves as interviews were read and compared; the margins of transcribed interviews became filled with low-level categories identifying elements inductively derived: commitment, sacrifice, struggle, reward, growth, etc. This stage of open analysis marked a beginning attempt to classify interview data into content areas for later comparison. Hopefully, a second or third "pass" over the material would serve to integrate categories or to develop new ones that organized data more conceptually, the next step in the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Though discarded as an analytic tool, the AGIL matrix remained as a sensitizing "template" during analysis. Morse (1994), identifying the cognitive processes involved in qualitative inquiry states:

The theory obtained from the literature is a template for comparison so that the researcher may recognize what is new and exciting when something new and exciting is discovered and may recognize instantly when he or she views something that is known (p. 27).

I also returned to the AGIL schema during phase III of analysis in order to "recontextualize" findings within an open-system perspective (see pp. 131-136).

I began to "memo" myself using a subjective, reflective process to capture the tenor of interviews as I remembered them -- even before reviewing audiotapes and verbatim transcripts at a micro-level -- for I often discerned a central, organizing theme, feeling, or idea. After one interview, for example, I noted how the informant described the relationship between her quartet and its mentors as a "separation-individuation" process, a developmental paradigm (see Chapter II, pp. 62-91) deriving from clinical practice (Mahler et al, 1975). Another quartet struck me as singularly "existential" in both their interactions with each other and in the content of their responses -- leading me, ultimately, to develop a process-oriented concept (see Chapter II, pp. 102-111). In yet another case, I noted how business issues seemed prominent, drawing my attention to the market-place of the quartet (see Chapter II, pp. 46-61). These post-interview memos facilitated holistic thinking and helped me to identify broad, contrasting themes (like quartet individuation, being in the here-and-now, and developing a niche in the market). The memoing process functioned to "raise the conceptual level of the research," as Rennie et al (1989) describe, "by encouraging the analyst to think beyond single incidents to themes and patterns in the data" (p. 144). When returning to the

audiotape or verbatim transcript, I attempted to "rediscover" the dialogue giving rise to such themes. At these times, the audiotape and the text served as a form of data "triangulation" (Patton, 1990), validating or invalidating my prior impressions of the interview.

Even more significantly, the "post-interview memo" helped to surface *my own cognitive process* and the constructions I used to understand the material. I realized how "the researcher is considered one of the primary research instruments" in qualitative inquiry (Moon et al, 1990, p. 361), for *my own cognitive schemas* were at play in "hearing" interviews and in conceptualizing the meaning of interview data. I was reminded of Sandelowski's bold confession:

When you talk with me about my research, do not ask me what I found; I found nothing. Ask me what I invented, what I made up from and out of my data (1994, p. 61).

The interaction between my own thinking about the interview event and the coding of the interview text attuned me to the constructivist nature of the research task and helped me to appreciate informant report as construction too. This awareness furthered my readiness to perceive metaphor usage among participants and to appreciate metaphor as a meaningful conceptual structure in itself.

II. MIDDLE PHASE: CONSTRUCTING A CENTRAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK USING CORE ANALYTIC CATEGORIES

When one participant-informant described the quartet as "being like the priesthood," using metaphor as an analytic category sprang forth. Colorful "bits" of coded data -- *struggle, journey, sacrifice, trial, reward, calling* -- coalesced like

a mosaic into one integrated metaphor (see Chapter II, pp.27-45). I followed this new analytic path intuitively, excited equally by a sense of novelty and by the fresh insights gained. By looking for imagery in the words and phrases used by informants, I developed metaphoric codes directly from informant report: *life-cycle stage, marriage, business*. This coding was linked to metaphoric themes identified from process memos: quartet as an individuating, growing person, as a competitive business, as a fluid, here-and-now process. Even when surface metaphors were not apparent, I attempted to understand strips of interview from metaphorical perspectives. Metaphor was used, therefore, not only to code and recode data, but as *a strategy* for analysis itself: Could the text be understood in terms of some underlying conceptual metaphor?

In this way, surface metaphors and related codes were clustered and reorganized into a set of five "core categories," metaphors in themselves (see Chapter II). I compared core metaphor categories to clarify and to validate category uniqueness. Each category, for example, defined a distinctively different *domain*, or area of quartet functioning; espoused a different *value system*; contained unique internal *polarities*; prescribed different *beliefs and norms*; and possessed a distinctive *storyline*, a "narrative" that portrayed quartet "development" in a unique way (see Chapter III). Through such contrast and comparison, each of the five core categories were judged to be distinct from each other, yet internally coherent and complex.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) term the process of reorganizing open codes

into related categories "axial coding," whereas constructing higher-level, integrative analytic categories is defined as "selective coding":

The process of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development (p. 116).

Both analytic procedures were used to develop the core categories. Often, data organized through axial coding became *subcategories* for the construction of conceptually higher-level core categories. These subcategories served to define particular *properties* or *elements* of the organizing core category. They are outlined in the findings (see Chapter II) for each metaphor category.

In practice, coding, data collection, and analysis were intertwined; axial codes facilitated analytic thinking about core categories, and core categories helped to organize open-codes. Interviews, moreover, generated memos that inspired conceptual thinking away from the data; such thinking, in turn, influenced coding. This mutually-interacting analytical process mirrored Glaser and Strauss' observation that "joint collection, coding, and analysis of data...requires that all three operations be done together as much as possible. They should blur and intertwine continually, from the beginning of an investigation to its end" (1967, p. 43).

The construction of core categories of analysis brought a new order and integration to the data and became an "emergent integrated framework" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 41) useful in understanding and comparing the small groups in the study. This typology of metaphors, therefore, became the "central theoretical

framework" (Ibid, p. 40). The discovery of these conceptually broad, underlying metaphor categories -- derived directly from grounded data -- could now be used to recontextualize findings, to analyze group process and issues of group development, and to develop further theoretical assertions. This became the work of phase III.

III. FINAL PHASE: RECONTEXTUALIZING TO GENERATE THEORY

Once the typology of metaphors emerged clearly, the framework was used to return to the original research question of small group development and the management of group tasks. The framework suggested that group development could be defined heuristically by the people in the group and phenomenologically by myself. The metaphor framework was utilized, therefore, to construct new perspectives on group development, perspectives emerging from "the inside." By so doing, the theory was well grounded in the experience of the quartet musicians themselves (see "fitness," p. 25). The implicit world views contained within each core metaphor category, moreover, were examined in light of group process. Group conflict, norming, and goal-setting within quartets, for example, could be re-examined as a function of underlying metaphors (see "understanding" and "generality," p. 25). The utility of metaphoric categories was evaluated in relation to a quartet's functional need to adapt to internal and external environmental contingencies. And the AGIL framework of Parsons (1951), set aside during coding, became a useful theoretical schema for reanalyzing the metaphor framework and to further demonstrate the creative utility of the theory (see

"control" below). In these ways, the "credibility" of the inductively derived theory of grounded metaphors was tested according to the four criteria set by Glaser and Strauss (1967): (1.) "fitness," i.e., having relevance to the daily activities of string quartets; (2.) "understanding," i.e., corresponding closely enough to the reality of a string quartet's experience that the theory provides accessible insight to the musicians who play in quartets and is easily applied by them in their work; (3.) "generality," i.e., providing a level of usefulness and applicability such that new and unanticipated situations can be framed anew by quartet members using the theory; (4.) "control," having theoretical components or variables that allow others to test or extend the theory easily by themselves and which have significant explanatory power.

In summary, a grounded theory of group development was constructed using the constant comparative method of qualitative inquiry, a process of simultaneous coding and comparison of data to arrive at useful and understandable theoretical concepts that fit closely with situational context and the data itself. The core metaphoric categories comprising the central theoretical framework of this study were derived directly from the language and metaphoric underpinnings used by participant-informants. The study design was used flexibly to create a close fit between analysis and the qualitative data. Analysis then progressed to higher-levels of abstraction to organize data parsimoniously while retaining a descriptive sense that linked concepts directly to the grounded data. The heuristic and phenomenological constructions generated through this qualitative analysis are described in the next chapter.

II. FINDINGS: GROUNDED METAPHORS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF METAPHOR CATEGORIES

In all aspects of life, not just in politics or in love, we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of the metaphors. We draw inferences, set goals, make commitments, and execute plans, all on the basis of how we in part structure our experience, consciously and unconsciously, by means of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 158).

INTRODUCTION

Metaphors are comparisons between two dissimilar things in which qualities of one are transferred to the other in ways that imaginatively construct "some underlying principle that unites them" (Siegelman, 1990, p. ix). Fox elaborates that "in expressing such a similarity, the apprehension of either or both is changed," creating, thereby, "a new meaning" (1989, p. 234).

The findings of this study are based-upon metaphorical conceptualizations derived directly from group members who describe their group organization and quartet experience *in terms of* other concepts -- Quest, Market, Growth, Marriage, and Tao. These metaphorical categories are both descriptive and prescriptive in nature, what Morgan (1986) calls "frameworks for action":

Images and metaphors are not only interpretive constructs or ways of seeing; they also provide frameworks for action. Their use creates insights that often allow us to act in ways that we may not have thought possible before (p. 343).

The metaphor categories presented not only describe present-tense ways of seeing self and others within the quartet but also prescribe a future course of action for the group based-upon the values and directives inherent to each metaphor category and its associated world-view.

THE SACRED QUEST METAPHOR

Cello: It's like the priesthood, in the sense that you renounce all ordinary aspirations...you renounce physical pleasure, you renounce the normal pursuits of human kind, you give up the pursuit of happiness and human pleasure just for the JOY! And that joy is hard won when you mix into the equation all the trials, not just the financial burden... the only return is to be in this mystical, magical place! And that, really, is very much more like Zen or Buddhism, or the priesthood, mystical Catholicism or whatever. The journey means everything.

INTRODUCTION

Ensembles talk about themselves and their development in terms of a quest for a spiritual ideal that is gained through sacrifice, renunciation and commitment. The art of quartet playing is perceived as a "high calling" with allusions to spirituality and god. Coaches are reverently described as sacred figures who evoke inspirational visions and who invite disciples into a search for the sacred interior of the music. Sacrifice is accepted as the destiny for those en route to quartet careers. And worldly pleasures, "all ordinary aspirations," are renounced to realize a higher, transcendental "joy." Within the metaphor of the sacred quest, quartet playing is experienced as a mythic journey of spiritual discovery reserved for those few who persevere its rigors. When this underlying metaphor is understood, one can better appreciate the quality of emotion quartet musicians place in their work and the high stakes associated with a quartet's success or failure.

HEARING THE CALL

Cello: A soloist is more in the bells and whistles business. He's there conjuring, doing pyrotechnics, amazing the audience. Even Yo Yo Ma, who says solo playing is great, says that the really highest calling would be playing in a quartet. That's the highest calling!

Quartet music, and its performance, are viewed as a call to spirituality.

Composers are "godheads" whose "essence" is fervently sought by the quartet performer:

Cello: Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn, and all of these great composers, who made wonderful contributions to symphonies and choral works, say themselves that their greatest works, and most personal expressions, were quartets. Quartets are kind of the essence of the composer. (Quartet) performers are all trying to get closer to the composer. Their godhead is the composer who exercises special energy, special power, who is a conduit for you to join in this organized sound... That's a kind of spiritual high calling in terms of content.

A quartet musician with fifteen years of professional experience articulates how quartet music paradoxically represents the pinnacle of musical achievement through the most intimate of musical structures:

Violin: The great composers saved the quartet for their most personal utterances and directives. The quartets are like intimate letters. A lot of times, symphony orchestras are meant for large occasions and big things; quartets are meant for small audiences of people sitting very close, really experiencing the experience, a much more intimate emotional experience than an awful lot of the orchestra (repertoire)...Quartets are kind of unique in that it's

sort of refined down to the essence...it just so happens that the greatest, the height of musical achievement by some of the world's greatest composers in terms of their communication with the audience, with the listener...was achieved in the quartet, specifically Beethoven, Shostakovich and Bartok.

Performance is described as communion with the audience, a kind of religious service in which the quartet, like an assemblage of priests, becomes the vehicle for revelation of the transcendent:

Cello: There's no question that Beethoven and all these other musical geniuses were in a very special place that was not in the normal walk of human life. And as we try to work out the interpretation of their music, we try to go to that same place, we try to find that place which is way off over here, out of the orbit of normal human life. And then, after we have done our best to find it, we try to live the music and make it as much a part of our own experience as possible. And then we go to the concert hall and invite the audience to join us in that journey -- to that place, closer to that special place, to share the discoveries we have made. Yes, journey is so right because we're still discovering even while we're performing...It's such an anomaly to have four human beings so tightly interwoven. Many are called but few are chosen! It requires such complete dedication, like the priesthood, to stay to the regimen.

The priestly image is maintained as the informant discusses entry into the high-calling of quartet playing:

Cello: I think everyone begins with it, everyone that gets into quartet playing begins with that to a certain extent. They've heard from other august musicians, their teachers, that yes, this is a very high calling, something that you approach with tremendous

reverence. So they go into it wearing the cloth of this great calling, something you approach with tremendous reverence.

Quartet musicians are depicted as novitiate priests entering a sacred order.

This image contrasts sharply with that of the businessman/magician underlying the informant's earlier statement: "A soloist is more in the bells and whistles business.

He's there conjuring, doing pyrotechnics, amazing the audience." The soloist, who entertains using tricks and gimmickry, is contrasted to the quartet musician, who reverentially seeks the musical truth. The priest and the businessman are as opposite as the sacred and the profane.

FROM CRAFT TO ART: THE APPRENTICESHIP OF THE CHOSEN

To enter the sacred order of quartet playing, skills are required:

Cellist: When you get into it, there is a lot of carpentry work, you're building things, string quartets, you're becoming a team player, there's a lot of craft involved in it. So there is a big learning curve, the learning curve is very steep. And it's not until after awhile, after maybe three years of the same four people together, that you "start smelling like a string quartet," as our coach used to say.

Quartet, however, is an art reserved for an elite, who commit themselves to a rigorous preparatory period of training and "self-completion." One established player recounts how their mentor directed the group to fully master technical skills before embarking on the quartet journey:

Violin: It is hard to really play quartets seriously until you are a complete musician, at least a complete technician, so that you have the tools. I

mean, that is what happened to us, when it came time to leave (as undergraduates) and we came East and we auditioned for a couple of places. We auditioned for _____, that was our big goal, our big dream, you know. _____ was very serious, and said, "well, OK, I'll tell you what you need to do," _____ was really complimentary and all that and was very encouraging, but _____ said, "yes, I will accept you as my quartet students but I will tell you what you need to do in order to have a career. You need to come to _____ for three years, you need to concentrate on your instruments, your studies -- put the quartet second, sort of put it on the back burner and focus on your studies, on your training, because you have to develop your individual skills so that you can do more quartet." And that was very difficult for us to swallow because what we loved, we loved doing most, was playing quartets.

To be "complete," the mentor demands a moratorium on quartet playing and dedication to basics. The novitiates are not yet ready "to play seriously." A period of specialized preparation comes first, and the high calling is deferred. According to Campbell (1988), the hero on the sacred quest must be equipped to proceed: "Does he have the courage, the knowledge, the capacity, to enable him to serve" (p. 126)?

The specialness of a quartet musician's skills is clearly articulated by

Michael Tree of the Guarneri Quartet:

Viola: I would advise young string players who envisage a career playing quartets not to think it's sufficient to begin with Mozart quartets. In quartet playing there won't be as many gymnastics per minute, but the amount of technical control and variety of nuance that's needed is greater than what one normally finds in the solo repertoire. We're often

called upon to do things that someone playing a Wieniawski concerto doesn't have to do, and those things happen to be among the hardest to achieve on the instrument, playing in an imitative manner, finding the ideal degree of color, cutting through textures. We can't just change bows as we would like or indulge ourselves technically as a concerto player would, because it might be out of context with what's going on around us. When you're onstage alone, you have greater leeway and fewer constraints placed on you. All of which is to say that you have to be a first-class instrumentalist to be a first-class string-quartet player (Blum, 1986, p. 9).

Quartet playing represents the supreme technical achievement, "greater than what one normally finds in the solo repertoire." A "supernormal" range of skills is needed to succeed, which suggests the "chosen" aspect of the profession -- reserved for those among the "first class" of instrumentalists.

RECEIVING A VISION

The spiritual aspect of quartet life is echoed by other informants when describing their entry into the quartet career. One musician, cited previously, alludes to the visionary experiences of the young quartet and the spirituality of mentorship:

Violin: When the quartet first starting playing together as undergraduates, there were always two of us, two or three of us that kept, that had this VISION...Our goals were always just to play quartets...Once we got to conservatory and started working with (mentor), we very much felt that we had a vision for the quartet, or that we had, actually, a mission. I mean, we are not religious people, but we felt that we had sort of this vision of what we were supposed to be doing. It came from ourselves, I think, from our own musical impulses, but it also

fit in with the (mentor quartet). I mean, if you talk to (our mentor) at all, he's a visionary, that's his vision too...He is a highly spiritual person, a spiritual leader, a guide and an inspiration...He's not religious that I know of, but to him, music is an incredibly spiritual experience. That's why we clicked with them (the mentor quartet).

One formative quartet, interviewed as a group, discussed the importance of an early mentor in providing the passionate "vision" necessary to commit to the quartet career. This dialogue, illustrating the role mentors play in helping young quartets, also reveals the quartet's underlying need to develop a vision of themselves as a group. The language of illumination casts an additional spiritual aura:

Violin: The key to any young group's survival, and certainly to ours, is having mentors that are willing to go out on a limb for you. _____ was such...

Cello: an inspiration

Viola: He believed in us

Violin: He believed in us. We were his only quartet that year, and it just came out to us, it was so evident that quartet was his real passion in life, even though he's a great musician, a great pedagogue and performer. His love and his commitment to the quartet repertoire was just so evident. I think that was just what really illumined us, illuminated us, gave us this vision for playing quartet. He was the one who really got us to stick together.

The spiritual aura surrounding the mentor is described by another informant:

Cello: He was kind of our high priest or father confessor for awhile and was always demanding

more, always demanding that we listen to ourselves and make it more, not just a performance, not just four young guys showing a lot of energy and exciting the audience, but exciting them through our quality of listening. He wanted to invite us into the search for Beethoven that he was involved in.

In this case, the mentor acts as a spiritual guide demanding that the quartet search for something beyond the ordinary: to quest, as he did, for the musical vision of Beethoven.

This same informant beautifully narrates the "journey beyond" that quartet artists aspire to and introduces "sacrifice" as an essential element of the quest:

Cello: Part of the make-up of the ideal quartet player (is that) you gotta have someone who is going to make sacrifices, not just for long term financial gain, but for the art itself. That is where the priesthood comes in, the idea of sacrificing everything for a higher calling. It's the privilege of being able to play late Beethoven quartets and being part of that flow, of that great broadcloth that was Beethoven's. So the composer takes you to someplace that is way off, where no one has ever taken you before. You get to go there also. You strive, you have the tools to get there. Most people don't have the tools to get there. It's a tremendous thing to do that, to follow in those footsteps. And you may never get there! On the other hand, it's a tremendous privilege and exciting adventure to try to get there. And then you, in turn, take your audience, you try to take your audience to that same place.

This richly textured quote consolidates many aspects of the sacred quest metaphor.

The quartet musician perceives himself as one who must "sacrifice everything for a higher calling," use one's special talents to journey into the beyond, and return to share the truths found with others who are less able to make the journey on their

own.

This act of "departure, fulfillment, and return" is what Joseph Campbell defines in The Myth Of The Hero as the essence of the "hero act." Campbell uses Moses as an example:

Moses is a hero figure. He ascends the mountain, he meets with Yahweh on the summit of the mountain, and he comes back with rules for the formation of a whole new society. That's a typical hero act-- departure, fulfillment, return. (1988, p. 166)

This mythic formula for the hero underlies the profile of the ideal quartet musician. In response to a higher calling, the quartet musician, like Moses, journeys to the beyond, ascends to the "godhead" of the composer, and returns to fulfill a deeply felt responsibility to others unable to enter "that same place."

Informants describe their journey as a transcendent experience:

Cello: It's like a spacewalk! It's so intoxicating, so completely out of the orbit of normal human experience. There is no gravity, no constraints. You are not rooted to the ground.

Another informant states:

Violin: We are somewhere else, we feel like we have transcended the world...You take the audience to a higher plane of understanding or experience, or just exalt them somehow. What else is art for? Our purpose is to give them some kind of spiritual or emotional experience that they don't have in everyday (life), that they don't get at work, that they don't get riding on the train. The fact is, our mission is to get the audience to such a state where for the two hours they are listening to us, they are removed from the everyday trivial, the hangnails, the transit fares.

These informants, transfigured by musical revelation, feel a mission to transport their listeners in return. The vision sought becomes a vision shared.

PERSONAL SACRIFICE

Sacrifice was a recurrent motif. Training, touring, and remaining committed to the quartet career were commonly experienced as sacrifice. Self gratification, lucrative career alternatives, consistent work hours, and family-centered life-styles were consciously abandoned. In fact, sacrifice of individual needs served the higher good of the quartet, an entity larger than any one member.

Concrete sacrifices relating to life-style were rife: Quartet members had to relocate often, accept small payment for concerts, and adjust to odd and inconsistent work hours, all of which made planning difficult to achieve in their lives. Professional quartet musicians frequently confronted choices between quartet commitments and family, entailing poignant consequences for some. The sacrifice of personal relationships was acknowledged by one married couple, for example, who decided to play quartet together to have a career, a personal relationship, and a family:

Cello: We both really wanted to be in string quartets, but we were in separate ones and we never really saw each other until after midnight. And I started thinking about it. Maybe we should give it a try (being in the same quartet). And it's been a great thing, being in the same quartet together.

Interviewer: Tell me what's good about that.

Violin: Well, I mean, you can have a life (laugh)! I

enjoy it, playing together. But I think string quartets are otherwise very hard on family life. I don't know if I would last, how long I would last in a quartet (otherwise).

To experience the flavor of the actual sacrifices required to make the quartet work, I quote the description of one quartet's professional start which occurred after intense conservatory training. The sense of personal sacrifice seems to mark the beginning of the "journey," like a rite of passage forcing the quartet to choose between human comfort and heroic adventure:

Violin: Well, we found the quartet that was going to become professional, and so we started planning... "Oh, Jeez," we said, "we are not students anymore! We do not have a lot of time to fart around and have fun." (The violist) had given up his job and apartment, sold his car and had given his cats away to move to New York with the idea of making a serious quartet now. We have got to go for it, you know. It's now or never, we have to shit or get off the pot... It was very difficult to get the quartet off the ground, to keep it going, just to get it to New York, to survive, financially, a year or two years, to survive emotionally the trauma of moving from (the Midwest) to New York City, giving up our lives back in _____. When (the cellist) moved to New York City, he gave up his complete life in _____ and moved to join the quartet, again, because he had this vision of what it was that he wanted to do in a quartet, and felt we were going to do it. The vision kept one going through all this, really. They talk about quartets paying their dues, (laugh), boy, we did! Our first couple of years, we schlepped, lived on food stamps, we didn't have the career handed to us on a silver platter after one year of playing. If you don't have a vision, you don't keep going because there are a lot of easier ways to earn a living, for crying out loud. I mean, there are people that I have played with that have left the

quartet after two years because this just wasn't what they wanted to do, it was their vision of hell. They wanted to sleep in the same bed every night, they wanted to know they were going to get a check every two weeks to pay their mortgage or their rent. We still could be earning twice as much money in the back of a section of the Boston Symphony.

A formative but professionally recognized quartet discusses the sacrifice in establishing their quartet career. One member, whose homeland is far beyond the borders of the United States, experiences an acute loss during holiday times:

Viola: I see so many quartets who want to be professional but they don't really last more than two or three years because it is so hard.

Violin: It's very hard

Viola: financially

Violin: to stay together. Fortunately, we survived the first 3 or 4 years.

Viola: Right, yes

Violin: which is crucial. I think it is very difficult for someone who says they want to do chamber music, since most of the time the situation does not allow them to financially. They must find the right people who think, "O.K., for 4 years we are going to be very poor, we can sacrifice, sacrifice for many things to establish the first stage.

Viola: We give priority to the quartet, and as a result, maybe we have to leave the place we liked (to live) or that kind of thing. Or we don't go for luxury, but buy music instead. You simply give priority to the quartet

Cello: For chamber music.

Violin: Like during the summer, you want to go back home, but it's better (for the quartet) to study here. We are accepted here at the ____ Music Festival. It's going to be seven weeks of study, it's hard, but let's do it... And once in a while it hits me. Like every time Thanksgiving comes and everyone gets invited home, and I think, well, I can't go home for three days. It's not so easy.

The violinist states that one must find the right people -- willing to be poor and to sacrifice personal wants -- for the sake of "chamber music." Quartet takes priority over the individual. Like priestly self-renunciation, identified earlier, personal gain is sacrificed for the transcendent good of the quartet. A recent conservatory graduate, playing in an established quartet, expresses a similar mendicant-priest attitude:

Cello: I think the most important thing is, first of all, to sacrifice ourselves, not take every job, live on a much lower standard than we are used to, rehearse like crazy! (Otherwise), we will not have enough repertoire, or spirit.

A musician from an established quartet describes the frustrating experience of having the quartet fall apart because some members could not commit to a life of personal sacrifice:

Viola: We were in the finals of (prestigious competition), a competition that was like THE BOOST! We were going to start the career right then! But the violinist, who we had been totally attached to, very committed to, decided this young person thing, that he was too young to commit himself to putting that much time and energy into the quartet. He felt he was not secure enough in his own playing, that he needed to concentrate on his own playing and get his solo play in. He felt too

exposed playing first violin. He thought he was not ready for it. He felt insecure and he would not make a commitment. And it just so happens that the violist at that time said, "I can't deal with it, I can't take it! I can't stand the traveling around, I want to know I am getting a pay check every week. I want to have my nice cuddly home, I want to come home every night to my boyfriend." And she was not prepared for the peripatetic life.

Even at the point of public success, the sacrifice was perceived as too great; as a result, two members left the "sacred order." This disaffiliation from the group highlights a tacit quartet rule: "Personal sacrifice required for membership!"

One established player, with fifteen years experience in professional quartet life, speaks poignantly about his personal sacrifice playing quartets. After many years of struggle with a quartet mired in conflict, this informant decided to leave:

Violin: I reached the point where enough was enough, and I realized, when I was losing my younger years doing this, I realized, "Hey, this was a very expensive hobby. I'm not providing for my family." And I'm not only *not* providing for them, but I'm not even there! I think my wife and I would have had more children if I had just been there physically, but I was gone. Every once in a while, I think, "Whooah, I've sacrificed alot!"

The word "hobby" is a self-deprecating understatement that communicates some of the frustration experienced in not being able to provide adequately for the family. This informant, in fact, ended an acclaimed ensemble because in-group conflicts appeared insurmountable and the price tag to family life was just too high.

Joseph Campbell suggests that personal sacrifice ultimately leads to musical revelation and transformation, the most profound experience of the hero's quest:

If you realize what the real problem is--losing yourself, giving yourself to some higher end, or to another-- you realize that this itself is the ultimate trial. When we quit thinking primarily about ourselves and our own self-preservation, we undergo a truly heroic transformation of consciousness...Trials and revelations are what it's all about. (Campbell, 1988, p. 155)

The "losing of self to some higher end" is strikingly presented by an established quartet member:

Violin: You have to subsume your individual ego to the will of the group, not the will of the other three people, but to the quartet as a creature, as we call it, a "monster." We think of the quartet as a being that is separate from all of us individually, bigger...a whole that is greater than a sum of all of our parts put together. It is a thing, it is an entity, and all of us have to be willing to subsume ourselves to the good of the whole, of the final product.

ADVERSITY. THE FIRE THAT BINDS

To some, a quartet is forged through the trial of adversity, another rite of passage:

Violin: It was very painful. That is the thing about quartets, especially when they are young and especially when they are really intense like we were at that time...we had no idea what we would encounter out in the big world. What's the word for it? difficulty? trauma? What is the word for difficulty in life? ADVERSITY! THAT'S IT, ADVERSITY! Adversity bonds quartets together. We had to learn through experiencing it. It's like coming through the fire. You have to develop the

resilience, the strength, and the commitment to doing this thing. There are no easy steps. You just cannot go and do this 1-2-3, the instant quartet, like that! That is why we sort of feel that we cannot give any advice to quartets, because they can only really learn through experiencing it.

For this established violinist, the quartet is *created* through adversity. The journey not only determines *whether* the group survives but is the vehicle for *learning* survival. "Resilience, strength and commitment," required to sustain a career, are shaped by adversity itself.

The violinist's language plays upon mythic concepts: performing a defining test of strength, undergoing trial in combat, or surviving ritual fire, all of which create self-transformation. Through trial and sacrifice, quartets are transformed into being. As a result, the violinist is unable to give direction to others; each quartet must learn from its own adversity. Through the journey, quartets discover for themselves their inner strengths.

Another established musician describes the rebirth of a quartet riddled with dissension and conflict. The ensemble's response to adversity synergizes the group and its management. Mutual sacrifice reintegrates a group on the verge of self-destruction:

Cello: There was a momentum from making an equal sacrifice. We all left our (established) jobs to join the group. Even though we had differences, making an equal sacrifice like that (i.e., giving up jobs) drew us all together and made us more flexible, willing to make compromises, willing to put-up with one guy's Yoga, another guy's fuzzy thinking, whatever. You would go the extra mile. There was a

feeling of adventure again and tremendous risk. We were all in the boat together, willing to make it work. That group of four had a little bit of that bold energy, and the management was excited by that level of commitment again and rallied around us.

Following mutual sacrifices, the quartet embarks on a new journey of adventure together. The language of peril and risk mirrors Joseph Campbell's description of the hero's quest: "It's necessarily dangerous, having both negative and positive possibilities, all of them beyond control" (1988, p. 197). Making mutual sacrifice to enter an unpredictable and dangerous journey emerges as one imperative of the sacred quest metaphor.

REWARD

Rewards do flow, ultimately, from sacrifice and adversity. Playing quartets creates a sense of bliss and transcendence. Such moments of ecstasy are described here; one, as the intoxication and addiction of love and the other, as an essential feeling of aliveness and connection with the spiritual power of the universe:

Violin: We fell in love with playing quartets. We just loved doing this so much that we would do whatever we had to do in order to keep playing together. So, it was almost like the career was the means to an end. Everything we did was to ultimately allow us to feed our habit. We did not care what we had to do to do it!

And another musician states:

Cello: When you work with a group of people and you do manage to balance all of the difficulties, all of the complexities, and you are able to play perfectly in tune, or you are able to start soaring together in a musical phrase and everybody is supporting it and

it works because of the group effort, there is a sense of BEING! Like holding the hand of god.

Both informants have chosen the intense struggle of the quartet because the experience can transport them to "the Garden" of which Joseph Campbell speaks:

The difference between everyday living and living in those moments of ecstasy is the difference between being outside and inside the Garden. You go past fear and desire...into transcendence. This is an essential experience of any mystical realization (1988, p. 134).

When quartet members operate from the sacred quest metaphor, the experience of sacrifice, renunciation and adversity are redeemed through the achievement of transformation, revelation and transcendence in performance.

ELEMENTS OF THE SACRED QUEST METAPHOR

The Sacred Quest metaphor is an integrative analytic category comprised of multiple subcategories that join, like pieces of a mosaic, to create a whole.

Subcategories include:

- 1.) **Quartet as a priestly high-calling:** quartet music is a call to spirituality, and players are viewed as its priests.
- 2.) **Quartet as an apprenticeship of elites:** quartet players undergo a period of self-completion in a rigorous program of training; specialized skills are needed that only a chosen elite master.
- 3.) **Quartet as a spiritual vision:** quartets are manifestations of a player's vision; mentors are spiritual guides who inspire vision.
- 4.) **Quartet as individual and mutual sacrifice:** personal sacrifice is required to embark on the quartet journey; mutual sacrifice empowers the group; subsuming self to the quartet's good is the ultimate sacrifice and transformation involved in the quest.

5.) Quartet as adversity and trial: adversity creates a rite of passage and tests the capacity of the group to sustain the quest; adversity and trial forge a group into being.

6.) Quartet as transcendence and transformation: the quest takes players to a place beyond the mundane and human where a transcendent experience awaits; this experience of transformation is then shared with those incapable of making the quest on their own.

The Sacred Quest metaphor depicts the quartet as mythic heroes in search of the divine. Quartet playing is cast as a journey of transformation that allows those strong enough and dedicated enough to enter musical "Edens." The Sacred Quest, therefore, espouses spiritual values and promises spiritual reward. The path, however, is characterized by hardship and sacrifice.

THE MARKET METAPHOR

Violin: You are the new young quartet for three years, maybe four or five...They come at the bottom of the pay scale and so they will play concerts very cheaply...So the young quartets are on the market that are willing to play for a small fee, and they are very marketable...If your career is successful, then you go into this big B group, which is the large bunch...Fifty quartets out there...sending in their publicity for every concert engagement! ...There are, of course, in that B group, the "hot" young quartets ... determined to sort of work their way to the top - and some of them will! ...They are all shuffling for concerts, vying for position and vying for attention...Then, of course, at the top, there is the A bunch, the pinnacle of the pyramid...five quartets at the top.

INTRODUCTION

The market metaphor emerges from informant representations of the quartet as a business operating within a competitive market. As a business, efficiency, productivity, and task completion are valued; playing is perceived as a "job" with tacit rules for work; and quartet relationships are defined by business metaphors such as entrepreneur, employer and employee, independent contractor, and partner. A "work ethic" opposing socializing and emphasizing task is espoused. As a result, segregated role relationships are encouraged to separate friendship from work.

As a market commodity, the quartet is viewed as property to be bought and sold. Quartets employ strategic planning to protect or advance their market position. Players, moreover, are acutely aware of intergroup competition within their economic environment and are able to locate themselves on a market

hierarchy that reflects their economic power and success. The quartet career is viewed, therefore, in terms of economic survival and ascendancy -- to become one of the "top five" at the "pinnacle of the pyramid."

QUARTET AS A BUSINESS

Violin: It's like your own business, it's like owning a business. It's not just like being in a business and somebody provides employment for you, it's your own business. I think once you realize that, you understand that nobody else is going to take care of it, that you gotta do it.

Several informants define the quartet as a private business venture with attendant risks, responsibilities and rewards. Within this perspective, the quartet is most often conceived as a partnership of equals:

Cello: We always split fees, everything, exactly four ways. It has nothing to do with whether someone's been there since the beginning or just one year, it's always equal.

Group tasks, however, are not always performed or delegated according to this egalitarian ideology; as a result, administrative duties can become a source of discontent, especially for those who carry greater burden. Business metaphors, however, allow people to define role relationships within the group, to voice dissatisfaction with perceived inequities and to construct egalitarian norms appealing to the quartet's democratic ideology and the expectation that labor and rewards be distributed equally.

One musician, the founding member of an established quartet, grew weary of the administrative role she carried solo for years. Her single-handed efforts to

establish and maintain the quartet were normative, however, from her own entrepreneurial perspective:

Cello: At the beginning, I felt that I was putting into a business, and when you own the business, you take the risk. And I felt good about that.

As an owner, any effort made to sustain the business appeared reasonable. Later in the quartet's career, however, an important college residency program ended:

Cello: Two year service for the university, and everyone thanked us nicely, and we shook hands amiably and parted. Now I feel I got paid for about half the work I did.

Her disappointing experience was framed with a new metaphor:

Cello: Certain things were beyond my control - the recession, the personnel changes at the university - changes I could not have foreseen. And those things affected the longevity of the residency to a large degree. The fact that it did not continue made me feel that I wish I had been more fairly compensated for the work I did, because it was more like being an independent contractor, rather than an entrepreneur.

As entrepreneur, the cellist willingly accepted maintenance tasks of the quartet; she even felt rewarded for her intense efforts. When the quartet's contract with the university ended, however, she viewed her work in a different light -- as a fee-for-service arrangement; her metaphor shifted to that of an "independent contractor" performing time-limited "piece work." Had the cellist envisioned herself as an independent contractor *before* the residency began, she may have conducted business differently.

Another informant extends the entrepreneur metaphor to include partnership and venture capitalism:

Cello: In a string quartet, you may not realize it, because you want to make a beautiful sound and play in front of people, but, actually, you tend to be an entrepreneur...When you're hiring somebody into a string quartet, I'm sure that's the wrong word to use, but we use it, "we hire a violist," well, that's not really what you're doing. Instead, what you are doing is, you are bringing someone into the partnership...But realizing that this was a venture and that we all needed to treat it that way, and put-up with short-term difficulty and the idea of making some investment and then getting a pay-off later on, that's something that musicians don't usually think about.

The cellist's language is directly related to the exercise of business within the market place: "entrepreneur," "hire," "partnership," "venture," "investment," and "pay-off." Other market place concepts, such as *start-up costs*, *investment* and *dividend* are reflected more indirectly, as in: "We all needed to...put-up with short-term difficulty and the idea of making some investment and then getting a pay-off later." In the Market metaphor, one's initial investment is described as a material, time-limited sacrifice with an expected dividend. In contrast, the sacrifice required within the Sacred Quest metaphor entails personal suffering and renunciation that spiritually elevates and transforms.

Metaphors of business partnership imply egalitarian norms. As partners, each quartet member exercises equal claim to potential rewards. From the same perspective, however, the cellist logically argues that the burden of "investment"

(i.e. work) should be equal as well. Moreover, as an "investment," the quartet should not be expected to provide immediate "return;" like a dividend, the quartet requires time to mature. Metaphors of investment and return allow the cellist to rationalize, *and normalize*, slow "pay-off" on the enormous investment of energy, time and money typically required to launch a quartet. A dividend metaphor that frames the quartet as a long-term business enterprise requiring initial start-up costs that any partner should expect to pay, supports the group norm articulated by the cellist to "invest now and profit later."

The partnership metaphor also regulates power within the group.

Partnership is non-hierarchical: "we always split fees...exactly four ways...it's always equal." Since quartet structure, in this instance, is non-hierarchical, the cellist makes a distinction between "hiring" a new member and "bringing someone into the partnership." "Hiring" is hierarchical; "bringing someone into the partnership" is not. If one "hires" a new member, the implied relationship is that of employer to employee -- an unequal power relationship. If, however, a new member is invited to join a non-hierarchical "partnership," equality of relationship is established. Formally, at least, power is democratized.

In this instance, actual life-events transformed the quartet partnership.

Three of the four original members left the quartet and were replaced. The cellist became the sole liaison to financial backers of the quartet. As a result, administrative duties -- *and the nature of quartet relationships* -- became skewed. The informant reflects the imbalance in quartet relations by shifting to an

"employer-employee" metaphor:

Cello: By that time, I was the only one who had contact with all the supporters (of the quartet). They were giving us money. And the other guys (i.e. quartet members) were like my employees. They were waiting for me to raise more money or smooth things over. That's not having an equal commitment, that breeds a lot of resentment.

Ideally, the informant expects quartet members to be equal business partners, not employees. But the influx of new members leaves the informant isolated in the administrative role with community supporters, a significant public with whom he alone has a working relationship. As a result, the other quartet members look to him as their "employer." This situation is viewed by the informant as a breach of contract among partners, and he reacts with anger and disappointment: "that's not having an equal commitment, that breeds a lot of resentment."

As these metaphors illustrate, when musicians conceptualize their quartet as a business organization, profoundly different social arrangements are distinguished: the partnership metaphor defines a non-hierarchical set of relationships and the equal distribution of labor; the employer-employee metaphor, in contrast, signifies differential and hierarchical power relations, as well as the unequal distribution of labor. Different assumptions about group roles, task assignments, and levels of individual responsibility within the quartet flow from each. In this instance, the perceived breakdown in organizational functioning of the quartet is interpreted as a shift from "partnership" to "employer-employee" relations. The different metaphors help the informant to conceptualize shifts in

social contract among quartet members and to explain why the quartet, as an organization, failed.

The informant used the market metaphor when discussing in-group conflict that divided, and eventually destroyed, the quartet. This context helps one to appreciate the function of the metaphor *as a proposed solution* to group conflict. The informant advanced a metaphorical construction to urge unity: If everyone were able to see the group in this particular way, as a mutual investment by business partners, then more adaptive attitudes and co-operative behavior might follow. The "business partner" metaphor, "something that musicians don't usually think about," was advanced as a frame to help ensemble members accept inevitable frustration, share tasks fairly, lower expectations, and promote commitment to the group endeavor. The informant was hopeful these goals could be achieved by viewing the quartet as "a venture...making some investment and getting a pay-off later; *we all needed to treat it that way.*" The investment metaphor, a way of "imaging" the group, was offered, therefore, as a solution to dissension -- that consensus and group unity can be achieved by sharing a common metaphor.

QUARTET AS A WORK-SITE: ESTABLISHING BUSINESS VALUES IN REHEARSAL

Quartet rehearsal is defined by some as a place of work requiring a business-like attitude focused on task completion. As such, quartet is viewed as a job. Tacit rules to promote efficiency and productivity are espoused. These work codes contrast sharply with the impulses of quartet members to socialize. Quartet,

however, is defined as a *work-site*, not a forum to "have fun" or to pursue friendships. Consider the following discussion between the cellist and violist of a formative ensemble in their first professional year:

Cello: Once you walk into the door of the rehearsal, the friendship stops. You just sit down and you work. And I don't mean friendship in the sense that, you know, that we don't get along. I mean, we are all here to get a job done, and let's get the job done!

Viola: What you have to realize is that everything that is said should ideally be said in an effort to complete the work on a piece or to make us sound better, and that it's not got some other connotation with something that happened outside of the rehearsal. It's hard sometimes to do that, but it's the only way to really get much work done.

The surface metaphor of rehearsal as "a room" is connected to a deeper metaphor of rehearsal as a place of business, a "worksite," having a set of tacit rules that regulate group behavior and attitude. A business "mind-set" is established analogous to the folk saying never to mix business with pleasure. In rehearsal, however, quartet musicians are implicitly directed to filter-out *any* non-work elements. The relationship called for is a *segmental one*, dividing friendship from work. All must focus on the "job to get done" and nothing else. Friends or not, the quartet associates to perform work. As one veteran from an established quartet stated:

Viola: It's a business arrangement. Your common goal is a professional thing. It's not people drawn together by love -- love of music, yes, but not love of each other!

Musicians from an established quartet discuss how their ensemble evolved greater "efficiency" in work routines. Step-by-step, the business metaphor emerges, until surfacing explicitly at the end:

Violin 1: We used to have lots of rehearsals. Now, looking back, I realize there was a lot of wasted time...People just scheduled a hundred hours of rehearsal and lot of it is wasted, half of it, pretty much. We'd schedule five hours and rehearse two. Just a lot of talking and sitting around, just arguing more than playing. You learn as you go along, how to be more efficient.

Violin 2: We learn how to be more efficient at the quartet. And speaking of that, probably a lot of people start quartets (to have fun). When they start, it's a social thing, it's a lot of fun. And then, it starts becoming a job! There's a lot of responsibility.

Violin 1: It's a business, really. When you finally realize and decide that this is what you want to do with your life, it's not just something fun to do anymore. You should enjoy it, but it's business.

The two violinists weave a "duet," with alternate themes of waste and productivity, efficiency and responsibility, friendship and work, until one chord is clearly sounded: "It's a business really." Classic organizational values of efficiency, productivity and responsibility to one's work role and task are prescribed within the job metaphor these musicians use.

QUARTET AS A COMMODITY IN THE MARKET PLACE

Some informants describe the quartet as a commodity in the market place, a property to be sold to the public by management companies. Public demand and quartet reputation boost the selling price. Winning prominent competitions creates

a wellspring of public interest and improves market value as well. As one musician exclaimed:

Viola: People will hire you for concerts if you can say, "We won this! We placed well in this!"

Quartets can even calculate their market status and place themselves in economic hierarchies with other quartets. As a result, they organize themselves within competitive pools and fight for shares of a limited market. From this perspective, group development is viewed in relation to "free" market standards and competitive practices.

The market place perspective is made clear by the following informant, a musician from an established professional quartet:

Violin: No quartet follows the same path to success, but there are certain generalities that you can make. One is that as a young quartet, you want to become sort of the "hot" quartet that everyone is talking about. This group is a wonderful group, and everyone wants to have them on their series. First of all, they are cheap and they are something new and they are, hopefully, really good. And most places will hire you a first time. Then you get into the more difficult situation of sustaining that. In other words, after that, then you have to compete with the next crop of younger groups who are going to be cheaper than you and also offering something new. That is the slightly harder step to continue for awhile.

The market metaphor is explicit in this account of quartet development, for the quartet is evaluated in terms of its capacity to generate a reputation as a "hot" property with a low price tag. The quartet goal, however, is to remain competitive

and successful within the market even as one moves out of the "hot" property stage and competes with the next "crop" of affordable, exciting new ensembles.

As a commodity in the market place, hot or otherwise, competition is the norm. Each quartet fights the other for limited resources:

Violin: We are in a group, in a pool with probably a dozen other string quartets right now. I would say we are fighting to make the next sort of notch... We are still fighting for the same concerts... In the clump of groups that we are in, everybody is fighting for exactly the same things.

Here we see the quartet depicted as part of a market ecology regulated by competition: "...in the clump of groups... we are in, everybody is fighting for exactly the same things." The need to be competitive to survive is expressed by other informants. An established quartet member, for example, described the quartet's goal during its formative years:

Viola: We just had to have our playing on a level that we could compete with all the other young groups that were cropping up at the same time.

New groups, depicted as "cropping-up" in "clumps," like weeds, threaten to crowd out anyone unable to compete. Such, of course, is the market-place environment which "weeds out" groups through economic competition.

The violist just quoted consistently evaluated quartet development in terms of market success and failure. Even the quality of quartet instruments was discussed with pragmatic concern for competitive advantage:

Viola: We are playing on very beautiful antique Italian instruments... You cannot compete if you're not playing on tippy-top instruments!

The past and present history of this quartet was presented in terms of their fluctuating market status:

Viola: What really held us back was not winning any major competitions...We won minor competitions (but) were not able to do any of the international competitions...so we missed a major, major opportunity. It's unfortunate because we were steadily building a very nice career for ourselves, and it's very difficult now facing many fewer concerts because there have been other competition winners since us that have been getting what little work there is.

The stage of quartet development and the evaluation of its success are gauged by the quartet's capacity to compete, by the number of concerts played each year, and by the revenue that the quartet is able to generate.

One member of a formative quartet, considered a "hot commodity," voiced strategic group goals based on the market metaphor:

Viola: I can say this, from the outside coming in and having played and read with a number of other quartets, that the commitment that these guys have is very realistic, both in terms of doing practical things - getting the goals that sort of push the musical development of the group, like getting concerts, entering competitions - and then putting-in the actual time to prepare for those. It (the quartet) is already a lot more devoted and successful than many beginning groups - and also aware, because it is such a struggle right now in the arts business, and unless you sort of let yourself be ambitious and have a strategic way of organizing your practical and musical (life), you will not be able to have a voice or play in concerts or survive that struggle.

Quartet development is viewed in market place terms: "getting concerts, entering

competitions." To achieve these goals, "a strategic way of organizing" is required. Here, the market metaphor is linked with strategic thinking and planning. This suggests that particular cognitive styles may complement whatever metaphorical perspective is utilized. The violist, viewing the quartet from a market perspective, labels the practical and strategic orientation of the group as a positive trait; otherwise, he says, "you will not be able to have a voice or play in concerts or survive that struggle."

Another anecdote by an established player reveals how the market metaphor drives strategic thinking within the quartet. Personality conflict was brewing for a long time between one member and the rest of the quartet. When the player was finally asked to leave, the event was viewed solely as a public-image issue needing a calculated "spin."

Cello: And even with the difficulties with the quartet personnel, I didn't burden (anybody), I didn't tell anybody - part of it for marketing reasons. People were so shocked when we asked this guy to leave. We didn't tell anybody that it was a problem just because it was bad business. We had already had one change, we had changed (the quartet), and then we said, "Well OK, now the quartet is better than ever!" (And) here we go again!!

The cellist approached the dismissal of a quartet member from a public relations perspective by strategically considered how significant publics would perceive the quartet and its future. The decision to *not be public* about the personnel change was made within a market perspective that directed the quartet to do whatever it takes to remain viable as a business.

Market dynamics are given full rein by an established player in the following report, a "primer" on the quartet as a commodity within the market place:

Interviewer: How would you characterize where the quartet is now in terms of its career stage?

Violin: Ha! Well, I don't know, I don't want to say too much about that! Except that, just in very general rules, we have always looked at it as there being three stages to a quartet career. One is when you are very young, new kids on the block, the new young quartet. Of course, there is a new one every year or two or three! You are the new young quartet for three years, maybe four or five. I don't know how many years you can get by being the "new young quartet." And they come at the bottom of the pay scale, and so they will play concerts very cheaply. And so, they get a lot of concerts. This is economics we are talking, music business. Chamber music businesses, societies are strapped for money these days and so (for example) they have a budget for \$18,000 for their series of five string quartets. And they want to hire one of the big quartets, and that will cost them \$8 to \$10,000. That means they have \$8,000 left to buy four other acts. You know, what are they going to do? So the young quartets are on the market that are willing to play for a small fee. And they are very marketable at that point. And of course, that's what happened to us, we were that way too. We were very hot and very marketable, and we played everywhere. Our manager at that point did a great job. He sold us everywhere, we played everywhere and it just about killed us...If your career is successful, then you go into this big B group which is the large bunch - this huge bunch of all these quartets that are out there. I understand there are 50 quartets out there applying for every concert, that are sending in their publicity for every concert engagement! We have heard that, 50 quartets touring! ...There are, of course, in

that B group, the "hot" young quartets that came into the B group and are determined to sort of work their way to the top. And some of them will! All those in this B group are shuffling, vying for position, and the fees are all kind of within this medium block. They (fees) have all gone up. You can probably do it by fee scale. They have all gone into this more medium fee scale. And they are all shuffling for concerts, vying for position and vying for attention and, you know, because a lot of them settle down, get university jobs and decide that they are happy with that, or they are just not going anywhere other than that. That is where your career can really sort of stalemate, stall out. Then, of course, at the top, there is the A bunch, the pinnacle of the pyramid. You consider there being like five quartets at the top. Not counting the Kronos, the highest paid string quartet in the world, it's been the Juilliard, Cleveland, Guarneri and the Tokyo, and of course, in the last ten years, the Emerson has pretty much established themselves. Traditionally, in my quartet life, it's been the same five quartets, basically.

The violinist uses a market framework to define the quartet's career path: the structure of fees, the competitive ethos, the economic levels of quartet groups, and the pyramid of economic success. Within the market metaphor, the goal is to rise through the hierarchy and to conquer the economic summit; unless, of course, one "settles" for a university position where "the career can stalemate." A quartet progresses through economic stages and becomes ranked within it: "young and hot," the "B group" and finally, the paramount "A" level. Five or six quartets -- like business monopolies -- consistently dominate the market place. These five groups represent the pinnacle of success within the market metaphor.

ELEMENTS OF THE MARKET METAPHOR

In summary, the market metaphor is comprised of three subcategories derived from grounded metaphors relating to market organizations and practices:

- 1.) Quartet as a business:** metaphors of entrepreneur, employer, partnership, investment and capitalist venture are utilized to both frame and prescribe role relationships, group goals, and desired norms.
- 2.) Quartet as a work site:** the quartet's purpose and task are defined as production; classic industrial values of efficiency and productivity are espoused; and task-driven behaviors create a narrowly prescribed work role; quartet is viewed as a job, and members are perceived as entering into business contracts to produce work.
- 3.) Quartet as a commodity:** the quartet is framed as property whose value may rise and fall depending upon the public perception and investment.

The group's external environment is teeming with other quartets who compete for economic gain and for increasing shares of a public market. The prescribed goal is to gain economic power and public prestige as one ascends the economic pyramid. Strategic thinking and acting may facilitate this group goal. Within the market metaphor as a whole, group goals and tasks relate to business survival, work productivity and to economic ascendance. The quartet's career path is characterized by entrepreneurial ownership and investment that allows for movement through ascending levels of economic well-being, public status, and market control.

THE GROWTH METAPHOR

Cello: We have always to keep growing...to keep that feeling that we always grow. None of us wants to feel like we are stuck...We have a certain kind of pressure that we are learning everyday something new.

(formative quartet member)

Viola: At that time (quartet beginning), it was all learning and growth and personal awareness, and in this stage now...twenty-three years later, it's still about learning and growth and interpretation, but included with it now is commitment to pass it on as well...sharing how to make the music.

(mentoring quartet member)

INTRODUCTION

A fascinating variety of metaphors about growth and renewal are used by many to describe quartet development. For some quartets, "growth" drives the ensemble, gives it purpose, and shapes quartet goals. As we shall see, growth is even presented as a *quartet imperative*, stemming an underlying threat of stagnation and decay. The quartet, however, is also perceived as a *medium for growth* -- a kind of greenhouse in which growth of the group is quickened by the intense learning that transpires among ensemble members. This form of growth is *transactive*: the growth of the individual feeds that of the group, just as the group hastens the growth of the individual. Quartet growth was found to have direction -- moving the quartet toward group *attunement*, termed "convergent" growth, or toward *differentiation*, termed "divergent" growth. These are complex concepts that are of special importance to quartets as they develop deeper levels of group

identity. Quartets also describe career steps as *developmental stages of the human life-cycle*: as birth, infancy, youth and maturity. And finally, an impulse to create, nurture and preserve new growth is expressed by quartets moving into maturity. This *generative* impulse completes a developmental "growth cycle": as quartets mature, and even die, they seek to pass their knowledge to others through mentoring, thereby connecting one quartet's end with another's beginning. Metaphors that refer specifically to this generative process are labelled "seed" metaphors in hope of capturing the *propagation of new quartet life* that mentoring permits.

THE DRIVE TO GROW

Formative ensemble members identify musical "growth" as central to their quartet's existence:

Cello: We have always to watch our musical level, to always keep growing in that aspect.

Violin 1: The last four years, we developed so much as a quartet, our individual techniques, musicality, to keep that feeling that we always grow. None of us wants to feel like we are stuck, that we always play at the level we reach now. We have a certain kind of pressure that we are learning everyday something new, and think it's challenging too.

Violin 2: That's a wonderful thing that I am finding out about quartet playing. You grow musically and technically, not only as a group, but individually, for me, at a far faster rate than all the years I've spent hibernating in a practice room practicing concertos and etudes and things like that on my own. Here, you are getting so much feedback from three other people simultaneously, not only just

criticism or discussion, but seeing what they are doing, how they are approaching (the music).

Growth drives the quartet and is vital to all: "None of us wants to feel stuck," says the first violinist. The quartet is dedicated to maintaining growth and builds interaction with each other around this desired end. For this quartet, "to be" is "to grow." As the first violinist says, "We have a certain kind of pressure that we are learning everyday."

Metaphorically, this quartet perceives itself as a living, growing organism propelled by its own life-force. Existence outside the quartet, in contrast, is likened to the winter's sleep of an animal:

Violin 2: You grow musically and technically, not only as a group, but individually, for me, at a far faster rate than all the years I've spent hibernating in a practice room...

The quartet is implicitly depicted as a complex, interactive species that stimulates growth in comparison to other solitary musical organisms that hibernate in isolation. Quartet members nurture each other's growth and contribute, thereby, to the quartet's vitality as an organism.

QUARTET AS CATALYST AND MEDIUM FOR GROWTH

The quartet is not only growth driven, but acts a catalyst for growth -- as a kind of *greenhouse*. Musicians are immersed, for example, in the intense feedback and nourishing stimuli found in the quartet environment:

Violin 2: Here, you are getting so much feedback from three other people simultaneously, not only just criticism or discussion, but seeing what they are

doing, how they are approaching (the music).

The quartet serves to quicken growth through group interaction and response.

Within the quartet, therefore, growth is *transactive*; it emerges from the mutual feedback system at play between individual and group. An established quartet musician alludes to the transactive nature of quartet growth:

Violin: One thing that we realize is that the quartet is our best teacher, if you have respect for each other. Each one of us has gotten so much better over the years. You have to open yourself to criticism. Each year it's getting better and better.

Feedback is identified as a powerful mechanism for mutual growth, personified here as "our best teacher." Metaphorically, however, the quartet is both teacher *and* classroom -- the *agent* for growth and the growth *environment*.

GROWTH AS LEARNING

If the quartet is a "teacher," then quartet musicians are "students" hungry to learn. An informant from a mature, mentoring quartet states:

Cello: When you are in an ensemble, just as a musician, you constantly are learning, and wanting to learn, or you oughta be! We wanted new opinions. The higher level you get to, the more critical it is that you speak to people whose opinions you really value...that's the magic of music, really, is that everybody is still a learner.

Learning within the ensemble is a continuous process, and the appetite to grow is never quenched. The cellist describes his rich learning in the "early years":

Cello: (When) I began in this group...for the early years, I was still learning constantly. It was a great combination for me because the learning I got was in

the real world on a concert stage with excellent performers that I learned from in rehearsals and in concert. And so, my energy was going into becoming the best I could become on the instrument and learning all this great repertoire and all of the great insights that begin to come with that...(the other members) were older than me and so they had a lot of experience that I simply couldn't (have had) at that time...I was part of the group...I learned so much from them and also the guest artists that we would play with - Richard Goode...what a magic musician to learn from! Menachem Pressler, you know, a lot of special musicians to share with.

Playing "in rehearsals and in concert" with experienced, "magical" artists created a high-intensity learning environment that drove this musician toward "all of the great insights" that come with learning the "great repertoire." Quartet was the vehicle for learning and for "growing-up" as an individual musician and as an ensemble.

METAPHOR POLARITY: GROWTH VERSUS DECAY

Growth implies the existence of an opposite state: stagnation and decay. Conceptually, therefore, a polarity exists. The reference to hibernation permitted a first glimpse into this implicit polarity; the statement that "none of us wants to feel like we are stuck, that we always play at the level we reach now," furthermore, implied that quartet growth may cease. The tension between growth and decay surfaces overtly in a group discussion among formative quartet members.

Cello: Seems like the quartet world is a very lengthy process in terms of playing together and musical interpretation. I mean, I think we are growing still.

Violin: You never reach a point where you think

you're safe, more so in string quartets than in other ensembles... You do not see the end of the tunnel, you are always improving, or think you can if you concentrate... Musically speaking, you are always going to be improving, everything changes

Cello: I also say that we are still growing. You know, we (are) still, I wouldn't say impressionable, but as individuals, we are still growing; and as a group, we are too... I think we are still developing as a group. And I don't believe you are ever stagnant either. You get worse or you get better... the repertoire will expand and our playing will hopefully improve.

Quartet is again described as an interactive growth process. However, a tension between growth and regression is expressed. Opposing growth is a negative force, one threatening to sweep progress backward. The waters of quartet growth are therefore never still; one forges upstream or is swept back down.

From this perspective, growth becomes a *quartet imperative*, for growth is required to contain an underlying force of decay. When growth ceases, the quartet's life is threatened. The metaphor surfacing here is a "life against death" struggle: to grow is to survive.

CONVERGENT GROWTH AND DIVERGENT GROWTH

Quartets speak about growth as having direction and as leading to different end points. For some, growth of the quartet is experienced as a unifying force that pulls individual differences into a coherent, satisfying whole. The outcome is a feeling of mutual attunement, of group oneness. Others speak about quartet growth as a process of differentiation, as movement away from sameness toward

individuation. Greater clarity about one's own voice and the capacity to confidently assert that voice within the group emerges. Growth that unites difference is termed "convergent" growth; in contrast, growth that differentiates individuals is termed "divergent" growth.

Convergent Growth. When an established quartet, interviewed together, were asked to define their quartet identity, the players talked about their growth as a group entity. They identified a process of mutual attunement that created an exciting sense of unity and focus within the ensemble. Their discussion provides a good example of what is meant by "convergent" growth:

Violin: All I can say, from my experience of two years in the quartet, I have become a much better player and help the quartet to sound better. And I think the quartet has just grown, has just grown over the last few years. I feel so good about the way we sound, I feel so exhilarated.

Interviewer: Can you articulate how the quartet has grown?

Violin: I think the sound we are getting, the unity that we are getting when we approach pieces and the feeling of our performances. I have such a positive feeling about it.

Interviewer: Unity in terms of ...?

Violin: We go out there and we really, from the rehearsal, we are really trying to do exactly the same approach to the piece, for the most part. Our performances come off as very committed because of that. I am not sure what the reasons were, but when I first started in the quartet, I did not feel like the performances had that kind of unity and focus.

Interviewer: How do the rest of you feel about it?

Viola: I agree. I think we are really tuned-in musically to each other. There is nothing at all jaded or that kind of feeling like "O.K., we all just got together and are playing." We feel that we are really listening, and lately especially, getting more and more excitement about the music and tuning-in to each other.

Violin: It carries over and the audience picks up on that.

A growth metaphor pervades here, including *growth as transaction* ("I have become a much better player...and I think the quartet has just grown.") and the *growth polarity* ("There is nothing at all jaded...we are getting more and more excitement about the music."). More significantly, a new form of growth is articulated: one experienced as unity in performance and as musical attunement with each other. This growth concept involves a shift in the group's overall sense of itself -- increasing unity and tuning-in more to each other. As a result, the group performs cohesively and communicates its sense of mutual attunement to the audience.

Divergent Growth. Others refer to *differentiation* as a product of quartet growth. The more the ensemble grows as a unit, the more individuals within it develop their musical personalities. A formative quartet articulates this process of "divergent" growth in a discussion about musical interpretation:

Cello: Sometimes we reach our own conclusions and they are different from each other's

Interviewer: And then what?

Cello: Then somebody has an idea about something, and I might have a different one about the same thing, so our interpretation is different. I'm talking within our group. I might have a concept of something and somebody else has a different concept of that same place...

Violin: That's one thing that has developed since our coming together. You become more aware that everything you are doing, you have to be able to defend, you have to say, "Absolutely this..." for almost every note in the piece. Every little marking, that's one of our characteristics as a group, is that very little goes unscathed... We all tend to stand up, know exactly what we really (want).

Cello: We are trying to be one quartet but there are four people, and it's like a conversation between four people. Sometimes, anyway, we show our personality.

In this quartet, developing and defending individual ideas is important and valued, even though "we are trying to be one quartet." Growth of the quartet is linked with each individual's capacity to develop a confident and distinct musical voice.

The violinist from a formative quartet notes the fine line between asserting individuality and fitting-in to the whole.

Violin: In a quartet, you have to be able to recognize tremendous differences in approach, technically, to the instrument and to adapt your technique to work with whatever is beside you. And that is a big struggle and one of the greatest difficulties, especially for young groups. Because in your effort not to be subservient, but to have two things fit together like a puzzle, you're restricting and constricting; you get very quickly into a shell. So, there are lots of young groups with players that I know (who) are absolutely fantastic, sitting there and sounding very small, very mousy, very inhibited

and looking very consciously at everybody in the group. And then, quickly, your efforts to be malleable have worked so much against you.

This informant identifies a tendency to conform so completely to the group that one's individual personality is incrementally constricted to the point of elimination. Asserting a distinct self within the group, however, is advocated within this ensemble, who pride themselves on the individuality of their first violinist and their willingness to allow his personality to show:

Cello: We did not tame (first violinist), we did not say, "you cannot move around, you cannot do that, you cannot do this." And you know, seriously, that is probably the most physically different feature than any other string quartet, is (having) a first violinist that doesn't just sort of sit there.

Later in the interview, quartet members discuss their sense of individuality *as a group*: "We are recognized as having somewhat of an individual approach to performance." This quartet values differentiation: as individuals within the group and as a group itself in relation to others.

A published interview with the world famous Guarneri Quartet (Blum, 1986) provides a further example of differentiation within the quartet. Michael Tree, the violist of the Guarneri states:

A quartet is based on four individual voices. The fact that we have to coordinate and find a proper balance doesn't mean that any one of us should become faceless. On the contrary; the re-creation of a masterpiece needs the full, vital participation of each of us (p. 3).

Arnold Steinhardt, the first violinist, responds:

The more developed our musical personalities are, the less likely we are to think alike. In fact, I can't imagine four musicians more different from one another in certain ways than we are (p. 3).

Steinhardt is asked: "Have your individual ways of playing come any closer together over the years?" He replies:

I don't think they have. In fact, they may have moved further apart, because each of our musical personalities has continued to evolve in its own way. It's important that each of us go on his own musical voyage through life, whatever it may be...we complement and challenge one another. We value our differences; they bring added scope and dimension to our playing and allow each of us to grow (pp. 3-5).

Members of the Guarneri state clearly that individual players *differentiate*; they evolve unique musical personalities that "have moved further apart," that do not remain "faceless," that do not "think alike," even as they share time together. Such divergent growth is a positive, desirable experience for the group.

Differentiation among partners, however, still challenges the group "to be one quartet," as noted by several informants. The final paradox may be that complete growth is a dialectical integration of divergent and convergent growth -- a simultaneous integration of differentiation and mutual attunement. David Soyer, the cellist of the Guarneri, says, "We are four musicians performing a single piece of music, and we come to a common opinion about that work" (Blum, 1986, p. 4). Quartet members become increasingly differentiated yet strive to achieve a transcendent unity as a group. Although convergent and divergent growth have opposite directionality, they may occur simultaneously! For optimal quartet

development, growth may need to occur in these two directions at once.

Divergent growth, finally, may define another dimension of difference by helping to distinguish one quartet from another, as each becomes unique within the musical community of ensembles.

GROWTH AS A LIFE-CYCLE STAGE

Ensembles consistently refer to themselves -- and to others -- in terms of *developmental ages* that imply stages of human growth. One informant, speaking reflectively about her early quartet, said "it was really like *a student group*" and then described their development into "*a more mature group*" that "remained stable." An established ensemble referred to "*a young quartet* doing quite well in Europe." And yet a third described quartets "in two stages -- *baby groups* and *young professionals*." Such short, quick references to ensembles as "baby," "young," "student," "young professional" and "mature" pepper many anecdotes. They suggest that quartet development is conceptualized in growth stages, from infancy to maturity, based upon an underlying stage model of ensemble development.

The stage model of quartet growth. The stage model surfaces clearly in the following anecdote. A veteran reflects on the meaning of recording from the perspective of his long career:

Interviewer: What's it like to record at this point in your quartet lives? Are there any special feelings?

Viola: It's very exciting. You have these great pieces and you work on them forever and you're always

finding something new in them. And so this is like a snapshot of a stage, you know, of what your thinking is...It's almost like a stage of life...It would be like seeing when you were 20 years old and looked at your life, and when you were 30 years old...So when you are 20, 30, or 40, to look where in your life you are. And you know, at each of those ages, you have plans and goals, and pursue them...

The quartet, like a person, progresses through a life course demarcated by discrete stages: "It's almost like a stage of life...like seeing when you were 20 years old and looked at your life...So when you are 20, 30, 40, to look where in your life you are." Erik Erikson, well-known for the psychosocial stage model of human development, grounds his theory in the "epigenetic principle" of physiology:

Somewhat generalized, this principle states that anything that grows has a ground plan, and that out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy, until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole (1968, p. 92).

The quartet informant hints at something similar when he says: "And you know, *at each of those ages*, you have plans and goals and pursue them." Like Erikson, the violist alludes to particular tasks that attach to successive stages of the quartet career. I asked the informant to give an example "of what would represent the 20's, or 30's or 40's in quartet life." He responded:

Viola: I guess what I would come up with would be in terms of interpretation. Let's say, different things become meaningful when you are younger. Often, an easy generalization, but often, vitality and facility and, this kind of, let me think of the right word here, not superficial gloss, but kind of a high profile seems to be of interest. As young people have, and as you grow, those things remain important. Yesterday,

recording opus 131 (of Beethoven), we wanted to be sure to have power and strength and all of that, but, in the deeper moments, things begin to change and evolve and you probe, after having a life with successes and failures and disappointments and surprise moments that go wonderfully, you know, things take a different shape as you grow. You know, I'm in my middle forties myself and what those influences are, even now, will be deepened and burnished in another 15 or 20 years as a performer.

"Things take a different shape as you grow," he says, referring to shifts in perspective that occur from stage to stage. "Vitality," a young quality, may still remain important in later stages, but as the quartet matures, new needs develop: "You probe, after having a life with successes and failures and disappointments and surprise moments that go wonderfully." The informant shifts from description of the quartet to his own life-stage in making the developmental analogy: "I'm in my middle forties myself, and what those influences are, even now, will be deepened and burnished in another 15 or 20 years." Metaphorically, the quartet is viewed as a growing person who develops new needs, tasks and strengths in each evolving stage of development. From this perspective, "high profile," "facility" and "vitality" are central to early stages of quartet while the capacity "to probe," without losing vitality, is experienced as an end-stage goal.

In-utero. An experienced musician depicts a womb-like scenario while recounting the beginning of his first professional quartet:

Cello: We worked really hard, did the competition and then we won and we stayed together. We had no intention, no idea what it meant to be a quartet, or special or anything. It was a really good quartet,

really good chemistry musically, very intense. And so, right away, we were sort of a quartet. Once we won that competition, we got a lot of encouragement from the school, a lot of support. Kind of an ideal way to start it off. First of all, we didn't have to make a living. We were still in school and had financial support. Then we had coaching, a lot of support, and advice given to us from (our mentors), kind of like a safe...my mom calls it - the womb, you know, we weren't out in the real world yet. And then our debut was sponsored...a really nice way to start...But we didn't really know what we wanted, what it was to be a quartet. We were so young!

Like an embryo, the quartet grows within a protective, nurturing environment -- "the womb"; it is not yet fully formed or able to survive alone "in the real world."

Winning a competition gives birth to the quartet with the support of coaches who act like midwives, attentively bringing the quartet into the world.

Another quartet describes their professional beginning in similar womb-like terms:

Interviewer: When did you feel that you were an ensemble?

Cello: It took a while. I remember our first concert was in New Jersey somewhere, and there were about five people there. And we went into this hall. So we moved it to a room because it was really silly playing in an auditorium with five people, maybe there were ten, and I do not remember exactly how it happened...

Violin: I think it was the (competition); we entered and won the competition.

Cello: But we gave our debut before that.

Violin: I know, but at least in my mind, I wasn't thinking this was a quartet that was my future.

Cello: Until 19___. We decided we wanted to give a New York debut...we entered the competition the same week and we won that competition and they gave you a manager. And we started playing like 60 concerts a year...we played a lot of concerts and we were out on tour and having the kind of life that you sort of think you are supposed to have when you want to be a touring performer. And we were out there touring, living in hotels and eating in crummy restaurants...Sounds great, doesn't it? (laughter)

Violin: You are pretty sheltered. (the competition award) is quite a sheltering experience because they are sort of your manager/parent in terms of building your career. You are sort of free from any of the responsibilities. They are leading you. They plug you in. They do not have to sell you really cause they have a whole network of community concerts of their own which they just put you in.

This description of being "sheltered" and "parented" in the beginning stages of quartet life by the sponsoring organization echoes the fetus metaphor used by the previous informant.

Infancy and toddlerhood. A formative ensemble describes its current career stage as an early developmental period within a long life course. When asked how a quartet career develops, the ensemble members replied:

Cello: We are trying to figure it out ourselves! What do we need to do to develop a career? We are in the beginning stages, and things are starting to happen even now!

Violin: We're in the very first steps of getting started.

Interviewer: What makes you say that you are in the first steps?

Violin: Just seeing groups like the Guarneri and Tokyo that have been around 25 years and longer! The Guarneri have been together now over 30 years, probably, and that just makes me feel like we're babies, just a fledgling group still.

This formative quartet, a "baby" in comparison to parent figures like the Guarneri or Tokyo, describes itself as an excited toddler taking its first steps and hoping to imitate its parents. This metaphor of early striving is reinforced by the fledgling image, a bird acquiring the feathers needed to fly. The Guarneri and Tokyo, mature and successfully established ensembles, impress upon the new quartet the many stages of development yet to come.

Individuation: Quartet growth from dependence to autonomy. Quartet members, of course, are neither infants nor children but skilled musicians who bring achieved competencies to a special form of music-making. Numerous quartets begin, however, through intensive training with a mentor, or series of mentors. The mentoring relationship, as a result, is often a profound experience that influences a quartet for life.

Anecdotes about the mentoring relationship mirror the psychological paradigm of separation-individuation: ensembles separate and individuate from a mentor-ensemble "matrix" fueling quartet growth and development. Individuation, as a psychological concept, refers to the process of differentiating and separating one's self from the personhood of a significant other upon whom one depends for survival and growth (Mahler et al, 1975). Mahler's model, of course, is a

theoretical construction about the psychological birth of the human infant and is intended to organize understanding about *child* development. Informant anecdotes have a curious resonance, however, with conceptual aspects of individuation, even though the people involved are adult.

The separation-individuation process is encapsulated, for example, in the following short anecdote by the violinist of a formative ensemble:

Violin: If we are working on a Beethoven string quartet, when we are first starting out, if we are coaching with people, I think we try to do everything they are telling us. We try it, we take it, we say, "Well this guy has 30 years of experience. We're gonna listen to him; he knows what he is saying." And then, after we've worked on the piece awhile, it might be months, it might be however long, we start to come to our own, to have our own grasp on the piece. And that's when we start to think, "Well, this works and that doesn't."

Initially, coaching is incorporated whole and undigested by the quartet. Then, through a process of differentiation and self-discovery, the quartet establishes its own "grasp" and holds-on to its own interpretation.

The following discussion with an established quartet musician reveals how a growing quartet learns to "wean" itself from mentors, establish group autonomy and, ultimately, arrive at a unique ensemble identity:

Interviewer: How important do you feel coaching is?

Cello: In the past, it was extremely important to us. Lately, this past year, due to various reasons, sometimes a lot of time restrictions, we haven't done as much coaching. Plus, at some point, you like to wean yourself off the coaches and just make

all the musical and technical decisions on your own.

Interviewer: At what point is that?

Cello: I couldn't put like a, after a certain amount of years, I couldn't put a number of years...I would never want to stop going to a coach, because I think even great quartets sometimes play (for someone), you know, a fifth pair of ears hears it differently than someone who is right in the middle of the quartet. So I don't think you ever outgrow going to a coach. But in the beginning, we used to have weekly coachings. We would often have one particular coach that heard us all the time, and maybe once in while we would schedule something with somebody else who didn't really know us very well to get a fresh approach. And then, as the years went on, we developed a nice relationship with the _____ Quartet, ...we had a lesson every week and that was really a big influence on us...We did about three years of study with them and since then, we've gone to various people to play once or twice, like (for) different members of other quartets like the _____ Quartet or the _____ Quartet. It's just always extremely valuable to hear what everybody has to say.

Interviewer: What makes the coaching important in the beginning?

Cello: There's a lot of work you have to do on blending in the string quartet where you sort of need a pair of outside ears to tell you how to go about doing it until you can actually hear it yourself. You can often do things with three people playing and the fourth person sits out and gives their opinion...Also the technical things, sometimes you think you're playing something together and you're really not.

Interviewer: Am I hearing you correctly when you say it's really important in the beginning?

Cello: Yeah, it is, extremely important in the beginning. I think you get much more experience, you learn how to divorce yourself from the sound as you are playing, as you go on. I don't think we were that able to do it in the beginning because it's new, you are so much concentrated on your own part. It takes a while to develop the sense that you can stand back and listen to really what is going on, to what you are hearing, as opposed to what you think you're hearing.

Interviewer: What does it mean to you that you felt you were "weaning yourself" from coaches?

Cello: Well I thought it was a good step because I think, even with your private lessons, or if you go to a coach, they tend to give you very strong opinions and maybe make musical decisions for you. And, I think, again in the beginning, that's extremely important because you are very inexperienced at playing in a quartet and it's good to have somebody guide you through a piece and tell you what to do with the music. But then it gets to the point where you want to interpret the music more yourself and you get more confident in making your own decisions musically with knowledge that you can stand behind those decisions and you can back up the reasons for wanting to make those decisions without relying on somebody saying, "Oh yes, you are right!" You know, you get to the point where it's just a more mature way of approaching the music where you can just say, "I really feel that this is the way that this phrase should be played," and I would stand behind that, at this point in time. So, that would probably be, could be, in disagreement with a coach, so you want, at some point, (to) be able to have that confidence in your own ability to interpret a piece of music. Because when you play something, too, the more that you feel that you have put yourself into it, I think the more convincing it is when it comes out for the public to hear. You have a little more confidence in what you are doing.

Interviewer: And where do you feel that the quartet is in this process that we are talking about?

Cello: I think we've gone very far with that now and that we are much more capable of making those decisions and being very convinced about them. Not that we don't change them. And the next time we play the same piece, we might change them. But then again, we have the confidence to change them. We don't think that we were wrong in playing the piece a certain way the previous time. We realize we have the freedom to change the piece because music is an interpretive art, so, you have that flexibility in just saying, "Now, for this reason, I feel it should be..." If you listen to the recordings of the Juilliard or Tokyo quartet from twenty years ago, and then from ten years ago, and then a current one of the same piece, you're gonna hear a different piece because the players have matured and made decisions that are different.

Interviewer: What I am really hearing from you, though, is not only what the product is, but what your sense is in creating it, whether you are following the lead of the coach or you, feeling that you have identified your own voice and feel capable of standing behind it.

Cello: Right.

Interviewer: Is that a goal for a quartet to reach?

Cello: I think it's a goal, definitely. Some people may reach it in a shorter amount of time, others may be extremely confident right in the beginning of starting to play and others might not. I know, just from speaking to a lot of friends in young groups, as we've met them along the way, everybody goes to coaches and then tries to become more independent.

Interviewer: Are you aware of when that independence occurs?

Cello: In some ways, it becomes obvious because you think, "O.K., we are starting this new piece, this new Beethoven quartet, and we're going to play it in five months on a big concert. So we'll do the preliminary work and as it goes along, should we go to a coach or should we not?" It's a little hard to explain. I think I remember there was a certain amount of time a couple of years ago where we said, "Maybe we should just keep trying to make decisions on our own." And actually, our product became much better. So that if, closer to the concert time, we decided to go to a coach for an overview of the entire piece, the pieces were in much better shape than they were a few years ago, they were really much more solid, much more musically thought out. And then, maybe the coach would even take you to another level that you weren't at before, or say, that it's just really, now it's becoming your product.

Interviewer: Two years ago, you got to that point because?

Cello: Why did we get to that point?

Interviewer: Well, that you felt it was important because...

Cello: It was important because we felt like we were always relying and couldn't, we would come to a standstill on a point, and say, "Well, we'll ask so and so when we go to the coaching!" And then we realized that that's not the answer. We are four intelligent adults, we've been playing for a long time. There's no reason we can't come up with a decision that would be satisfactory to all of us at this point in time and that we could feel that we are all getting the musical satisfaction out of playing the phrase that way or the entire piece that way.

Interviewer: And by sticking to that kind of a decision, what were the results?

Cello: I think the results are that we are more convincing when we play a concert. Our musical ideas are more convincing. And from an individual standpoint, I think that it's more satisfying when you play something that you've decided should be played a certain way, as opposed to somebody telling you that this sounds better, and in your heart, you don't really agree with it, but you would play it because you defer to their judgments.

This established quartet musician describes a process of group development in which the young quartet initially relies upon mentors, begins to discover its own voice, then chooses to work more autonomously. As a result, the quartet experiences greater self-confidence and a strong identification with its own product.

What gives this process the particular flavor of "separation-individuation" - of differentiating oneself from a significant other and clarifying one's own boundaries and identity -- is the descriptive language evoking childhood. The informant begins, for example, with a direct analogy to *weaning* ("At some point, you like to wean yourself off the coaches and just make all the musical and technical decisions on your own") which signifies the developmental transition between dependence on the sustaining parent to greater separation and self-reliance. Without this transition, the quartet would remain, metaphorically, like an infant symbiotically suckled at mother's breast. As the informant says, "If you go to a coach, they tend to give you very strong opinions and maybe make musical decisions for you." Although this tendency to "do for" the quartet is initially needed, the quartet develops an impulse to be more self-directive: "We felt like we

were always relying (on the coach) and couldn't." Psychologically separating from mentors is viewed as a normative process of group maturation: "Everybody goes to coaches and then tries to become more independent."

Adolescence and identity formation. Other capacities emerge, however, that propel group individuation: the ability to "disagree" with the coach, to develop one's own voice, to be flexible, rather than categorical, with musical interpretation, and to stand behind musical decisions with conviction. The quartet must no longer "defer" to mentors and can embrace its own ideas. As a result, the group *differentiates, mobilizes its autonomy, and individuates* from the orbit of the mentor -- something not only akin to primary separation-individuation, but to adolescent passage as well. As the ensemble's self-confidence and autonomy grow, a group identity emerges.

The loosening of bonds in the mentor relationship and the search for separate identity are illustrated in this statement by an established quartet player:

Violin: We have tried to distance ourselves from the (mentoring) Quartet. We do not consider ourselves clones of the _____ Quartet. We feel like, if anything, in terms of our technique and our sound and our style, we have actually gone a different direction!

And the formative quartet quoted below acknowledges their autonomy from primary mentors:

Cello: First of all, coaching was a big time saver because rather than try to figure out things on your own, someone will make a suggestion.

Violin: I never really thought about (needing coaching) in the beginning because it was just something that you did - you did coaching! But I think now we can say if we do not have a coaching for six months, we're not going to completely freak-out and be scared to play. We will be OK. But, at the same time, it is always helpful. You can always sort of say "Well, I disagree with that guy, it's nonsense!" But, it's always great to have outside ears whom you trust.

Cello: We don't have such an intense relationship with anybody at this point, in terms of playing with someone every week, so we do not feel like we need them (coaches).

This quartet has separated from mentors and feels capable of functioning well without them. This quartet also experiences a distinct *group identity*:

Violin: We are getting concerts, we are getting invited back. We are successful in terms of getting and playing concerts. And we are recognized...as having somewhat of an individual approach to performance: *They call it "Flash Four!" There is something different in our group than a lot of other quartets, whether that is a good or bad thing, but it's something. So there is some sort of individuality to the group that is recognized sort of universally where we go. (*Fictional nickname to preserve confidentiality)

The first violinist describes the process of *group identity formation*:

Violin: I don't think the quartet had anything stable or solidified until maybe the last year, our third year together...I think things started to gel. We had something that was recognizable as the "____ Quartet" approach to music and performance. Like it or hate it, it was something that was identifiable.

In this case, quartet identity arises simultaneously with individuation from mentors.

Another informant, from a mentoring quartet, describes how the quartet differentiates itself within the broader context of peers and critics only to move-on to the development of a *group personality*:

Viola: When you make a stand and demonstrate your opinion, it's not everyone's opinion...Early on, there can be a tendency to try to win approval, to say, "Well, let's see, I bet they would like to hear this way!" -- the audience, the critics, your colleagues, teachers. There can be a tendency -- and this is the case in every field, I think, and in personal life also, you feel like, "Gee, I better do it this way because that's how it's supposed to be!" And as you become better and more confident, it's like, "Well, you know, I believe *this*, I am committed to *this*. I am just going to do it that way eventhough nobody else does. And then you take heat for it...In our quartet, any ideas that come up, we try them. Because we know if everybody does it the same way, it can work. Then it becomes a matter of *group personality*...it's what works best for us, how do we, as a group personality, perceive this particular passage.

An in-group identity emerges as the quartet diverges in growth away from conformity to peers and critics. In standing alone, the quartet develops a "group personality."

The anecdotes surveyed reveal a maturational growth pattern for quartets expressed in metaphorical life-cycle stages of the individual: as embryo and infant, as a separating and individuating toddler, and as a more competent, fully-individuated, and autonomous person with a sense of self-identity. Another stage of life-cycle development, *generativity*, is described next. Since generativity breeds new life, these metaphors are also categorized as "seed" metaphors.

SEED METAPHORS: QUARTET GROWTH AS GENERATIVITY

Interviewer: How would you compare your goals when you first began with your goals now?

Viola: At that time (beginning), it was all learning and growth and personal awareness, and in this stage now, for me it's like twenty three years later, it's still about learning and growth and interpretation but included with it now is commitment to pass it on as well. Teaching is very important. Sharing the music, sharing how to make the music.

(violinist from a mentoring quartet)

Erik Erikson writes in Identity and the Life Cycle that "generativity is primarily the interest in establishing and guiding the next generation" (1980, p. 103). As quartets reach maturity, mentoring becomes a vehicle for generativity: passing-on musical knowledge, nurturing young talent, and completing their own cycle of development. This developmental need to propagate new quartet life is expressed simply and sincerely by the informant above: "Twenty-three years later, it's still about learning and growth and interpretation, but included with it now is commitment to pass it on as well...sharing how to make the music."

Another quartet, together fifteen years, expressed particular commitment to provide mentorship and to create opportunity for young quartets to grow with abandon:

Violin: Summers are taken-up going to festivals, and alot of them involve teaching, coaching young quartets. And we found that we were very interested in working with young ensembles and loved coaching young ensembles...We feel the younger groups should have more time for studying,

the emphasis (of summer festivals) should be more on this... We always talked about having our own festival where we would do it... Of course, it has taken us a couple of years to really refine it and it has changed over the years, but it basically was founded around our ideal of knowing when we were young students, of having the need as youngsters, as a young quartet, to just have 24 hours a day with total focus on quartet material. We were interested in a certain age of people, college students and graduate students, post graduate students, preformed quartets who really wanted to make a go of it and were very serious about doing nothing else, who were starting on a career. We had some quartets that were already launched on careers but who just needed some uninterrupted time where they could just go NUTS! over quartet repertoire, and just live the quartet life 24 hours a day.

The wish of this quartet to nurture others is made more poignant by the fact that the quartet lacked extended support in their career:

Violin: We had no advice, and we did not really know what we were doing, and we just had to learn. It was terrifying and a lot of work, a tremendous amount of work. Our position was unusual and not ideal. I do not recommend this for anybody.

Perhaps it was this early struggle that motivated the ensemble to establish a supportive retreat for others. In essence, this quartet created what was denied them, and, in doing so, created a legacy of opportunity for future generations.

One informant, a member of a mature quartet soon to retire from professional life, discussed quartet development as the capacity for generativity and integrity in old age. Here, generativity is broadened to include political

activism and the support of the arts in general:

Viola: There are...all kinds of ways (to think of development). Some are simply professional ways - with dealing with presentors and managers, - community ways, service to music as teachers, to students - service to music as teachers in an organization that wants to maintain excellence, involvement with Chamber Music America. You know, there is a real importance that way. As you do each of these things, you have to be touched by them. It is not possible not to be. And that deepens you as a person and as a committed player in the field. I mean "player" in all sense of the word. And so, growth and development comes with it. Integrity is part of it too...I think now there's a different commitment toward the teaching aspect and the passing on of information and sharing. The performance is still, of course, important; the depth of interpretation is as important as it ever was, but now, with twenty plus more years of thinking about it. Then, commitment to the field in general. I mean, talking about the musical climate today is a mess! We got people in Washington that want to close it down more, which is alarming. And so, if something's got to be done, we, all in the quartet now, we need to make sure that somebody is minding the store so that the ones that want to pull the plug on everything don't kill the art! Twenty years ago, I would have felt like, "Well, that's not for me right now." And now, it's coming to be my turn, our turn, all of our turns...I feel like now I am in a position to do something. So, I gotta light a fire under myself and getta move on. And that is changing the way that the quartet has taken a stand as we are concluding.

The informant is actively committed to preserving chamber-music institutions and feels a sense of social role that he did not feel at an earlier stage: "And now, it's coming to be my turn...and that is changing the way ...the quartet has taken a stand

as we are concluding." At this stage, the informant feels commitment toward political action as a way to create opportunity for others and to preserve the art itself. This quartet, in fact, created a special endowment to train young quartets. As it retires from performing, this mature quartet acts to generate new quartet life and to preserve the art for future generations.

ELEMENTS OF THE GROWTH METAPHOR

Growth metaphors contain one or more of the following elements:

- 1.) **Growth as drive:** growth is a quartet life-force.
- 2.) **Growth as medium and catalyst:** quartet as a kind of "greenhouse" in which individual and group growth are accelerated.
- 3.) **Growth as transaction:** individual growth spurs group development as group development spurs individual growth.
- 4.) **Growth as learning:** quartet provides never-ending learning experiences that lead to mature musical insight.
- 5.) **Growth versus stagnation and decay:** the quartet in a continuous struggle against an innate force of decline.
- 6.) **Growth as attunement:** the quartet grows in unity, transcending individual difference.
- 7.) **Growth as differentiation:** group maturity serves to further the individuality of its members.
- 8.) **Growth as life-cycle:** quartet is viewed as a series of stages akin to human development: fetus, infancy, toddlerhood, adolescence and maturity. In the process, separation-individuation occurs and group identity is formed.
- 9.) **Growth as generativity:** a mature developmental stage of the quartet in which knowledge, tradition and values are passed along, and young groups are nurtured by mentors. Hence, mature quartets nurture the young and preserve the art form.

THE MARRIAGE METAPHOR

Viola: I don't think you have that intense a relationship except in a marriage...I don't have too many relationships like that with my friends, that kind of day by day by day, making decisions together...So, to come into a group that is musically so satisfying and is personally so happy, to me, that is what it is all about.

INTRODUCTION

"Our favorite line about a string quartet," one player quipped, "is that it's like a four-way marriage with all of the disadvantages and none of the advantages." Another earnestly confessed: "I think marriage is easier, *there is only one*...(in a quartet) you have *all of these relationships* to negotiate." Quartet players referred frequently to marriage -- both positively and negatively -- in descriptions of their lives together. In fact, the "line" that a string quartet offers problems of a marriage without the benefits was commonly voiced, though its actual meaning remained enjoyably enigmatic in the telling. As a metaphor, however, marriage captured the intensity, commitment, intimacy, drama, hard work, pleasure and personal satisfaction quartet members experienced in relationship.

For those who viewed the quartet through the lens of marriage, the quality of group relationship was paramount. At the deepest psychological level, a well-functioning quartet marriage was viewed as a "safehouse" (Fox, 1993): a protective and nurturant environment permitting strong and caring bonds to develop between people. Such strong bonds of relationship make the quartet "a group that is musically, so satisfying and personally, so happy."

COURTSHIP, COMMITMENT, AND MARRIAGE

Cello: The violist was my best friend. When the violist left, it was very difficult to choose a new person... We had to interview them, take them to dinner, prepare a little concert with them and then make a decision that would stick with us for life -- basically get married on two days' courtship.

Selecting a new quartet member is likened by this informant to choosing a mate after an abbreviated courtship. The implications are profound. Players are not hired mechanically or simply evaluated on technical competencies; they do more than fill a prescribed musical role. The Marriage metaphor, in particular, conceives the quartet as an enduring union of four intimates who feel responsibility for one another. At heart, *relationship* and *commitment* are at stake. Michael Tree of the Guarneri says:

Viola: Being in a quartet is almost like being in a marriage, and in some respects it's harder than a marriage. I had played quartets off and on for many years, but I never realized just how great the sense of commitment must be on the part of every player in a permanent ensemble. As a solo artist or an orchestra member, it would certainly be easier to choose not to participate in a particular tour or to cancel a concert in the middle of a tour if one isn't feeling well. As a member of a quartet, you come to realize that you're responsible for other people's reputations and livelihoods as well as your own. One begins to feel a deep personal commitment offstage as well as on (Blum 1986, p. 24).

Two members of an established quartet express the same idea in their short exchange:

Violin: There is something about when you are playing in a group, there is a tremendous amount of support there...

Viola: And also, I feel a responsibility to the rest of the group, not to let them down.

Mutual support and commitment go hand-in-hand, echoing Michael Tree's reflection that quartet members share a "deep personal commitment, offstage as well as on."

The analogy of courtship holds, as well, for those eligible players who audition to join a quartet. One informant, wooed by several quartets, describes this sensitive personal process as one might the psychological interior of a couple relationship:

Viola: When you are auditioning for a quartet, you want the other people to like you, like your playing, especially if you respect them. (But) you have to keep asking yourself, "Am I happy in this quartet...do I fit in, does my style of playing fit in, are they responsive to me, am I going to be happy here?" I never asked myself that. I just worried about how I appeared (nervous laugh)...You have to think so quickly...and there are so many things to do. It's hard to remember to ask yourself if you are actually happy doing it. I think a lot of people must enter marriages or enter relationships that way -- so concerned about how it is going. (But) are you asking yourself, "Is this comfortable, Am I happy?"

The violist recognizes how the urge to please others may trump her own personal needs, a common pitfall when beginning relationships. Through her previous quartet "marriages," however, the violist learned to counter the strong desire to please and be liked by more carefully considering her own needs for personal comfort and happiness.

The importance of reciprocity and personal accommodation within the group emerges in the violist's comparison of two quartet relationships:

Viola: From the ____ Quartet, I learned that if I want to be in a quartet and audition a new person, I would really try to be open to changing the quartet to a new person. Because I felt that the ____ had its own way of playing and they really wanted me to fit into their way of playing. I didn't feel like there was a lot of flexibility or interest in what I had to bring. And so I never felt a part of it, even from the beginning, like I was trying to fit into something that was already in motion. They would just say, "We want to do it this way, and we want these bow strokes." They had their style and they just expected us, the new people, to fit in. I had alot to offer myself! And I didn't feel like I wanted to just, somehow conform, I wanted to have a give-and-take. I feel like I have that in the ____ Quartet. In that quartet, they were immediately interested in what I had to give. Immediately, there was a feeling of being welcomed and being interested: "Oh, here's a new personality, this is different! How are we going to change?"

"Feeling a part, give-and-take, being welcomed," *these* are the primary considerations guiding the violist's choice of quartet partners.

Personal satisfaction is valued over commercial success in the Marriage metaphor:

Viola: Both of those (past) quartets had so much success, but if it wasn't a happy life together, than it ultimately didn't matter! I'm always telling (others), just think about the playing and getting along; don't worry about all those other things...In the ____ Quartet, we were unhappy inside, and it never worked.

Despite the acclaim and awards garnered in past quartet relationships, the violist opts for a "happy life together."

Like marriages, quartets "break-up":

Viola: I came from quartets that were very successful. Career wise, we had no sort of concerns. (But) the first one broke up...and the second one was really going very well but there were problems personally and musically...it broke up...it couldn't be a happy experience.

The violist's past experience of public success coupled with private unhappiness shapes her current priority on personal relationship:

Viola: To come into a group that is musically so satisfying and is personally so happy, to me, that is what it is all about...people love the music and together, there is an energy. *That is it!* I hope we can guard, we can cherish that (because) that's not easy to get, as easy to get as success and concerts and career.

There is an air of romantic love here, something like the lyric from *Some Enchanted Evening*: "Once you have found her, never let her go!"

Another musician, from an established quartet, speaks about quartet "chemistry:"

Viola: I may get emotional here. It seems to me that when I came here to play with them, that we had just great chemistry personally. And that really turned me on too! You play with some people, and it just doesn't click. If it didn't click, I would not be here. That's really important to me.

The tone is personal and sexy. Quartet "chemistry," like passion in a marriage, is a "turn on." Relationship determines the violist's decision to join the group: "If it didn't click, I would not be here."

A musician from an established quartet was perpetually frustrated by the unequal distribution of tasks. Veteran members were so resistant to assuming administrative responsibilities that the *newest* and least-experienced quartet member was immediately assigned them:

Viola: (Angrily) She was a brand new member too! I mean, you don't want to (do that). It's like getting married to somebody and you say, "O.K., now *you* take over the running of the house!

To the violist's dismay, the quartet did not balance love and work equally -- illustrating perhaps one of the "disadvantages" of a quartet's "four-way marriage." This unequal division of labor, however, may fit someone else's concept of marriage, since marital roles may be seen differently by different people! Analogies to marriage, therefore, may require careful scrutiny for bias.

Accepting differences and appreciating the unique personhood of partners, however, are elements of quartet life within the Marriage metaphor. The topic of the following anecdote is musical interpretation, but the concern is focused on mutual respect and understanding:

Viola: You can't be idealistic...because it's never going to sound how you want it to sound. It's going to be a combination of four different ideas and four different people. So it's a mixture; it's never going to be this thing you have in your imagination...like in a marriage -- if you have expectations of what it should be like, instead of letting it be that way, you go into it and say, "Oh, look! Look what's happening! This is interesting, this is beautiful in itself, this isn't how I feel it, but this is also good." You get to realizing that there are many ways to make music, many different ways. The bottom line

is, if you respect all the people in the group, you can usually see their ideas as valid.

Respect for the personhood of partners is a pre-condition for the exchange of ideas. And like mature marriage, quartet decisions emerge through a caring, empathic mutuality, a capacity to look beyond self and experience the perspectives of others.

A musician from a mentoring quartet expressed similar thoughts:

Viola: There are moments when we still aren't wise! There is a great phrase, "so soon old and so late smart!" (laugh) One of the things that needed to evolve (was) the nature of how to deal with each other...It has to do with taking care of the other person, the other person's space, not violating their integrity...in a quartet situation, we do not finger point, we do not blame. There are so many ways to do things, and nobody is trying to do it badly. So if you turn and say, "Gee, that sounded terrible!" They are not trying to sound terrible! Right away, it forces the other person to become defensive, unless they are in a religious state, which, believe me, we are not! And intonation, that is a huge can of worms...In a string quartet, you can play tempered, you can lead tones, you can have higher leading tones, you can have a lowered seventh, you can have thirds that people hear differently, some people like a high third, some like a low third. And so, is that right or wrong? Boy, I don't know, but it sure can cause heat! You know, we still have that, we get into things on all points. But, it is always done with awareness of the other person. Not all groups are this way. Some groups are real "in your face" kind of guys and they just, they would hate what we do, they would probably feel we are too tiptoeing around or something. Our joy is looking for the way that is right for this group, for this combination, for the chemistry of the group.

The violist expresses concern for each quartet member and for the "chemistry of the group." The interpersonal demands are as personal and intense as in marriage. People are charged with "taking care of the other person's space," preserving each other's integrity, appreciating the difficulty of the task, and respecting each person's struggle. The informant, understanding the sensitive and complex nature of intragroup relations, speaks of the quartet *as a marital system* requiring the same tasks of personal guardianship needed to keep a marriage healthy and intact. This informant, in fact, realized the similarity between quartet and marriage more fully after attending a couples' workshop with his wife: "It reinforced things that I teach to my private students and that I teach as a chamber music coach and that we actually do in the quartet!"

QUARTET MARRIAGE AS A "SAFEHOUSE"

Musicians who compare the quartet to marriage emphasize acceptance, respect, support and safety. When a marriage metaphor began to surface with one informant, I asked directly if marriage and quartet were similar. She replied:

Viola: Yeah, Oh gosh! A lot! I would say the kind of acceptance that you have of each other's human frailties...knowing what things you can say that will upset or hurt, and knowing what things you can say to calm them down...make them feel more secure and comfortable...acceptance, patience, showing appreciation, respect, courtesy... respecting others' privacy — all those things.

Establishing this kind of relationship and atmosphere of trust is what Raymond Fox calls a "safehouse" in social work treatment:

a sanctuary...its climate is warm and accepting...Away from a barrage of abuse, criticism, neglect, and rejection, (people) can be free to move deeper into themselves...In an atmosphere of positive expectancy and support, (people) are restored and better prepared with new skills...they have been rejuvenated and have discovered previously untapped resources...a space where (people) can disarm themselves and lay aside their fearfulness (1993, pp. 32-33).

A musician from an established quartet describes the "safehouse" of her quartet:

Viola: When you have respect, you feel safe. I think one of the things for me in this quartet that is so amazing, is that I feel safe in it. I don't get nervous, I know that they are not judging me harshly or looking for things that I am going to do wrong. And I feel really safe, so I can take chances and I can take risks. And it helps my playing.

This musician is able to "lay aside fearfulness" and "move deeper into herself" due to the safety of the quartet. Within the quartet "safehouse," new parts of musical self can be discovered, explored, and shared. The performance of the quartet deepens as a result.

ELEMENTS OF THE MARRIAGE METAPHOR

The Marriage metaphor is essentially about human bonding within the quartet and the quality of relationship that emerges. Two basic subcategories exist:

- 1.) elements associated directly with **marriage**
- 2.) the quartet as a **safehouse** to its members.

The subcategory of marriage is built from references to courting members, feeling

commitment and responsibility, looking for reciprocity, accommodation, and mutual support, choosing personal happiness over commercial success, wanting a sense of "chemistry" with partners, seeking understanding and intimacy yet guarding one's right to privacy when needed and respecting differences. As a "safehouse," the quartet is experienced as a secure, appreciative, caring, and respectful environment that permits players to risk personal and musical exploration, creativity, and growth. Like a strong marriage, the safehouse of the quartet provides the unconditional acceptance necessary to make one feel safe from threat, allowing its members to play more openly and intimately. The Marriage metaphor, at heart then, is about the bonding of intimates into an enduring and caring relationship that furthers the exploration and performance of the music.

THE TAO METAPHOR

As to the Tao itself,
 It is elusive and evasive...
 Yet within it there is a vital force.
 The vital force is very real,
 And therein dwells truth.
 (Chapter 21, Tao-te Ching)¹

Let yourself drift on the stream of Change
 (T'ao Ch'ien, 372-430)²

* * * * *

Violin: It's very difficult to pin down, just the nature of what you are dealing with, four string instruments! It's an amazingly transient and moving sound.

Cello: It was just chance...

Violin: Yes, that is what I mean, we didn't set out to do that.

INTRODUCTION

Unplanned, emergent, transient, intuitive, natural, by chance or surprise -- these are the qualities associated with the "Tao" metaphor, a conceptualization of the quartet as a natural force difficult to define, yet significant nonetheless. As Tao, the quartet's essence emerges as a process that is not amenable to control, prediction, or will. Rather, the quartet emerges from spontaneity, intuition and the flow of events. Quartet development occurs, therefore, as a process of continuous and inevitable change. Since this process cannot be willed or planned, quartet

¹Citation from De Bary et al, 1960, pp. 55-56.

²Citation from Liu, 1962, p. 49.

development is observed more than influenced. Reflection, self-attunement, and willingness to accept what may spontaneously emerge facilitate quartet development.

If anything about Tao is directed, it is *wu wei*, a paradoxical form of inactivity, of "doing nothing." Chinese Taoist philosophers define *wu wei* as a disposition, a capacity to keep oneself from blocking the spontaneous from emerging. The Sinologist H. G. Creel writes:

Do nothing, *wu wei*, is a famous injunction of the Taoists...The sense is...doing nothing that is not natural or spontaneous. The important thing is not to strain in any way...There are many illustrations in the Taoist books of the fact that the highest skill operates on an almost unconscious level...Taoism emphasizes this unconscious, intuitive, spontaneous element (1953, pp. 90-91).

Burton Watson describes how Chuang Tzu, a classic Taoist philosopher, conceptualized *wu wei* :

...not a forced quietude, but a course of action that is not founded upon any purposeful motives of gain or striving. In such a state, all human actions become as spontaneous and mindless as those of the natural world. Man becomes one with Nature...and merges himself with Tao, or the Way, the underlying unity that embraces man, Nature, and all that is in the universe...Chuang Tzu turns most often to the analogy of the artist or craftsman. The skilled woodcarver, the skilled butcher, the skilled swimmer does not ponder or ratiocinate on the course of action he should take; his skill has become so much a part of him that he merely acts instinctively and spontaneously and, without knowing why, achieves success (1964, p. 6).

Tao is more likely to be impeded by conscious effort than directed by it. That Chuang Tzu used skilled artisans as examples of *wu wei* is fortuitous: quartet

musicians, like artisans from Taoist examples, allow their artistic skills to flow in performance. "The best playing that I ever do," said one quartet musician, "is when I feel rather calm, and I can almost sort of detach myself from what I am doing...you sort of put yourself out into the audience and listen to what you are doing on stage." In this detached but reflective state, the musician is both performer and audience, doer and object. He is one with the event.

Some informants demonstrated *wu wei* in their approach to the quartet career. They "actively followed" their own impulses, opened themselves to chance, and allowed intuition to lead. Their career was characterized, therefore, by spontaneity and surprise. The classic book of Taoist writing, the Tao-te Ching, says, "Tao follows the ways of itself" (De Bary et al, 1960, p. 57). These musicians followed the "ways of the quartet," and as they did, operated within the Tao metaphor.

THE ELUSIVE TAO

The Tao metaphor emerged primarily from one quartet who warned me from the start: "We don't talk much, we don't work that way. I'm not sure what you are going to learn from us." This ensemble was aware of their nonverbal way with each other; they were skeptical, moreover, that words could capture their artistic process. Though quite capable of articulating their thoughts, the quartet remained intuitive and nonverbal. They responded spontaneously to ideas and situations without questioning where such responses might lead. As a result, the group maintained an openness to the moment that appeared Taoist. To my ears,

the energy and excitement of their performances emerged from *how in the moment* they functioned as a group. They immersed themselves in process and were acutely aware how their own artistry defied concrete definition.

The first violinist describes continuous change as the essence of the quartet experience:

Violin: There seem to be endless things that can go wrong, and for that reason there are so many things that can be improved upon. It's very difficult to pin down. Just the nature of what you are dealing with, four string instruments! ...just in terms of texture and balance, intonation, sound quality...It's an amazingly transient and moving sound. So, just from that point of view, it's impossible to say, "O.K., this is it... that was perfect, we're happy!" And musically speaking, of course...everything changes.

The violinist defines the quartet as no one else has -- as *sound*. He is most attuned to the phenomenon of "texture and balance, intonation, sound quality." As sound, the quartet experience is elusive and changing; music is *a force all its own*, too "transient and moving" to ever capture perfectly. The production of music by a quartet of instruments, therefore, is like the "stream of Change" characterizing the Tao.

OPENNESS TO THE MOMENT

The openness to the moment exhibited by this quartet is epitomized by their approach to touring. As the quartet's popularity has grown, the number of concerts has increased dramatically. As a result, touring is a practical necessity, though not yet a way of life for the quartet. No one within the quartet is certain they like touring, or that they will continue to tour, even with public demand. The

Tao metaphor is expressed by the quartet's lack of preconceptions about touring and their willingness to accept the experience on its own terms:

Cello: The reaction to the lifestyle (of touring), that is something that you cannot plan for. You could have sat (me) down and told me what it is like, but you have no real concept of what touring is like until you are doing it. And so, how you react to that, and decisions of whether you like it, it evolves...the lifestyle of a quartet -- doing a lot of concerts, and how everybody reacts to that - you cannot plan for it...we are just taking everything we can, and see how we fare.

The quartet remains neutral and open, waiting for the experience itself to guide them. They allow this critical career step to evolve over time rather than plan strategically in response to commercial success.

Rational planning is also anathema to performance. Quartets invoke a Tao metaphor to communicate the spontaneity they desire with each other. The violinist of a formative ensemble states:

Violin: We can't just decide that we are going to play it this way, that's boring! I mean, we have to have an idea what is happening, but then the most important part is really to be open in the moment of the performance, to be listening to what is happening and react to that. And that would take care of any preconceptions!

Being "open in the moment of the performance" is to allow the music to lead. As the Tao-te Ching says: "The great Tao flows everywhere: It can go left; it can go right." To play without "any preconceptions" is to "be listening to what is happening" and to "react to that."

The violinist of an established quartet recognizes the wisdom of *emptying one's mind of preconceptions* and developing interpretations spontaneously with everyone in the group at once:

Violin: I have developed the idea that all four people should come into the first quartet rehearsal of a new piece with completely no preconceptions of the piece. Because we all have the habit, before we first start work on a piece – first of all, I study my part, make sure I can play all the notes, but I study the score, I think about it and I look at it and I think. Then I get all these ideas. I think, "OK, I understand, you know, this is how it goes and this is the phrase and it goes to here." And I come into rehearsal, and all of a sudden, nobody agrees with me. Wait a minute! So, I think I am better off just not having any preconceptions - Come in together and look at it together and grow with it together.

The Taoist poet would agree! Merge with the moment, be spontaneous, let go of "thinking," and embrace unity with others. The individual is encouraged to yield to the Tao of the group.

The Guarneri's approach to performance also exemplifies the Tao metaphor:

Tree: Now, the playing of quartet music is, after all, an organic process. Each of us is influenced by constantly fluctuating circumstances. Every moment of our playing is conditioned by what has just occurred or by what we think is about to occur. It remains creative because just about anything can happen.

Soyer: That's what quartet playing is all about. The whole business is reactive, that's the key to spontaneity. People who know us only from recordings may say that the Guarneri Quartet plays a given piece in a particular way. But it should be kept in mind that a recording only preserves a performance of a work on a certain day at a

certain time. Two days or a week later it may not be just the same; years later it may be very different indeed.

(Blum, 1986, p. 20)

Tree defines performance as an "organic process" composed of "constantly fluctuating circumstances." And Soyer emphasizes spontaneity and change as integral to the quartet experience. These qualities epitomize the Tao metaphor.

Another renowned mentoring quartet attests to the continual evolution of interpretation and meaning in quartet performance:

Viola: What felt good two years ago is different today because of who we have become. And that's the evolution I have been talking about. It vexes our producer because sometimes we don't edit pieces until months after we have recorded the music. And if we have been playing the same repertoire in the intervening months in concert, we change our decisions. And then she sends us this tape, and we say, "Gee, isn't there one where we take more time in this place and don't dawdle over here?" And she writes back to us, "You know, that's how you played it then!" We constantly are probing, looking for new meanings, looking for special sounds. And the way we are able to get it...is through openness and awareness and willingness to try new things.

First, quartet identity is viewed as continually evolving through time; it is neither static nor predictable. Secondly, this evolution occurs through "openness and awareness and willingness to try new things." The quartet is predicated upon change; its identity is mutable; and its musical interpretations reflect the spirit of continual renewal. The producer, in contrast, wants to nail down what the musicians understand always changes.

EMERGENT IDENTITY

The essential spirit of the Tao metaphor is felt in these final two quotations that center on a quartet's discovery of its own identity. This formative ensemble, which led me to discover the Tao metaphor, reveals the intuitive nature of the group and their ability to let the quartet emerge into its own state of being:

Violin: There is some sort of individuality to the group that is recognized sort of universally wherever we go.

Interviewer: How does that compare to when you first began?

Violin: We didn't have our own characteristics.

All: It was terrible!

Violin: We never set out and said, "This..."

Cello: This has evolved...

Violin: Yea, This is a pretty natural thing. We did not sort of start with a certain sense. We did not tame (the first violinist). We did not say, "You cannot move around, you cannot do that, you cannot do this."

Cello: It was just chance.

Violin: Yes, that is what I mean, we didn't set out to do that.

The quartet acknowledges how their discrete identity "evolved" naturally. In fact, they appear to claim no credit whatever for developing this identity, other than not "taming" the first violinist. They let the inner nature of the first violinist spring forth, and the identifiable characteristics of the group followed. The quartet attributes its action, or better, its "non-action," to chance. Paradoxically, the

quartet's capacity to harness "chance" allows chance to lead them.

The phrasing of the final quote exemplifies wu wei and the discovery of one's own nature:

Cello: What Q. does in concerts is...recognized as something quite different than (in) other groups. I don't know where that will go, but it's just a natural evolution of the quartet *finding its performance idea*.

Without conscious effort, the quartet discovers its essential self ("its performance idea"), a paradox understandable within the Tao metaphor. By allowing its own nature to evolve, the quartet discovers itself! The flavor of the Tao is added by the aside: "I don't know where that will go." The quartet demonstrates again its openness to chance, and its appreciation for things to evolve in unplanned and unpredictable ways.

ELEMENTS OF THE TAO METAPHOR

The major elements of the Tao metaphor are:

- 1.) **Tao as elusive:** the quartet is viewed as musical sound that is transient and cannot be pinned down.
- 2.) **Tao as openness to the moment:** the quartet is open to experience without preconception and is responsive to shifts in the moment.
- 3.) **Tao as emergent identity:** by "doing nothing," *wu wei*, the quartet allows its own essence to emerge.

As we have seen, the Tao metaphor is about spontaneity, change, unpredictability, inner nature, openness, surprise and willingness to abandon control. The Tao metaphor speaks to the creative, spontaneous urge of the quartet. Its spirit of

chance and "non-action" contrast starkly with the market metaphor that values planning and assertive competition. Because the Tao metaphor concerns the intuitive apprehension of the world, it is not often voiced by informants. The Tao metaphor, however, fits the artistic tasks of the quartet that require intuition and nonverbal communication.

The quartet career path is unplanned within the Tao metaphor; it is flow. Quartet identity emerges through the capacity of musicians to be spontaneously responsive with each other. The Tao metaphor prescribes only to "do nothing," but demands, at the same time, to apprehend and to accept what emerges.

III. FINDINGS: SYNOPSIS OF METAPHOR CATEGORIES

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study discovered grounded metaphors leading to five distinct theoretical categories: 1) The Sacred Quest, 2) Market, 3) Growth, 4) Marriage, and 5) Tao. These categories of metaphor do not, by any means, define or exhaust all of the possibilities for discovery. Indeed, the hallmark of metaphor is its infinite symbolic capacity, limited only by the creativity of the individual -- or group -- who utilize them. No claim is made, therefore, to have identified all grounded metaphors in use by string quartets. The metaphors uncovered here and the theoretical categories created to organize them, however, do permit further analysis and exploration of their impact on group process.

The conceptual categories constructed from the findings can be used to illustrate how underlying metaphors prescribe and proscribe group goals and tasks, shape the career path of the group, and influence, as well, the perception of events that befall a group. As Gareth Morgan (1986) so aptly writes, "the use of metaphor implies *a way of thinking* and *a way of seeing* that pervade how we understand our world generally" (p.12). Each metaphor category in this study provides a potentially organizing world view from which to frame the quartet's experience and aspirations. The following comparison surveys these unique world views and illustrates how metaphor categories differentially define group goals, group tasks and the nature of group development itself.

Study findings are summarized, therefore, for easier comparison and further analysis. The essential features of each metaphor category are presented in relation to four pertinent areas of inquiry: 1.) The **metaphor** itself, i.e., the basic image underlying the category constructed, 2.) The **group goal(s)** derived from the metaphor, 3.) The **group tasks** required to achieve the goal(s), and, 4.) The **career path** prescribed by the metaphor. This summary helps to render the discrete identity of each metaphor category and to reveal, thereby, the unique elements that each metaphorical perspective brings to understanding different developmental pathways of the group.

COMPARISON CHART OF METAPHOR CATEGORIES

THE SACRED QUEST

- Metaphor:** The quartet is viewed as *mythic hero/sacred entity* on a transformative quest to seek spiritual rewards and values.
- Group Goal:** To discover spiritual musical essences and to impart this sacred discovery to others.
- Group Tasks:** To develop a musical vision that is binding for the group.
 To rigorously prepare and to develop specialized skills.
 To sacrifice ordinary pleasures in favor of realizing a higher calling.
 To survive adversity and maintain commitment to the group.
 To seek and to realize internally held musical ideals.
 To make performance transcendent and to transcend during performance.
- Career Path:** The career is viewed as a journey of trials that transform the group into a unit capable of performing its "sacred" task. The journey includes experiencing a sense of "high calling" and developing a willingness to sacrifice. Entry into rigorous technical preparation is required before engaging the tests of strength that await. Performances enact the spiritual journey to the beyond and permit the revelation of the sacred. Group development emerges through *encounter* with the challenge, the adversity, and the reward of the struggle.

THE MARKET METAPHOR

- Metaphor:** The quartet is viewed as a *business, work site or commodity* existing in a competitive market-place.
- Group Goals:** To compete effectively for significant publics and their investment of resources;
To survive in the economic market-place.
- Group Tasks:** To establish a climate for work within the group.
To develop efficient and productive work routines.
To establish a sense of business partnership among principals.
To increase material rewards for the group by selling its performance product.
To increase public recognition and public investment in the group.
To plan rationally and strategically to secure a strong position in the market-place.
To maintain competitive economic capacity vis-a-vis other groups.
- Career Path:** The ensemble must establish a contract among members to invest in the quartet as a business and must then define the nature of their business roles: as entrepreneurs, as business partners, as independent contractors, as employees. To be competitive as a business, the quartet must establish its capacity to produce efficiently by creating norms for work within the group. Position within the market-place is advanced through winning competitions, increasing the number or quality of concerts, acquiring managers to promote and to sell the group, planning career steps strategically to expand markets and to broaden public investment. Quartet success is measured by position within the economic hierarchy and the public value assigned to the group.

THE GROWTH METAPHOR

- Metaphor:** The group is viewed as a developing organism or person expressing a drive toward growth, maturational unfolding, and regeneration.
- Group Goals:** To stimulate growth of individual group members and of the group as a whole.
To continually learn and to acquire mature insights.
To become "generative" and to impart acquired wisdom to others.
- Group Tasks:** To create a climate of reciprocity and mutuality among principals.
To stay vital by exploring new insights and meanings.
To differentiate while seeking group unity.
To develop autonomy from group mentors.
To develop a distinct group identity.
To serve future generations by assuming mentoring roles.
- Career Path:** Development emerges from an impulse to grow, from the stimulation and protection of mentors and from the unfolding of maturational stages over time in which "youth" gives way to "maturity" and "generativity." Growth is catalyzed by transactions within the quartet and nurtured by caring mentors. Groups develop their own unique identities as they differentiate from guiding mentors and establish a sense of autonomy. In stages of maturity that follow, mentorship is assumed and the "reseeding" of young, budding groups transpires. Development of the group is occurs as a life-cycle process.

THE MARRIAGE METAPHOR

- Metaphor:** The quartet is viewed as a committed, long-term relationship among intimates who function together as a primary group.
- Group Goals:** To establish caring, trusting bonds of affiliation.
To make the quartet a "safehouse" for its members
- Group Tasks:** To develop acceptance and appreciation of individuals.
To establish mutual commitment.
To promote empathy, understanding, respect, and support of each other.
To contain and/or resolve interpersonal differences and tensions.
To develop a sense of attunement toward each other.
- Career Path:** The quartet selects players on a feeling basis and may enact stages of courtship to woo mates into a union. The quartet may then proceed to deeper levels of interpersonal understanding and commitment as a safe environment is established within the ensemble. As individual identities emerge, group members seek to accommodate and understand difference. When interpersonal relationships are deepened, the musical ensemble is richer. Mutual trust and respect drive the group to play its best, take greater risks, and develop musically. The quartet career is evaluated in terms of how it feels to be a member of the group, how accommodating members are to each other, and how safe the group is made for sharing one's innermost self. Group loyalties develop as relationships deepen.

THE TAO METAPHOR

- Metaphor:** Quartet is viewed as an existential process and as a natural force having its own ever-changing character.
- Group Goals:** To be spontaneous.
To allow the essential nature of the group to express itself.
- Group Tasks:** To be reflective and attuned to process.
To allow the unique qualities of individuals and group to emerge.
To restrain from imposing external directives and judgments.
To promote risk-taking, discovery and openness to chance.
To accept what emerges through chance and experience.
To discover the "true" character of the group.
- Career Path:** Group development "emerges" from spontaneity, intuition and chance events. The quartet career, therefore, is not -- and cannot -- be rationally planned, consciously controlled or in any way predicted. Quartet development is observed rather than willed. Through nonverbal attunement to self and group, the group may discover its essential nature and follow its lead.

COMPARISONS OF GROUP CATEGORIES: VALUE SETS

To clearly render the discrete and self-contained nature of metaphor categories, the value dimensions of each category are organized for comparison. Culled from the findings, these different value sets help illustrate, in particular, the underlying prescriptive framework associated with each metaphor category and its distinct world view. The beliefs and norms that emerge from the value base of each category surface in group interaction when group members are establishing norms, setting goals, seeking consensus, and determining salient group tasks. The format utilized in this comparison of metaphor categories is recommended as a data collection and analytic tool when observing group interaction, for it helps one to discern and surface the tacit value assumptions that are enacted in group process (see Diagram 1, p. 120).

METAPHOR	<u>SACRED QUEST</u>	<u>MARKET</u>	<u>GROWTH</u>	<u>MARRIAGE</u>	<u>TAO</u>
NARRATIVE	Mythic heroes on a sacred quest.	Business partners investing as owners in a competitive market-place.	Maturing organism increasing in complexity and depth over time.	Intimates who are responsive, caring, and in union with each other.	An essential essence that is emergent yet ever-changing
VALUES	Sacrifice Adversity Perseverance Transcendence	Efficiency Productivity Competition Planning	Mutuality Interaction Learning Maturity Generativity	Mutual Care Mutual Intimacy Group Safety Group Attunement	Wu-Wei Change Reflection Discovery
POLARITIES	Sacred/Profane Priest/Businessman Sacrifice/Reward	Partner/Employee Long/Short Investm't Work/Friendship	Generativity/Decay Divergent/Convergent Youth/Maturity	Trust/Mistrust Marriage/Divorce Happy/Unhappy	Passive/Active Spontaneous/ Planned
BELIEFS & NORMS	Quartet is a high-calling. Only the chosen succeed. Personal sacrifice serves group ends. Adversity binds the group Transcend worldly, deliver truth to others.	Heavy, long-term investment required Labor and reward are divided equally. Separate business relationships from social ones. Focus on productivity. Plan strategically.	Learning and growth never end. Mutual interactions create growth. Personal growth serves group growth and vice-versa Group integration creates group identity.	Social relationships drive work. Social comfort and sense of mutuality are more important than commercial success.	Cede control Respond to the moment Let the present emerge Observe and reflect to understand and to apprehend

Diagram 1

Comparison of Group Categories: Value Sets

IV. CO-EXISTENCE OF METAPHOR CATEGORIES

INTRODUCTION

In Images of Organization, Gareth Morgan (1986) utilizes metaphors to understand complex organizations. Morgan finds metaphoric perspectives useful for capturing organizational complexity because metaphor dramatically focuses our attention on often surprising qualities -- especially when unexpected images are employed. Morgan adds, however, that any particular metaphor is necessarily "one-sided," providing only partial insights: as one aspect of reality is highlighted, other aspects are forced "into a background role" (p.13).

In this study, the "distinctive yet partial" quality of metaphor is exceedingly important to keep in mind, particularly when individual members of the same quartet emphasize different metaphors. Metaphor categories serve as cognitive-perceptual frames that create discrete, "though partial," world views. As a result, no one metaphor captures the "full" reality. These contrasting world views, however, may collide when operative within one quartet. By invoking different underlying metaphors, individual group members may attribute different meanings to group experience, assign different priorities to group tasks, and, as I have suggested, even pursue diametrically opposite goals for the group. "Hopefully, everybody thinks along the same lines," says one established quartet musician, "If not, you've got a problem, I think, as a group."

Are individual group members, then, always in conflict if they do not share the same metaphor construct for the quartet? Can different metaphor categories

co-exist in any functional or adaptive way within an ensemble? These questions are examined in this chapter.

ONE QUARTET: MULTIPLE METAPHORS

Further textual analysis revealed that any number of metaphor categories may co-exist within one quartet. During group interaction, for example, multiple metaphors may surface. Some informants utilized one metaphor category with consistency and continuity when speaking with me; others shifted between two or more. Multiple metaphors also arose in group interviews, as individual members within the same quartet invoked different metaphors to frame their ideas.

The presence of multiple metaphors within one quartet challenges an ensemble to integrate the potentially conflicting perspectives that arise. I briefly cite selected text from a group interview to illustrate how multiple metaphors come into play and how the group works to integrate the different perspectives taken.

Example. We are already familiar with the first violinist who spoke firmly about the quartet as a business entity, invoking the Market metaphor:

Violin 1: It's a business, really. When you finally realize and decide that this is what you want to do with your life, it's not just something fun to do anymore. You should enjoy it, but it's business.

The violist, hearing the first violinist explicitly surface the metaphor, remembered how he used the business perspective to induct her into the group:

Viola: It's interesting, because when I came in, when I first auditioned, you said, "Now you realize, this is gonna

be a lot of work, this isn't a big social thing." You said something like that to make sure that I knew that this was work.

Interviewer: What did you think after you were told that?

Viola: I appreciated him saying that. I knew that it was going to be work. It wasn't news to me, but it was good that you said that because it established a boundary, and it made me realize that they were serious. Because I had come from quartets that weren't serious, and that gets annoying after awhile.

Obviously, the violist recognized -- and valued -- the norm implicit within the metaphor: "We are a business; we are here *to work*." As I probed, however, the metaphor shifted:

Interviewer: How do you know when a quartet is serious and when they are not?

Viola: Because we're efficient with our time (*Market Metaphor*), whereas with other quartets, we would socialize and we would fight (*Marriage Metaphor*). This way, you go to the rehearsal, and you socialize a little bit, of course...

Violin 2: Because we are very social people!

Violin 1: Yea, (laughter), I mean, we're like family! (*Marriage Metaphor*) It's great, you know. But you know that you are there to do work...(*Return to Market Metaphor*).

Viola: Also, for me, I may get emotional here, it seems to me that when I came here to play with them, that we had just great chemistry personally, and that really turned me on too. You play with some people and it just doesn't click. If it didn't click, I would not be here. That's really important to me. Is that too weird? (*Marriage Metaphor*)

Violin 2: No.

Violin 1: Of course not!

At this point, two organizing metaphors have emerged that appear important to the group: Market and Marriage. Although the quartet members begin the discussion by declaring "business" as the organizing principle for their mutual association, the quality of personal relationship enters consideration. The idea that everyone is close, "like family," leads the violist to articulate the importance of mutual bonding -- of having "great chemistry" and "clicking." The first violinist, who so forcefully defined the quartet initially as a business, ironically claims that "we're like family!" Perhaps business without the sense of family is as untenable as family without a sense of business.

The interview moved to the subject of quartet lifestyle. The second violinist explained that multiple changes in the viola position were due to people's difficulty accepting the inherent lack of security within quartet life. The Tao metaphor emerged as the discussion continued:

Violin 1: Things change in your life, children - whatever, you want security all of a sudden or you want to know that you are going to work from eight to twelve and then be off, whatever it is, get your check weekly and all that stuff...

Viola: You can't be very rigid, you have to go with whatever's in the wind, you know. (*Tao Metaphor*)

Violin 2: Sometimes, something comes out of it. You try to take things as they come along, you never know what's going to happen, where it's going to lead. (*Tao*)

Violin 1: I mean, you try to plan always, but... (*Tao*)

These comments illustrate the Tao well: going with the wind, taking things as they

come, not knowing where it's all leading, accepting change in the face of planning.

During this single interview, the same group placed several metaphors into play: Market, Marriage and Tao. These metaphors "lie in wait" to be invoked as points of conflict or consensus emerge within group interaction. The Market metaphor directs the group "to work" and "to plan"; the Marriage metaphor encourages the group "to bond"; and the Tao, lurking mischievously, requires the group "to accept" and "to yield."

The question now before the quartet is how to organize or integrate these different perspectives. Are all of the metaphors, and the directives implicit within them, embraced simultaneously? Sequentially? Perhaps strategically? Are they assigned different priorities? Are some rejected and others preserved? After a few minutes of further conversation, the first violinist, unsolicited, attempts to integrate some of the metaphors surfaced by the group:

Violin 1: It's hard to prioritize what's important in the group. I think it starts with what (the violist) mentioned first, that things *click*. I think that is the first thing that has to work. Then, there's the playing, of course. Then, the business aspect, that's very important too. That's the one thing that most people have no idea what they are getting into.

Viola: And also respect for other people within the group. Because I've been in groups where it's gotten so that you didn't respect their playing, and then, that starts eating away at you...and when you have respect, you feel safe. I think one of the things, for me, in this quartet that is so amazing, is that I feel safe in it. I don't get nervous. I know that they are not judging me harshly, or looking for things that I am going to do wrong. And I feel really safe, so I can take chances, and I can take risks. And it helps my playing.

In a reversal, the violinist gives first priority to "things clicking" and places business last in the hierarchy of priorities, renewing ambiguity, however, by stating "that's very important too." Intellectually speaking, the first violinist accepts these two metaphors as co-existing, though he expresses an emotional allegiance to the business perspective throughout the interview. The violist, however, re-asserts her own perspective by emphasizing the unconditional acceptance she finds essential to group functioning, a core belief within the Marriage metaphor. A tension is felt as these different perspectives are prioritized within the group. Perhaps, through questioning, we are witnessing a subtle form of "storming and norming," as members of the group sort-out who and what they are, what they think drives the group, and which directives to follow. The outcome of such a discussion would certainly lead to behavioral norms: when -- and if -- the group should "work," "bond," or "go with the flow."

MULTIPLE METAPHORS AND SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

The existence of multiple metaphors within an ensemble increases the potential for internal group conflict if their underlying world views inherently clash. By viewing the group within its situational context, however, the presence and integration of multiple metaphors may serve to *improve* an ensemble's capacity for adaptation and survival. At any point in time, one metaphor may demonstrate a better "goodness-of-fit" with situational context than another. This implies that the more metaphors available for use, the greater the opportunity for developing an adaptive fit with the situation at hand.

To better appreciate the strengths and limitations of metaphor categories in relation to situational context, the adaptive and non-adaptive aspects of each metaphor are briefly considered. This functional analysis may help to demonstrate the potential gain and risk involved in adopting any one particular metaphor and may also suggest how different metaphors may be applied differentially, as determined by context.

Functional analysis of metaphor categories

Sacred Quest Metaphor. The strong symbolic aspects of the Sacred Quest metaphor may serve to motivate and energize the work of the group, particularly when material rewards and public recognition are lacking. The elements of high-calling, spiritual mission, and vision found in this metaphor may heighten group commitment and cohesion, as well, when the quartet experiences adversity and struggle. The metaphor's focus on the "godhead" of the music and on performance as a transcendent experience may synergize the group and its audience, leading to highly expressive and affective performance experiences, the essential task of the group.

The Quest metaphor, however, may be less adaptive as administrative tasks increase and business decisions need to be made, since this metaphor tends to devalue material ends and the "impure" elements of business. The spiritual focus of the Quest metaphor is so strong that external contingencies may be ignored or denied. As a result, the group may not function "in-sync" with the constraints or demands of external reality. While vision and mission are synergistic to the group's

work, the potential to experience a deep sense of failure may be mobilized, as well, by the supra-human expectations contained within the metaphor. The willingness to sacrifice material needs, moreover, may decline over time if the group does not achieve at least some of the transcendent goals it strives for.

Market Metaphor. The Market metaphor promotes instrumental tasks of the group by valuing productivity, efficiency, planning and goal-setting. The Market metaphor not only serves to drive the group toward task completion, but maximizes response to changes in the external environment, thereby allowing opportunity for immediate adaptation by the group. Long and short-range strategic planning is consistent with the metaphor. Such strategic thinking may allow the group to make the most efficient use of time and resources.

The focus on market product, competition and economic success within the metaphor, however, may become easily distorted and lead to a neglect or devaluation of individuals within the group. Expressive group needs may be de-emphasized or overlooked, leading to the loss of group members or to the break-up of the group itself. Market success, therefore, may be achieved at the expense of group integration.

Growth Metaphor. The Growth metaphor permits the adaptive exploration and integration of new ideas. Energy in-puts may be accepted from external systems such as coaches, guest artists, composers, and audience or from energy exchange among group members internally. Since this metaphor values rapid -- even forceful -- give-and-take among group members, quartet work may be fueled

by the ample energy stimulated among members and the corrective feedback that is generated. Group synergy is mobilized by the growth of individual personalities and their transactions within the quartet. Group cohesion is served by the continual re-integration of new ideas by the group. The development of group autonomy and group identity are encouraged within this metaphor which may motivate work and provide an inherently rewarding sense of mission.

The Growth metaphor, however, obligates the group to continually integrate new ideas into the status quo. The "openness" of the system to innovation may overwhelm the group's innate capacity to adaptively integrate change. The pace of change, therefore, may overtake group mechanisms to functionally contain or integrate it. The norm "always to grow" may create pressure to change before the group has adequately consolidated adaptations already in the making.

Marriage Metaphor. The Marriage metaphor emphasizes and promotes internal group cohesion and integration. Group affiliation is valued. Expressive group needs, therefore, are served well. The norm to strengthen interpersonal relationships may buffer the group against the difficulties and disappointments experienced during the career. Performance is served by the unity of feeling and sense of attunement that provides group focus and sense of mission.

Individual expressive needs, however, may be valued over market success and the economic viability of the group as a whole -- leading to poor adaptation to the external environment. Decision-making within the group may be complicated

by the focus on pleasing every individual's needs within the quartet. Internal group conflict may arise, therefore, when consensus does not occur. Groups who lack skills in processing social interaction may also ignore underlying disagreements and tensions in an effort to preserve a "happy" status quo.

Tao Metaphor. The Tao metaphor prescribes a performance ideal -- to manifest creative spontaneity, vitality, and "being" in the moment -- that directs the work of the quartet. The norm to value spontaneity positively sanctions open exchange with other group members and systems within the external environment. The Tao, metaphor, therefore, is useful when rapid responses to environmental change and to life events are required. The Tao, in particular, allows a group to "seize" opportunity as it arises. This open exchange invites group innovation. Group roles, moreover, are not predetermined or rigidified, allowing for flexibility and innovation in group interaction. The flexibility inherent to the Tao metaphor serves groups well that encounter rapid changes in circumstance.

The Tao metaphor, however, invites unpredictability that may rapidly shift a group's homeostasis and force the group to rebalance quickly to remain effective. A feeling orientation to decision-making may blind a group to the strategic value of long-range planning and to the most efficient use of resources. The value placed on nonverbal communication may not serve all groups, particularly when interpersonal tensions arise that require discussion and resolution. A group operating under the Tao must have a high tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity.

Discussion

In considering metaphor categories in relation to situational context, two variables relevant to metaphor use should not be overlooked: *the plasticity of the metaphor* and *the capacity of group members* to apply and expand it effectively. Thus, the metaphor itself must be inherently rich enough to offer prescriptions for new situations. The Market metaphor, for example, contained numerous concepts affording differential application: quartet as business venture, as investment, as long-term dividend, as business partnership, as competitive business etc. Such concepts can be used to frame the time and resources needed to start a group, the sharing of group tasks and rewards, and the mutual commitment needed to persevere. *How a metaphor is applied, however, is also dependent upon the skill of group members to frame situations metaphorically and to expand metaphors creatively.* Self-awareness and self-reflection may be required, so that individuals might identify their own perspectives and the metaphors which inform them.

RECONTEXTUALIZING METAPHOR CATEGORIES USING AGIL

To demonstrate metaphor plasticity and the potential utility of metaphor to frame group process, a final analysis of metaphor categories is presented using Parsons' AGIL schema of functional open-system variables.

In an attempt to capture open-system interactions and their functional interdependence in maintaining the life of a system, Parsons developed four functional categories to describe and explain system functioning (Parsons, 1951). These four categories, abbreviated as AGIL, represent dynamics of system

adaptation (A), system goal-attainment (G), system integration (I), and system continuity, called latent-pattern maintenance (L). *Adaptation* refers to the provision and allocation of resources necessary to accomplish the system's goals and involves securing such resources from the external environment. *Goal-attainment* refers to how and where resources are allocated to achieve the desired ends of the system. *Integration* pertains to the internal regulation and coordination of relationships among system members. And *latent-pattern maintenance* refers to the symbolic and cultural elements that supply the motivation for system members to maintain the system's value structure as well as the institutional mechanisms that provide tension reduction.

To facilitate the analysis of metaphor categories using an AGIL schema, these definitions are recast as questions below:

Adaptation (A): How might the metaphor category be used to frame resource acquisition and energy exchange between internal and external systems?

Goal-Attainment (G): How may the metaphor category be used to frame the primary goal or goals of the group? What means of accomplishing these goals are suggested?

Integration (I): What means does the metaphor suggest to regulate internal relationships?

Latent-Pattern Maintenance (L): What group mission or norms derived from the metaphor help to preserve the group and motivate their continued association?

Diagram 2 (see p. 134) encapsulates the answers to these questions for each metaphor category and the narrative statement that follows explains in more detail.

Metaphor categories recast within the AGIL schema

Sacred Quest : The primary goal of the Sacred Quest is to perform and to achieve a spiritual transcendence in performance (G). This goal requires an exchange of energy between the quartet and its audience which serves to invigorate both systems and to engage both in the sacred ceremony of performance, like priest to parish (A). Members of the quartet bond internally by sharing personal sacrifice and adversity (I). The mission of the quartet, to achieve a spiritual high-calling, is reinforced by the mythic belief that quartet members are "chosen" to perform the "quest" (L).

Market : The primary goal of the Market metaphor is to gain shares in the economic market-place using strategic-planning (G). To gain market shares, the quartet "contracts" with numerous systems in the external environment, such as management, presentors, and composers, to secure resources to perform. The ensemble also competes with other quartets for these resources (A). The metaphor of partnership regulates power relations within the quartet and, ideologically at least, delegates work and reward equally (I). The metaphor of mutual investment and shared enterprise motivate members to maintain the ensemble so that dividends may be collected (L).

	A	G	I	L
SACRED QUEST	Sacred exchange with audience in performance	To find and to deliver the transcendent in performance	Shared sacrifice & adversity	"The Chosen"
MARKET	Contract for exchange with external systems Competition among groups	To gain market shares via strategic planning & public relations	Share work and rewards as equal business partners	Mutual investment/ Shared enterprise
GROWTH	Flow and exchange of stimulating ideas	To mature and to be generative	Synthesize new ideas into greater complexity	"To always grow" Develop group identity
MARRIAGE	Relationship exchange	To develop a union of intimates	Process feelings	To be a marriage of four
WU-WEI	Open flow of events between group and environment	To be spontaneous, in the moment, and emergent via "wu-wei"	Respond openly and spontaneously to each other	Emergent identity

Diagram 2
Metaphor Categories and AGIL

Growth : The primary goal of the Growth metaphor is to mature and to become generative (G). Energy to grow is secured through transactions with other musicians in both the external and internal environments of the quartet. The flow of ideas is the quartet's life source (A). Quartet members become integrated as they exchange and synthesize new ideas with each other (I), ultimately developing a "group personality" or "identity" that defines them and individuates one quartet from another within the external environment (L). The group motto and mission to "Always Grow" serves to motivate work and preserve the quartet (L).

Marriage : The primary goal of the Marriage metaphor is to develop a mutually responsive union of intimates that perform in an attuned way (G). Relationship drives this metaphor, so that energy is secured through the quality of relationships developed with others, both inside and outside of the quartet (A). Interpersonal relationships are regulated through the personal care and respect given to each other (I). As a marriage of four, the quartet is preserved by norms relating to family and relationship (L).

Tao : The primary goal of the Tao metaphor is to discover and live within the shifting musical essence of the quartet during performance (G). The Tao metaphor emphasizes openness to the flow of energy and events that occur in external and internal quartet environments (A). Members regulate their interactions by encouraging their own character to emerge in each other's presence and to accept spontaneous behavior (I). The belief in, and experience of, an

emergent group identity propels the group effort and provides a sense of "soul" to the group (L).

The internal complexity and *plasticity* of the five metaphor categories are demonstrated by recontextualizing them within an AGIL schema. Each metaphor is rich enough to use interpretively with any functional domain and suggests the flexible potential of metaphor for intervention with small, open-systems like a string quartet. Any of the metaphor categories constructed are malleable enough to frame the full spectrum of open-system functioning. Metaphor may be rich in interpretive possibilities and especially useful, therefore, in clinical application, the subject of the final chapter.

V. USING GROUNDED METAPHOR IN CLINICAL CONSULTATION WITH PERFORMING-ARTIST TASK GROUPS

INTRODUCTION

The findings and analysis of underlying metaphor categories co-existing within one quartet raises the need for a mechanism to help quartets, and perhaps other small performance task groups, to integrate and apply multiple metaphors effectively within their group. Without awareness that contrasting cognitive constructs may interfere with the group process of establishing norms, defining goals, delegating tasks, and building group consensus, a quartet may engage in dysfunctional conflict. Quartet members, therefore, may need consultation to help them identify, understand, and utilize the metaphorical constructs available to them. Accordingly, a model for group intervention focusing on issues related to grounded metaphors at play within the group is offered here.

This chapter presents a model for the application of grounded metaphors in task-group consultation with string quartets and other small performance ensembles. Insights about the meaning and use of metaphor arising from individual and family psychotherapists, organizational researchers, linguists and social scientists are utilized to support and develop the model. Although the particular strategies suggested for intervention may vary in usage from group to group, the client-centered nature of the work remains constant and is consonant with social work values respecting individual beliefs, client autonomy and worker-client partnerships. The model's value-base is addressed first and then followed by specific procedures to implement a group-oriented consultation using grounded metaphor.

**METAPHOR GROUP CONSULTATION:
AN INDUCTIVELY DERIVED, CLIENT-CENTERED APPROACH**

Gareth Morgan (1986) brilliantly applies metaphor as an analytic construct in Images of Organization where complex organizations are viewed "as if" they were: machines, organisms, brains, cultures, political systems, psyches, learning systems and instruments of domination. By varying frames of reference, Morgan demonstrates how metaphors illuminate new and different elements of organizational functioning. In so doing, Morgan expands the range of useful metaphors beyond that of "machine" and "organism" traditionally found in organizational theory (Morgan, 1980). Although his approach in Images of Organization is deductive (i.e., Morgan applies metaphors *of his own making* to explore organizational behavior and design), he ultimately advocates implementation of an inductive approach:

The trick is to learn how to engage in a kind of conversation with the situation one is trying to understand. Rather than impose a viewpoint on a situation, one should allow the situation to reveal how it can be understood from other vantage points (Morgan, 1986, p. 337).

Morgan's "conversation" is salient to this study as well as to the consultation model to be presented; group members -- rather than "situations" -- are asked to speak, and the metaphors they construct provide the "vantage points" for client-centered discourse leading to change. It is only by attentive listening -- by "tuning-in" (Shulman, 1992) to symbolic language within the group -- that grounded metaphor can be discovered and applied. Such active listening makes the search

for grounded metaphor inherently client-centered, for the images and metaphors sought are those constructed by group members themselves. By anchoring task-group consultation in grounded metaphors and in the world views they represent, the worker can facilitate and sustain a client-centered "conversation" for change.

The model of group consultation developed here approaches members of the group as "informants" and mirrors the grounded methodology of research employed in this qualitative study. The informant/client, for example, is viewed as the "expert" who is best able to know, evaluate and describe his or her own world. Group members are viewed as "authoring" their experience in metaphor and revealing, thereby, an indigenous, experience-near phenomenology. Reciprocally, the researcher/consultant is an active listener who is poised to learn directly from clients and their symbolic productions. Consultation, therefore, is a mutual partnership in which the worker attunes professional self to the meaning systems of clients and strives to develop "in-group" understandings of their experience.

Appreciation for "in-group" perspectives facilitates entry into the private domain of the artist-group, often a relatively-closed system that members may fear lies beyond the experience and understanding of "outsiders." Attunement to grounded metaphors is key to therapeutically "joining" the group as a system and to being accepted within its boundary (Minuchin & Fishman, 1981). Zuniga's use of culturally sensitive, client-centered metaphor in therapy with Latino clients illustrates how metaphor provides therapeutic entry into discrete cultural systems (Zuniga, 1992). By strategically using "dichos," Spanish language proverbs that

"reveal the world view or psychology of a people" (Ibid, p. 57), Zuniga made psychotherapy for Latino populations "culturally palatable and less alienating" (Ibid, p. 58). Kopp (1995), who developed an ethnically-sensitive model for individual psychotherapy using metaphor, emphatically states:

...the therapist can establish credibility only when the client's problems are understood in a manner that is congruent with the client's *belief systems* (p. xviii).

In metaphor consultation with performing-artist task groups as well, the hope is to clinically join with perspectives of group members through the metaphors they create and to demonstrate, thereby, a working sensitivity to the culture and belief systems informing each group (cf. Pare, 1996).

In reviewing the therapeutic literature related to metaphor use, Kopp (1995) distinguishes *client-generated* metaphor from *therapist-generated* metaphor. Directive therapists (Barker, 1965, 1996; Haley, 1973; Lankton & Lankton, 1989; Wallas, 1985) construct *their own metaphors* for strategic therapeutic ends. Barker exemplifies this therapist-driven approach:

Metaphorical methods come fully into their own in the course of treatments in which therapists play active roles, offer clients ideas, suggest how problems and other behaviors may be reframed, provide clients with possible solutions to problems for them to consider, and even give instructions (1996, p. 41).

Barker advocates the use of *therapist-generated metaphor* as a tool to accomplish therapeutic tasks defined by the worker, not the client. Therapeutic prescriptions are encoded in metaphorical stories and images that therapists use to influence

client behavior, often through hypnotic suggestion (Rosen, 1982; White & Epston, 1990).

In contrast, Kopp (1995), utilizes "client-generated metaphors," i.e., metaphors *constructed by clients*, and intervenes as unobtrusively as possible to explore perspectives surfaced by the client:

The therapist facilitates the client's inner search for the client's metaphoric imagery, avoiding introducing any additional content (1995, p. xviii).

Siegelman (1990), a non-directive therapist like Kopp, helps clients to construct, probe and expand their own metaphors. Her client-centered approach is revealed in some shared supervisory remarks made to illustrate the primacy of the metaphor in the clinical work:

Internally, (the therapist) needed to be aware of the metaphorical field that was being created and then to resonate in his interventions to the prevailing metaphor without forcing. In this way, he was able to maintain and foster it. Through the therapist's heightened listening and his willingness to stay with the metaphor and unobtrusively enlarge its deeper meanings, he was actually doing a great deal to further the therapeutic exchange (1990, p. 63).

Carlsen's interactive approach with therapeutic metaphor permits even more dialogue and interplay between therapist and client:

The therapist joins in with the spontaneous expressions of the client, within the particular context of each therapy session. This does not mean that a metaphor that appeared in one session cannot be reintroduced by the therapist as an ongoing leitmotif that provides special understandings between therapist and client. Nor does it mean that

the therapist squelches his or her own expressions, which can feed the freewheeling play of the therapeutic dialogue. What is most sought, however, is the novelty and spontaneity of client expression that contributes to the shaping of a common language, a set of themes, a group of windows, even as this fresh expression stimulates the comparisons and contrasts that can open the mind and suggest new solutions (1996, p. 358)

As depicted, psychotherapists exhibit a range of approaches to the use of metaphor in direct treatment with individuals and families: from active, expert positions in which therapist metaphors are constructed and strategically used -- to more non-directive approaches that expand client-generated metaphors with varying degrees of therapist influence and interaction.

In the group consultation model developed here, perspectives of group members and those of the group as a whole are central: "Grounded metaphors" are the heart of the model, and the imagery generated by the group and its members is the focal point of the work. Consultation is driven, therefore, by "client-generated metaphors" and must be sensitive to those metaphorical frames offered inductively by group and its members. To work effectively in a group modality -- encouraging group interaction and managing group process -- a more active stance, similar to that portrayed by Carlsen (1996), may be needed as well. A consultant can be active, however, without being directive, as long as the group and its indigenous metaphors remain primary. Mutuality between client and worker, in addition to respect for individual points of view rendered by metaphor, is required to surface, share, and explore grounded metaphors as a group.

Summary

The metaphor model proposed for group consultation is process-oriented and evolves from client participation, much as the qualitative study itself has. Perhaps this form of group intervention should be called "naturalistic" or "grounded" consultation to highlight its synchrony with qualitative methodology. Its value base, at any rate, is inherently client-centered, sensitive to in-group perspectives and client "world views," respectful of group members as "experts," and accepting of group members as full partners in the consultation process. Although some strategies for group consultation may require direction - even education - by the consultant, these more active measures on the worker's part still evolve from a primary focus on "grounded metaphors" generated directly by group members. By using grounded metaphors, the model remains essentially inductive, process-oriented, and client-driven.

METAPHOR CONSULTATION: A MODEL FOR GROUP INTERVENTION WITH PERFORMING ARTIST WORK GROUPS

Overall, group consultation mirrors analytic strategies used in this grounded research: specifically, identifying grounded metaphors; defining the world views they signify; and understanding their functional relevance to group situations and tasks. An assessment protocol can be developed from this approach alone based on the following "metaphor-centric" questions: 1.) What unique group goals, values, and imperatives does each metaphor suggest? 2.) What varieties of metaphors are used to frame problems and solutions within the group? 3.) How do multiple metaphors complement or conflict with one another within the group? 4.) What strengths and weaknesses do metaphors possess for the functional adaptation of the group? 5.) How are different metaphors used to address different group situations? And, 6.) How adept are group members at using metaphor to communicate experience and facilitate group processes? In order to develop such assessments and to formulate intervention strategies based upon them, four primary procedures have been defined that represent the core of the consultation model.

Procedures for intervention with grounded metaphors in groups

The findings and analysis of this research suggest four intervention procedures using grounded metaphors:

- A.) *Surfacing and Expanding* grounded metaphors underlying group process.
- B.) *Framing and Reframing* group experience with grounded metaphors.
- C.) *Linking* grounded metaphors to internal and external contingencies.
- D.) *Educating and Empowering* group members in "metaphor management."

These procedures can be used to develop contracts for change, make collaborative assessments and "key" interventions to specific goals of consultation. At the same time, procedures may be individualized and applied differentially to meet the unique needs of each group.

A. SURFACING AND EXPANDING GROUNDED METAPHORS

A basic procedure in any metaphor consultation is the identification and surfacing of grounded metaphors within the group. Through attunement to the group's natural language, the consultant can discover metaphors used to organize and communicate group experience. Sometimes the grounded metaphor is only implied by a word or phrase yet conceptually underlies the communication. Such metaphor "outcroppings" need to be more completely exposed to reveal their full identity and usefulness. The consultant, therefore, must be prepared to recognize *and* surface metaphorical expression arising directly within group communication - as a miner seeks the mother lode from a glint in the rock or the clammer his clams lying shallow in their bed.

At other times, "digging" is unnecessary; group members spontaneously surface metaphors that are explicit and substantive. In these instances, the grounded metaphor is readily accessible to explore together as a group. Indeed, these can be playful moments: a metaphor is "tossed-out" to the group who continues the communicative game by tossing it back and forth among themselves; with each "toss," group members elaborate the metaphor further. Such metaphor play facilitates creative, symbolic thinking and the group enjoys, and benefits from,

the synergistic release of energy.¹

Example: Veteran players from an established quartet requested a consultation soon after replacing two colleagues who had resigned. The purpose of the consultation was to open quartet communication between old and new members. The violinist, one of the veterans, framed the opening of the consultation using a marriage metaphor - a metaphor that periodically resurfaced in the course of the meeting:

Violinist: I think we've been in the honeymoon period of the quartet, which is bound to end! (Laughter)... We all want to succeed, and we might have different ideas of how to do that, and what might get in the way, and what won't. And that might cause tension. It could cause stress within any one of us. And I thought that...we (should) keep a discussion like that open amongst ourselves.

The underlying marriage metaphor invoked by the violinist communicated so much, so quickly: appreciation for quartet unity and fellowship; recognition of the quartet as a union of *different* yet mutually *committed* individuals; acceptance of interpersonal tensions as normative; and commitment to sustaining a caring relationship into the future.

¹ Musical groups may experience metaphor play as a form of "improvisation" where the normal rules of order may be rearranged to suit the performer's pleasure. Psychologically speaking, metaphor play constitutes a "regression in service to the ego." Metaphor construction is a shift from secondary process thinking that undergirds ordered, rational, reality-based thought to primary process thinking, a developmentally early, unstructured form of thought, typical of dreaming, where constraints imposed by rationality are loosened or do not exist at all. When the group engages in metaphor "play," an adaptive regression occurs which revitalizes the energy of the group ego as it momentarily lets go of the rational constraints that typically order discourse. The group engages in a "group play" and then returns with discoveries that can be functionally integrated into their more ordered, rational group lives. For further discussion of metaphor and primary process thinking, see Arieti (1976) and Siegelman (1990, pp. 10-13).

The violist subsequently echoed the violinist's opening theme of marital

harmony:

Viola: We have respect for each other and enjoy each other's company - that's outside music too - and in music, when we play together. All those parts are, like, perfect. It's too good to be true. And we love those parts.

The violist returned to the same metaphor later, however, to express guarded optimism about the future:

Viola: You know, with the quartet, there are so many different elements built into it. Any kind of element can lead to happiness. And just at the moment, I guess, you can hear in our quartet, that the income, the money, seems to be the most concern. Of course, something can come up, can surface in the future, in terms of personal problems or musical problems...that's why Q. (violinist) says we are in the "honeymoon" stage in terms of the quartet playing.

Staying within the metaphor, group members probed further their levels of commitment to each other:

Viola: Basically, I think that they (veterans) were not only looking for players that they would like to play with, but also someone who would commit to the group, who won't just drop the group the next second, when they get offered another paying job, much more money, right?

Viola: (But) what if the quartet does not earn as much money next year as compared to this year?

Cello: That, for me, is a problem when it goes on for years and years and years. After eight years, I feel, "Oh my god, is there something coming out of it?" But that's not a problem when you just start.

Viola: Yeah

Cello: That's like if you marry somebody and then, on the honeymoon, you start talking about when we want to separate one day.

Viola: Usually you do that before you get married! Ha, Ha!

Group: (laughter)

Cello: I'm just a more optimistic person, I guess!

And later:

Cello: I wouldn't think now about what can happen or might happen. Right now, it is like a honeymoon. But why can't it always be like this? If we accept each other?

Violin: Well, hopefully.

Cello: That's the ideal situation. I don't want to play in a quartet where we don't talk!

By using the marriage metaphor that surfaced spontaneously at the beginning of the consultation, group members playfully launched their own *group contract*. My sense, as consultant, was that the veteran violinists who called the meeting wanted, in fact, to establish a clearer group contract: to explore and clarify group commitment, to normalize interpersonal tension, and to make overt expression of dissatisfaction and conflict resolution group norms. By tossing the marriage metaphor back and forth, the group actively explored individual attitudes, practiced expressing difference, and sought common ground. In effect, the group rehearsed the norms proposed by the violinist in her opening statement!

Expanding a metaphor. The worker can facilitate group exploration by *expanding* grounded metaphors. Fox (1989), for example, advocates working

"affirmatively" with metaphor with individual and family intervention:

...encourage it, nurture it, draw it out, propel it.
Transformation rather than translation is the key.
Extending, enlarging the metaphor, shaping and
dramatizing it leads to alterations in clients' views of
reality (p. 235).

In the example of the marriage metaphor just presented, the worker might ask the group: "How will you know when the *honeymoon* is over and the *real marriage* has begun?", "What needs to happen to make this marriage last?", "What marriage vows are you taking with each other?", "What would constitute grounds for divorce?" By using elements implicit in the metaphor, the worker can continue to probe group ideas and feelings related to the group contract. The metaphor becomes the organizing vehicle around which the consultant and the group engage. The worker joins the group in the metaphor play, and both worker and group may expand the metaphor to increase the range or depth of issues that need to be discussed.

In Psychotherapeutic metaphors: A guide to theory and practice, Barker (1996) describes metaphoric intervention as "outflanking" the rational-analytic thought processes of the left brain and appealing directly to those of the intuitive-symbolic right brain. Metaphors can provide the cover of humor and the safety of distance; they can camouflage and displace potentially disturbing ideas. Like joking, metaphor play allows anxiety provoking topics -- such as interpersonal relationships -- to surface into consciousness for all to hear. Using the metaphor as a guise or displacement, group members can effectively communicate thoughts,

feelings and expectations indirectly about each other. Honeymoon, marriage, and divorce can be discussed openly, even contentiously, *as metaphor*, without seeming to speak personally or directly about one another.

Murnighan and Conlon's study of British String quartets revealed that successful quartets muted or avoided direct conflict, even though tension was experienced (1991). The capacity of metaphor to veil direct conflict, displace disturbing ideas, and channel anxiety into playfulness may permit quartets to communicate more about each other while preserving their group cohesion. The inherent potential of metaphoric communication to simultaneously surface anxiety-provoking feelings and thoughts yet safely disguise them is a paradox in itself -- a therapeutic antidote, perhaps, to the "paradoxical" tensions that Murnighan and Conlon identify within string quartets! By shepherding discussion within the magic of metaphor, therefore, the consultant can help the quartet to probe anxiety-laden areas of group interaction that might otherwise remain unspoken.

Surfacing Multiple Metaphors: Challenges and Opportunities. Multiple metaphors may exist simultaneously within one group. As we have seen, group members conceptualize similar events (group membership, rehearsal, performance) from different metaphorical perspectives (Marriage, Market, Quest, Tao, etc.). Examples have been elaborated, as well, to show that metaphorical frames may inherently contrast with each other, generating contradiction and potential group tension and conflict: the contrasting value structures of The Sacred Quest and the Market metaphors, the opposite forms of problem-solving implicit in the Market and Tao metaphors, the different priority assigned to interpersonal relations by the

Marriage and Market metaphors. Surfacing multiple metaphors within a group, therefore, implies surfacing contradiction and latent conflict. But, is this helpful?

Two general assumptions are made regarding the helpfulness of surfacing multiple metaphors within the quartet: 1.) Diversity in perspective among group members is an espoused norm, and 2.) Awareness of difference and contradiction within the quartet is constructive if the group members work together to develop ways to manage, integrate and/or differentially apply competing or conflicting underlying frames. Indeed, one essential task of consultation is to lead the group in developing awareness, understanding, and skill in such a process. In hierarchical organizations, leadership may be structurally limited to managers (cf. Bolman & Deal, 1991); in professional string quartets, each player is a potential manager, and the principle of "responsible autonomy," from the democratic model of groupwork (Ephross & Vassil, 1988), may be most appropriate to consider. Ephross and Vassil write:

A self-governing group is abundantly able to generate the means and set the limits for its own changes...There are frequent and open considerations and tradeoffs among the group's personal, interpersonal, organizational, and environmental goals...One of the characteristics of a stable, democratic group is that change is not viewed as a threat to the continued existence of the group and therefore proposals for change need not be met with defensiveness. A complete working group capitalizes on controversy and can manufacture the necessary roles to deal with it. One of the hallmarks of a democratic microcosm is that group members can operate fully and well in participating in decisions, contributing to task completion, and dealing with conflict in the group (1988, pp. 40-1).

Quartet members may need to learn skills, however, to successfully develop this ideal of a democratic microcosm and to establish "positive norms" that Kurland and Salmon say "encourage respect, openness, honesty, support, mutual aid, acceptance of difference, experimentation, and flexibility" (1994, p. 1). The following intervention strategies, therefore, are offered to meet the challenges of surfacing multiple metaphors in a way that enhances the competency of the group to govern itself.

Strategy #1: Explore and promote the norm of diversity within the group.

The first intervention strategy is educational in nature and seeks to normalize the diversity of viewpoints held by group members when multiple metaphors are at play. By surfacing and exploring the variety of metaphors that individuals within the group use to conceptualize goals and tasks, the consultant helps the group to appreciate and accept their differences and similarities. Highlighting the value of each person's perspective reinforces a *democratic norm*: that every person's viewpoint is important, useful, and needed. This norm promotes group ownership and is consonant with small task groups that value and espouse a democratic ideology, as most string quartets do (Murnighan & Conlon, 1991).

The group may be helped to consider how metaphors illuminate different functional needs of the group, i.e., the instrumental and expressive tasks, sociologically speaking, that are required to achieve group performance. Some metaphors may naturally serve instrumental ends better than others. Market metaphors, for example, appear well-suited to the instrumental tasks of adaptation

with external environments in contrast to Marriage metaphors that emphasize more the internal, expressive functions of interpersonal relationship. The sociological knowledge that groups need to act competently in both domains to perform well may be shared educationally with group members. This increases the group members' understanding of group process, validates and normalizes differences, and supports the establishment of a democratic norm. Discrepant viewpoints may force the group to clarify, amend, or reintegrate goals. An educational approach that normalizes such diversity, however, should reduce defensiveness about difference and allow the group to engage more competently in renewing or reaffirming democratic norms within the group.

Strategy #2: Emphasize perspective, not person. Awareness of multiple metaphors may help resolve group tensions rather than engender them. By surfacing different metaphors that underlie latent or open group conflict, disputes between people may be reframed as *intellectual* differences - as differences in conceptual model. In this way, *conflict is depersonalized* and ushered into the cognitive realm where the group can apply problem-solving skills. *Cognitive perspective, rather than person, becomes the focus of group evaluation.* Emotional reactivity is reduced, as a result. This paves the way for more effective problem-solving, strategy #3.

Strategy #3: Promote group problem-solving. Surfacing grounded metaphors *maximizes choice* in group problem-solving, for each metaphor offers potential strategies and solutions to problems. The Market metaphor, for example,

suggests short-term strategies with a focus on status and significant publics; the Quest metaphor suggests perseverance and introspection to develop a deeper, more persuasive musical message; the Marriage metaphor encourages greater interpersonal harmony while the Growth metaphor suggests the need for differentiation and exploration of new ideas. Multiple metaphors, therefore, *increase solutions* and generate novel approaches to group obstacles. When a consultant asks a group to consider how each metaphor may fit or not fit a particular situation, multiple metaphors become a problem-solving aid: novel thinking is encouraged, and alternative or "best-fit" solutions can be discovered.

Strategy #4: Examine metaphors openly to permit re-evaluation of group priorities. In consultation, the worker must reinforce open examination of metaphors within the group. This provides opportunity for group members to evaluate their own ideas, expand their thinking and reconsider their priorities. In essence, it allows for a group exchange to take place in which individual group members modify their own perspectives or re-order the priority of multiple perspectives. In the analysis of metaphor gestalts, for example, the violinist who advocated a business approach became more receptive to relationship issues after the violist openly articulated her perspective. The afore mentioned violinist, in fact, reversed his position and placed relationship *before* business in his final list of group priorities!

Strategy #5: Explore group sentiment for each metaphor to identify one that may be paramount. The worker can facilitate group exploration to see which

metaphor is appealing enough to capture the heart and mind of the group as a whole. Some metaphors may be more convincing than others, making competing metaphors retreat naturally into the background (not to disappear, but to remain as a resource for another time and situation). Group members, moreover, do not have to "give-up" competing points of view, only agree to *selectively suspend* such viewpoints; by so doing, they may choose the metaphorical perspective that best fits the situation or most effectively promotes problem-solving. As situations shift, so may metaphors, allowing individual metaphors equal opportunity to emerge and be useful over time.

Strategy #6. Develop an entirely new group metaphor. If competing metaphors are surfaced, and the group cannot adopt one as paramount, develop a new metaphor together that is capable of integrating the others. The imagery of metaphor is generally exciting and engaging; the intuitive, creative process involved in metaphor construction, in fact, may be especially appealing to artist groups. Surfacing metaphors and discussing them as a group invites metaphorical thinking. This, in turn, may lead to unexpected insight and creativity within the group and stimulate the creation of an entirely new metaphor that integrates the diversity of viewpoints. Generating an integrative metaphor as a group would also reinforce group cohesion.

B. FRAMING AND REFRAMING

Watzlawick et al define reframing as changing "the conceptual and/or emotional setting or viewpoint in relation to which a situation is experienced and

(placing) it in another frame which fits the 'facts' of the same concrete situation equally well or even better, and thereby changes its entire meaning" (1974, p. 95). This, essentially, defines the act of metaphor construction in which one situation is cast in the image or "frame" of another to modify - and hopefully to enhance - its meaning. Reframing is described by Worden (1994) as the "stock and trade of many family therapists" who use the technique to seek "positive perspectives and motivations" in client behavior (Worden, 1994, pp. 130-1).

Metaphors can play a significant role in framing and reframing family situations. Fox writes, for example:

Families build their own metaphors which act as central organizers for the shared constructs, expectations and fantasies. These serve as repositories of family experience and as guides for behavior...families have visions of themselves which are expressed in a shared metaphor...Building upon the metaphor of the family has led the author and gradually the family to recognize that the family's metaphor for itself offers considerable information about varying elements of its structure and style of being (1989, pp. 238-9).

Fox illustrates with a family that communicated its sense of social collapse through the metaphor of "a crumbling house:"

All agreed that the house was in disrepair and that the foundation was weak. They were committed to rebuilding (Ibid, p. 239).

Fox used the family's metaphor of a deteriorating house to frame therapeutic

interventions:

We excavated what they saw as faulty foundations and cast these into concrete goals for erecting new structural frameworks for relating...(by) restructuring the "house," a family was being built from the ground up (Ibid, p. 239).

Using metaphor helped to frame "information from a rigid and defensive family that would be difficult to elicit in other ways" (Ibid).

The technique of framing and reframing is used by organizational consultants as well. In Reframing organizations: Artistry, choice, and leadership,

Bolman and Deal write:

Frames are both windows on the world and lenses that bring the world into focus. Frames filter out some things while allowing others to pass through easily. Frames help us to order experience and decide what action to take. Every manager, consultant, or policy maker uses a personal frame or image of organizations to gather information, make judgments, and determine how best to get things done. The more artistic among them are able to frame and reframe experience, sorting through the tangled underbrush to find solutions to problems (1991, p. 11).

The authors craft four meta-perspectives from organizational theory to serve as cognitive "frames" for managers of complex organizational systems - including a structural frame, human relations frame, political frame and symbolic frame.

Bolman and Deal assert that the ability to view situations from a variety of frames enhances the manager's problem-solving repertoire and helps to make a better "fit" between the organization and its environment. Pearce and Osmond (1996) construct metaphors consonant with organizational culture to introduce

innovation. In this approach, the authors "frame" the desired change in metaphoric terms that match the underlying "frame" of the organization. The goal is to facilitate the acceptance of change efforts by using metaphoric frames that mirror organizational culture. What is new may therefore be perceived as syntonic with what is already established and supported.

In this study of string quartets, grounded metaphors are viewed as indigenous "frames" that group members use to organize experience and direct their group behavior. Each metaphor category provides a unique perspective for interpreting situations and events experienced by the group. Metaphor consultation builds upon these interpretive functions of grounded metaphors; they are approached as a *group resource* that can promote adaptation and performance of group tasks.

Multiple metaphors, for example, can be used to creatively reframe negatively appraised events. Losing a competition -- a perceived "setback" -- might be reframed with a grounded metaphor (Sacred Quest) as a test of strength and resilience, one step in forging a true elite. Time spent on tour -- away from significant others and the comforts of home -- may be reframed as the investment required to achieve prominence (Market) or as a normative stage of growth in a quartet career (Growth). In contrast, *one* metaphor can be used to frame *multiple events*: Starting slowly, losing a group member, having to move, establishing a residency and learning new repertoire may be viewed, for example, as necessary "growing pains" leading to maturity (Growth Metaphor). Frustrating events are

normalized, even imbued with purpose. As family therapists have discovered, metaphors help to shift potentially negative perspectives to positive ones. With quartets, events that might deplete group morale and diminish motivation can be transformed by casting them in images that promote strength, mobilize energy and facilitate unity. Framing that is consonant with already established metaphors, of course, is likely to be readily accepted (cf. Pearce & Osmond, 1996), as will reframing that adds positive connotations and empowers the group.

C. LINKING METAPHOR AND SITUATION

"Linking" is the process of matching metaphor to situation so that task groups may adopt perspectives that best fit defined needs. Linking grounded metaphors to situational context is similar to Bolman and Deal's strategy of choosing organizational frames based-upon situational contingencies (Bolman & Deal, 1991, ch. 16), an open-system approach to organizational adaptation derived from the classic works of Katz and Kahn (1966) and Thompson (1967), among others. In individual treatment, Kopp (1995) applies "client-generated" metaphors to problematical situations of the client in order to generate more adaptive client behaviors. Kopp's "bridging back" technique mirrors linking procedures with task groups who learn to apply grounded metaphors *differentially* in response to the changing events and situations they face.

In linking, the consultant's task is to help the group connect accessible grounded metaphors with the needs at hand: Does the Market or Marriage metaphor best "fit" the group's need for community sponsorship? Does the

Growth metaphor or the Tao help the group to choose between recording or going on tour? Does the Sacred Quest or the Market metaphor best suit the group's need to apply for a major grant? The consultant can encourage group members to link metaphor and situation by asking guiding questions: "If you think of yourselves as (on a quest, in a business, etc.), how would you approach this problem?" " Which image of yourselves do you think helps the most in this situation?" The metaphor acts as both a structure and rationale for action: "We are a business; therefore we must act to accumulate wealth and to work efficiently;" or, "We are a family and must resolve the tension that we feel among us."

Alternatively, the consultant might also work with a group to categorize their grounded metaphors by using Parsons' AGIL open-system schema: which metaphors foster adaptation best with external environments? Which help most to set goals? Which relate well to interpersonal issues? And which provide a structure for group maintenance? In this way, metaphor may be linked with primary open-system functions associated with the internal and external environments of the group. The existence of multiple metaphors within one ensemble, therefore, may adaptively supply a repertoire of responses to situational contingencies. Available metaphors can then be matched with situation to improve the "goodness-of-fit" between a group and its environment.

D. EDUCATING AND EMPOWERING IN METAPHOR MANAGEMENT

A final procedure for consultation suggested by the findings is to train groups in identifying, understanding and utilizing grounded metaphors. As groups learn to surface and expand their own metaphors, they can learn to apply their understandings to themselves and their group. Such learning occurs, in part, through *modeling* by the consultant who actively demonstrates the application of metaphors during the consultation and the procedures of surfacing, expanding, framing and linking. A consultant, however, may choose to train group members in metaphor management by explicitly sharing knowledge in an educative way: demonstrating clearly how each metaphor contains values and prescriptions, articulating where and how multiple metaphors may clash or complement, and explaining how metaphors may serve the group well in some situations but not in others. In addition, strategies to manage multiple metaphors may be taught; specifically, using metaphors to "emphasize perspective, not person," to "maximize choice in group problem-solving," and to "invite creative symbolic thinking" and new metaphor development. This teaching is empowering, for the consultant shares the process and its rationale with the group in an effort to *promote self-management*. Group members benefit by learning to replicate the process on their own. They become attuned to metaphor underlying their own group process; they become accepting of multiple metaphorical perspectives and learn to appreciate and to utilize them; they become competent in decoding group differences as competing or conflicting metaphors; they learn to frame situations using their own

metaphors, and they become creative in developing new metaphors to reframe their group mission and group goals.

Promoting Symbolic Thinking Through Guided Visualization. Some people are more inclined than others to think symbolically. Rasmussen (1995) found that the capacity to employ metaphor is affected by an individual's "capacity to play, adaptively regress, regulate affect, maintain ego boundaries, and symbolize" (p. 148). Individuals may need practice, therefore, in tuning-in to symbolic language and in feeling comfortable using metaphor. Exercises may be created to help group members think in images and feel more at ease with metaphoric exchange. Guided visualization provides one way to promote metaphorical thinking.

Example. As an experiment, I asked the members of one quartet to relax, let images flow and to visualize the quartet as an image in their mind's eye:

Cellist: It's very hard because the image is always the piece of music I am playing; you have to be like an actor and slip into every possible role.

Viola: I have this image of a painting in my living room, a Paul Klee, of different colors that are kind of smudged, of soft tones but with contrasts. I feel that's the characteristic of our sound which is sweet, with warmth in it. It has that watercolor feeling to it, not big, strong or wild like a Van Gogh.

First violin: I think of a body of water, something vast and liquid, like the ocean, something flexible.

Second violin: I just have this image of a plant that's growing, and continuing to grow, organic I guess.

I then asked the group members to stay within their image and state goals for the

group that might emerge from it. The group struggled a bit, but an interesting interaction occurred:

Violin: You see how one plant stays together, but it seems to all work as a unit, it keeps growing. When the wind blows, it's standing and keeps regenerating. I'm thinking of a perennial, not an annual!

Viola: It's interesting, I can see how individually we view the characteristics of the quartet. Somehow, it suits what we have been talking about (during the consultation). I can see what the violinist is thinking with the tree. The tree is something more concrete and realistic, it has roots, and this is something you have been working on with the quartet - that you are concerned about, the growth of the quartet. This helps me understand her as a person too. I can see with the ocean too. Q. (violinist) is easier going. The ocean includes things, contains so many live forms. It's *tolerant*.

Violin: I also loved her image. I can't quite picture the painting, but the different colors just working together...

Viola: Soft colors, they are soft, not harsh, not big strokes...

Violin: Yea.

This exercise helped group members to construct images and to respond to each other's constructions. The simple act of sharing personal images imparted meaning to the group, and for the violist, at least, these images created greater understanding of the violinist and her goals for the group. To me, as well, the plant image was completely consonant with statements made during the consultation, statements that revealed the violinist's search for rootedness and growth in the midst of change (i.e., two members resigning). The first violinist's image of the quartet as a "vast ocean" resonated with earlier statements during the consultation: "I personally feel that expanding is very important at this stage of the

game because if that happens, it will help take care of a lot of other issues, like making enough money." The cellist's image of the quartet as a "piece of music" appeared consistent with the Sacred Quest metaphor and the performance-oriented goals he espoused during the consultation:

Cello: I think that the most important thing, first of all, is to sacrifice ourselves, not take every job, live on a much lower standard than we are used to, rehearse like crazy. Otherwise, we will not have enough repertoire or spirit...The priority should be the quartet, and we never can rehearse too much. My strong point is that I can push people to work harder, to work more, to work more concentrated...You need skills, you need vision, you need these things which are, in the end, the most important things.

In this case, some of the grounded metaphors that arose in consultation surfaced in the guided visualization afterwards.

Guided visualization, conducted as an exercise, may promote symbolic thinking, facilitate discovery of individual metaphors, and even surface grounded metaphors that are unconsciously employed by quartet members. Peggy Papp (1983) uses a similar technique in clinical work with couples. Papp surfaces metaphoric images that couples use to conceptualize their relationship:

The couples are asked to close their eyes and have a dream or fantasy about their spouse and to visualize him/her in whatever symbolic form he/she would take in a dream or fantasy. They are then asked to visualize what form they themselves would take in relation to their partner's form to assure that the fantasy will be systemic as well as symbolic (p. 142).

Papp then coaches the couple to enact the metaphorical relationship they describe "so that perceptions, behaviors, and interaction are linked simultaneously" (p. 142). "Metaphors," Papp writes, "provide a gestalt in which disassociated facts and events

can be seen in relation to one another...Figurative language tends to synthesize and combine, uniting different levels of thought, feeling and behavior in a holistic picture"(pp. 141-2). Papp calls this staging of couple metaphors "couples choreography" and uses the technique to help couples experience, integrate and, ultimately, change primary reciprocal interactions within the relationship.

A quartet may or may not choose to "stage" their group metaphors, but sharing images of the group may expand the awareness and appreciation for the group as a whole. A metaphoric way of "knowing" one another may facilitate the development of shared values and group integration. After group members share metaphors, the group can work to discover the commonalities and differences uncovered and seek ways to link, integrate, resolve or transform individual differences to create a more authentic and inclusive group organization.

Utilizing the AGIL Matrix to Empower Groups. As the consultant surfaces multiple metaphors within a group and explores their differential uses, group members can be taught to manage competing or conflicting frames (cf. Quin & McGrath, 1985). Parson's AGIL matrix, defining the four basic functions of an open system, may be adapted to help groups categorize grounded metaphors and, therefore, apply them more easily.

Below is a simplified matrix that introduces the AGIL functions through one guiding question. This schema might be presented to a group as a tool to organize and use the grounded metaphors they surface (see Diagram 3, p. 167). Each metaphor might be rated, using a self-anchored scale, in terms of its usefulness within each domain.

METAPHOR GROUP CONSULTATION: A SUMMARY

This chapter emphasized the client-centered values of metaphor consultation. Four intervention procedures were suggested that derive from research findings: 1. **Surfacing and Expanding** grounded metaphors 2. **Framing and Reframing** with metaphor 3. **Linking** grounded metaphor and situation and 4. **Educating and Empowering** in metaphor management. Multiple metaphors were viewed as an opportunity to develop democratic group processes and to adopt a contingency model for group adaptation. The more educational that a consultant chooses to be with a client group, the more empowering is the consultation, for the procedures and strategies of metaphor management may be imparted to the group and promote autonomous group functioning.

AGIL MATRIX ADAPTED FOR METAPHOR EVALUATION

<u>ADAPTATION:</u> HOW DOES THE METAPHOR HELP US TO RESPOND TO CHANGES AND DEMANDS EXTERNAL TO THE GROUP?	<u>GOAL ATTAINMENT:</u> HOW DOES THE METAPHOR HELP US TO DETERMINE OR ACHIEVE GROUP GOALS?
<u>LATENT-PATTERN MAINTENANCE:</u> HOW DOES THE METAPHOR HELP US TO MAINTAIN OUR SENSE OF PURPOSE, OUR VALUES, AND OUR IDENTITY THROUGH TIME?	<u>INTEGRATION:</u> HOW DOES THE METAPHOR HELP US TO WORK TOGETHER AS ONE TEAM?

Diagram 3

VI. PROJECT SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This qualitative inquiry discovered underlying metaphoric categories that task group members used to construct images prescribing the nature and purpose of their group. These metaphors provided group members with "frameworks for action;" they prescribed goals and tasks that varied according to the essential image of each. The discovery of these metaphoric categories, grounded in group interaction, permit further exploration of how underlying images of the quartet may influence the variety of group processes driving "group development." The construction of group goals that match the career path associated with each metaphor is one example of how underlying metaphors may influence group interaction and developmental processes. The career path of the group, therefore, is influenced by underlying metaphoric categories at play within the group.

In this study, five underlying categories of metaphors utilized by group members were surfaced: Sacred Quest, Market, Growth, Marriage and Tao. Each metaphoric category prescribed a career path with associated goals and tasks. By expanding the contrasting frameworks for action implied by each category, one can better understand how group members might agree or disagree when developing group norms, setting group goals, establishing consensus, and prioritizing tasks. The underlying metaphor "narrative," defining the purpose of the group, moreover, captures the different group "mission" associated with each metaphor category. When the value sets of each category were identified and compared, furthermore, the tacit beliefs and norms distinguishing metaphor categories from one another

were surfaced.

Metaphor categories were analyzed using an open-systems, functionalist perspective and revealed potential strengths and weaknesses for adaptive group functioning. The plasticity of metaphor categories was demonstrated, as well, when recontextualized using the AGIL schema developed by Parsons. The analysis showed that metaphor categories can be applied strategically and differentially to particular group situations or can be creatively expanded to frame a wide range of system functions. Metaphor utility, therefore, is shown to be a function of its textural depth and its inherent symbolic plasticity.

Since different metaphoric underpinnings create the potential for group conflict, surfacing competing frames that may exist within one group provides both challenge and opportunity. Different underlying perspectives challenge the group's capacity and skill in reconciling internal group differences; underlying metaphoric perspectives might clash so completely as to polarize group members and provoke dissension among its members. With this risk, however, comes an opportunity to promote democratic group processes that can strengthen a group. By using a contingency approach, furthermore, task groups may learn to differentially apply competing or contrasting metaphors in relation to shifting situational contexts and the functional needs of the group. These findings, however, call for intervention methods to train group members in effective metaphor management.

A consultation model using grounded metaphor was constructed, therefore, to help groups to identify and apply their own grounded metaphors. The model

was based-upon client-focused social work values and mirrored the qualitative research method used in the study. Four procedures for intervention were constructed that utilized literature from organizational and clinical research. These procedures were: 1.) surfacing and expanding grounded metaphor to encourage communication within the group 2.) framing and reframing metaphor to develop positive perspectives for change 3.) linking metaphor to situation to facilitate group adaptation to environmental contingencies, and 4.) educating and empowering group members in metaphor management so that the group's capacity for future self-regulation and problem-solving is enhanced.

From a theoretical perspective, the discovery of grounded metaphors at play within the task group shifts attention away from generalized laws of group development to the *particularity of groups*, their situational contexts (cf. McCollom, 1990), and their social interaction. Group goals and tasks appear conditioned by underlying metaphorical constructions held by group members. And these constructions may be as diverse as each individual within the group! At the very least, stage models of group development must be viewed in relation to the metaphoric definitions of group constructed by its members. More radically, discovery of underlying metaphoric categories may require small group researchers to rethink the concept of group development altogether. When views of development "from the inside" are considered, development is driven by the images of group that each member invokes and by the further group interactions that serve to socially construct their group definition.

This study demonstrated that group members hold a variety of images about their group and its purpose. The goals and tasks that flow from these diverse images vary and contrast, depending upon the metaphorical frameworks attached to each. As a result, one must explore these constructs to ascertain the expectations that group members hold for each other. To help the group move forward in its development and in its career path, one must discover what each member thinks the quartet is. Although such conceptualizations may lie out-of-awareness, they emerge in metaphorical expression, as shown in this inquiry. Before groups can decide upon future goals and tasks, they have to answer the question of who they are and what their purpose is. This inquiry demonstrates that answers may not be uniformly defined by generic group stages but discovered in the constructs used by group members to define their group. We must let "the client speak" and listen to the conceptualizations that the client provides. Only then can we facilitate group development in ways that are consonant with the beliefs of group members and their particular image of the group and its career path.

Future Research. The discovery of grounded metaphors within the group may exert its biggest influence on the study of norming, decision-making, conflict management, and conflict resolution within small task groups. Future research might focus more specifically, therefore, on the role of grounded metaphor in these vital group processes. How do group members utilize metaphor politically, for example, to gain support for individual points of view within the group? How

might the informal or formal authority structures of the task group influence the choice of metaphors adopted within the group? How can metaphors be used to create group consensus and move decision-making forward? What is the role of metaphor in developing norms within the group, and how do grounded metaphors feed conflict? These issues have been surfaced in the discovery of grounded metaphors but have not been pursued in depth in this inquiry.

Future research may be framed with the musical metaphor of harmony and dissonance. Since multiple metaphors may exist within one group, research might treat them like pitches of sound in music. When pitches are played together, harmony or dissonance is heard depending upon the quality of resonance among the pitches. Within the group, multiple metaphors may be assessed to evaluate the kind of resonance that may occur between and among each; that is, to what degree do different metaphors complement each other or directly contrast?

Complementarity creates "harmony;" direct contrast creates "dissonance."

Research might then focus on how groups manage, resolve, or utilize such metaphor harmony and dissonance.

Future research on the metaphor consultation model is needed to evaluate its utility in the field. Some form of pre- and post-consultation evaluation might help to assess its value and refine the procedures already described. The model may also be aided by developing a questionnaire to evaluate and plot a metaphor's utility for the group. Parsons' AGIL schema, for example, might be used, as suggested in the consultation model, to evaluate each grounded metaphor of the

group. Perhaps the utility of each metaphor within any functionalist domain can be assessed in a simple scale that would allow each metaphor to be plotted. This might graphically illustrate how group members perceive the usefulness of their grounded metaphors.

This study showed that metaphors emerging within string quartets could be utilized as constructs to understand and facilitate task-group development. The images created by the group members themselves became the vehicle for task-group intervention. Group assessment and group intervention, therefore, are grounded in the frameworks provided by group members. Through clinical attunement to the grounded metaphors that emerge within these task groups, a client-centered model for group consultation can be developed that is sensitive to client perspectives and the culture of the group.

Theoretically, the findings of this study may help researchers to rethink group development in terms particular to each group and to examine how metaphoric constructions effect basic group processes such as contracting, norming, goal-setting, problem-solving, and conflict resolution. Clinically, the discovery of discrete metaphor categories within these performing-artist work groups asks us, again, to listen ever more carefully to *what* clients have to say and to attune ourselves to *how* they say it.

Appendix A
LETTER OF INVITATION TO STUDY

Dear _____ Quartet Members,

I am inviting select professional string quartets to participate in a university study that can benefit chamber music ensembles at all stages of their careers. Due to your outstanding reputation and public success, I am extending this invitation to you.

I am presently assembling a pool of performers from professional string quartets to participate in a ***confidential*** interview exploring the professional issues that a quartet faces in the course of its career. The interview process takes about two hours and can be completed together as a group or individually, depending upon your time and availability. I can arrange to meet with you at your convenience. ***Your participation is strictly confidential and the confidentiality of responses will be safeguarded.*** When the project is complete, you will be entitled to receive the results obtained.

I am a classically trained pianist and violist who has established a professional career in psychotherapy since 1983. I have merged my love of music and interest in performance art with my professional therapy skills. As a result, I have consulted privately with chamber music ensembles and have worked as an ensemble consultant for Chamber Music America. This study will be part of my doctoral work at City University, New York and will be used to create consultation services that facilitate the growth and development of professional chamber music ensembles.

I will call within the week to speak with you directly about your availability for an interview. I will be happy to answer any questions you might have at that time. You may also contact me, if you wish, at (914) 941-6127.

I look forward to speaking with you and appreciate your time and consideration. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Appendix B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Thank you for meeting with me for today's interview. The interview will take about an hour and a half. I will be asking a number of open questions about your experiences as a professional string quartet. I hope to learn more about the issues that professional quartets like yourselves face in the course of their careers.

Your participation and responses will be kept strictly confidential. All identifying information will be removed or disguised to ensure individual and group confidentiality. If I have any question that a response might reveal your identity, I will consult first with you, and/or choose not to use the response in written reports.

Since the interview is a group interview, you will hear each other's responses. You may discover new ideas or opinions as a result of this interview and may learn more about each other in the process. Differences of opinion may emerge. If a question, for any reason, feels uncomfortable to you or for the group, you may choose to not answer and we will move on to another area of the interview. I rely upon you to use your own discretion in responding to questions. You may stop the interview at any time. You will have opportunity at the end of the interview, as well, to reflect on the process itself, ask questions, and express any concerns you have resulting from the interview or the responses you have given. You may withdraw from the project even after the interview is completed.

I will need to audiotape our interview in order to accurately transcribe responses. Audiotapes will be kept in a locked file, along with any other materials pertinent to the study. When the project is completed, all audiotapes will be erased. Again, data reported within the dissertation itself will be disguised to ensure confidentiality. I will need your written permission to audiotape and your written consent to proceed with the interview itself.

You will have a copy of the informed consent form and of your signed consent to the interview and audiotaping. When the project is completed, you are entitled to a summary of results. I am hoping to use the results of this project to design support services for chamber ensembles. Your participation is highly valued and appreciated.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Appendix C

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw from this study at any time, even after you begin. Withdrawal will not affect you in any way.

Your individual and group identity as a participant in this study will remain confidential with regard to any publications and oral presentations of results. Any identifying responses will be disguised to ensure speaker confidentiality or will not be used at all in project reports. Your records will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law.

Audiotaping is done with your written consent only. Tapes will be used solely for the purpose of transcribing interviews. Tapes will be erased when the project is completed.

If you believe you have experienced any problems as a result of your participation in this study, you should contact:

Dr. Irwin Epstein
Hunter College School of Social Work
129 East 79th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021
(212) 452-7030

WHAT YOUR PARTICIPATION WILL INVOLVE

As a participant, you will be asked to verbally respond to questions about your experiences as a professional string quartet member. Since this interview is done openly as a group, you may, in the process, discover new ideas or opinions that you have as quartet members, or you may find yourself clarifying particular ideas and opinions that you already hold. You may choose, at your own discretion, however, to not answer any question presented, and your right to control the information that you give will be respected.

We will talk about the interview experience when the interview is completed. Any concerns raised by the interview process can be voiced and addressed at that time.

Your participation and sharing of experience will help to create support services for professional chamber music ensembles. Your willingness to candidly share may serve to benefit ensembles like yourselves in their careers.

INFORMED CONSENT

I volunteer to participate in the research study under the supervision of Howard Robinson. I understand the information provided about what I will be asked to do as a participant, and I have had the opportunity to ask questions with respect to my participation. All of the questions I did ask were answered to my satisfaction.

Signatures

Date

CONSENT FOR AUDIOTAPING

I consent to the audiotaping of the research interview. I understand that the audiotape will be used solely for the purpose of transcribing the interview. I understand that the audiotape will not be heard by anyone other than the researcher and will be kept in a locked storage space. I also understand that the audiotape will be erased at completion of the project.

Signatures

Date

Appendix D

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Would you please introduce yourself, letting me know your name, age, instrument and number of years in the quartet?

2. Tell me how the quartet began.

Probe: What Brought You All Together?

Year Began

Place and Circumstances

Original Members

Who and What Influenced Early Formation

Purpose of Forming Quartet

Original Hopes and Ambitions

3A. Some people think about quartets as moving through stages in a career path. In terms of a career path, where do you see yourselves as a quartet?

Probe: See Selves in Career Path?

What Level or Stage? (Note quartet language/description)

How Describe?

Difference(s) between now and when first began?

Events that drove career?

Events that interrupted or impeded career movement?

What is the next career step?

3B. Where do you see the quartet in five years?

Probe: What Need to Do or Accomplish To Get There?

What Might Get In The Way?

What Perceive As Sources of Support?

PROMPT: I would like to learn more about how you all work together as a quartet.

4A. Do any of you have assigned tasks within the quartet? For example, does one person represent the quartet publically? Handle bookings and travel? Run business meetings? Apply for grants? Run rehearsal?

Probe: Formally or Informally Assigned?

How Assigned or Emerged?

How Fixed or Flexible?

Situational Tasks, ie, Business, Performace, Rehearsal

4B. How would you describe yourself, or each other, in terms of the roles you play within the quartet?

Probe: How instrument played related to role
Examples of situations that reflect roles.

5. Tell me about rehearsing. What makes a rehearsal successful or unsuccessful?

Probe: How is rehearsal organized?
By whom?
How are decisions made within rehearsal?
What happens when people disagree?
Perceptions re: disagreement as positive or negative
Whose word carries?

Prompt: Every well-functioning quartet experiences moments of friction and disagreement

6. What situations seem to give rise to disagreements or friction within the quartet?

Probe: Concrete examples.
How handled? Strategies used
Better to avoid disagreement or surface it?
How does disagreement effect everyone? Drive work?
Interfere?

7. How do you handle conflicts between quartet commitments and other obligations you may have?

Probe: Family
Other income producing work
Solo opportunities
Playing in other ensembles

8. What are the most stressful situations faced by the quartet?

Probe:*Performance?*

Touring?

Business?

Effects on quartet members

Strategies to manage stress

People and resources used

9. What is the "glue" that holds the quartet together?

Probe:*What keeps you from taking orchestral positions?*

Being in another ensemble?

Solo career?

10. How would you describe your quartet "profile?" (i.e., identity)

Probe:*What makes you unique as a quartet?*

Sound?

Family of Instruments?

Repertoire?

Musical Approach?

Individual Personalities?

History/Tradition?

11. What people outside of the quartet help to sustain the quartet during its career?

Probe:*Significant others*

Coaches

Composers

12. Do residency positions help or hinder a quartet's career?

13. How have competitions effected the quartet and its career?

14. What advice would you give to quartets younger than yourself about surviving in the world of professional chamber music?

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